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372 IRELAND.—MUSGRAVE (Sir R.) Memoirs  
of the DIFFERENT REBELLIONS IN IRELAND, from  
the Arrival of the English, also a particular account  
of that of 1793, with the history of the Conspiracy  
which preceded it, and the characters of the  
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M E M O I R S  
OF THE DIFFERENT  
REBELLIONS IN IRELAND,  
FROM THE  
ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH:  
ALSO,  
A PARTICULAR DETAIL OF THAT WHICH BROKE OUT  
THE XXIII<sup>D</sup> OF MAY, MDCCXCVIII;  
WITH THE  
HISTORY OF THE CONSPIRACY WHICH PRECEDED IT, AND  
THE CHARACTERS OF THE PRINCIPAL ACTORS IN IT.  
TO THIS EDITION IS ADDED,  
*A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN IRELAND,*  
AND  
C O N S I D E R A T I O N S  
ON  
THE MEANS OF EXTENDING ITS ADVANTAGES THEREIN.

---

BY SIR RICHARD MUSGRAVE, BART.  
MEMBER IN THE LATE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

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The danger of the day's but newly gone,  
Whose memory is written on the earth,  
With yet-appearing blood!                      SHAKESPEARE.

Hoc illud est precipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in  
illustri posita monumento, intueri, inde tibi, tuæque republicæ, quod imitere cupias: inde fœdum  
inceptu, fœdum exitu, quod vites.——LIVY.

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THE SECOND EDITION.

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P R E F A C E  
TO THE  
S E C O N D E D I T I O N.

AS some obloquy and abuse have been levelled against this Work, and the Author of it, under a pretext that it was impolitick to publish it so soon after the late Rebellion; but in reality because it exposed that spirit of faction and fanaticism which produced it, and the criminal conduct of some of the principal actors concerned in it; I have written a justification of myself for having given it to the world so soon, which the reader will find in page 199 of the Appendix.

I annexed to the table of Errata in the first edition, the following paragraph: "Though the author has made truth his polar star in the course of this work, it is possible that some errors might have occurred in it; he hopes, therefore, that if the reader should discover any such, he will be kind enough to communicate them to him, and he will amend them in the next edition."

There cannot be a stronger test of the publick approbation of this work, than that the first edition consisting of 1250 copies was sold in the space of two months; and after it has had so general a circulation, I have received the most flattering assurances from the officers who campaigned in the late rebellion, that the military transactions have been accu-

rately described; and the most respectable inhabitants of the kingdom, who were competent to decide on the other events which occurred in their respective counties, have given me the most unquestionable testimony that they have been faithfully related.

The following trifling errors, which do not affect the authenticity of any one occurrence in this history, have been kindly communicated to me, and which I amend:

Page 59, line 5, Mr. White was a Roman catholic, and dreaded the Peep-of-Days.

Page 158, line 3, read July 1797, for Sept. 1796.

Page 250, line 5, read Bowen for Brown.

Page 479, line 16, general Needham did not ask general Lake to defer the attack on Vinegar-hill. It was done by an officer of his detachment without his knowledge. Lieutenant Camac carried a message from general Lake to general Needham, to know whether his column would arrive at its destination in one hour, and he answered that it was impossible for the infantry to arrive there in two; he therefore pushed forward with the cavalry, and ordered the infantry to follow him.—Mr. Kellett communicated to me the following observations respecting Mr. Corrin, see pages 490, 491, 492, 493, “That Mr. Corrin did not sleep at Clonard the night preceding the massacre, but went there at an early hour in the morning.” A lady who lay in the house, assured me, that he did sleep there, which induced me to insert it in my narrative.

“That the prisoners destined for destruction on the bridge were led away from it at the same time with Mr. Corrin, and Mr. Kellett;” but yet they were left  
in



in the hands of the pikemen who conducted them to prison.

“ Mr. Kellett kept Mr. Corrin at his house the night of the massacre, to protect him, dreading that the rebels might have retaken and re-conveyed him to prison.”

Page 490, line 35, read Mrs. for Mr. Kellett; as the latter had no personal communication with Mr. Corrin till he arrived on the bridge.

“ No servant went on board the prison ship the day of the massacre.”

This fact was related to me by a highly-respectable fellow prisoner of Mr. Kellett; and as only a certain number of prisoners were permitted to remain on the deck at a time, it might have occurred when he was in the hold.

“ The day after the committal of Mr. Kellett and his fellow prisoners to the gaol, the sailors attempted to break it open, and to massacre them; when fathers Corrin and Broe interfered, and prevented them, but not without some difficulty; and they did the like some days after.

“ Mr. Corrin, after having left Mr. Kellett at Clonard, returned to the bridge, to prevent any more massacres; and on his return, told Mr. Kellett that the rebels were dispersing, and that he heard the drum beat to arms.” This must have been the rebel drum, and it was probably beaten to assemble their forces in consequence of the alarm given on the bridge.”

Appendix XI. page 41, Thomas Neil continued to make a full and explicit confession relative to the circumstances of the murder of Murphy, and of the interference

terference of his cousin Neil the priest, before and after that atrocity ; but when a confessor was admitted to him, he shewed an unwillingness to disclose any thing he knew, and said, at the time of his execution, that what he had previously asserted relative to the priest, he knew only by hearsay ; though before the interview he had with his confessor, he declared that he had a certain knowledge of it himself.

Lord Kingsborough, now earl of Kingston, informed me lately, that “ he believed that father Corrin saved a good many people at Wexford.”

I think it right to mention, what I omitted before, that John Grogan Knox, esquire, captain of the Healthfield cavalry, in the county of Wexford, and heir-at-law to the late unfortunate Mr. Grogan, displayed the most zealous loyalty during the Rebellion, having often endangered his person in the course of his exertions. On the night of the 26th of May, he at a great risk went to Enniscorthy, at ten o'clock, with twelve of his corps, and offered his services to captain Snowe, who commanded the garrison there ; and next day he escorted Mr. Serjeant Stanley, (then on his journey to Cork to hold a special commission) through the county of Wexford, at that time in a state of insurrection.

The reverend doctor Ellison, parish minister of Castlebar, assured me, that Mr. Egan, parish priest there, and his coadjutor Mr. Kane, were sincerely loyal, and secretly gave him some useful information.

I have also been well assured, that the Lady, alluded to, page 276, acted merely from motives of humanity, as a mediatrix between the king's troops and rebels, to prevent the effusion of blood.

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#### Notice to the Reader and Bookbinder, relative to the Plates, Maps, and Appendixes.

- Plate I. A map of Ireland in the beginning of the work.
- II. A map of the north part of the county of Wexford is to face page 319.
- III. A map of the south part of Wexford to face page 321.
- IV. Ground-plan of Enniscorthy and Vinegar-hill, serving to illustrate the attack on the former, the twenty-eighth of May, and the retaking of it the twenty-first of June, 1798, to face page 347.
- V. Elevation of it to face page 477, to illustrate the latter.
- VI. Ground-plan of Wexford to face page 381.
- VII. A ground plan of Ros, and a map of the adjacent country, is to face page 407.
- VIII. Plan of the town and battle of Arklow is to face page 437.
- IX. Ground-plan of the town of Antrim, to illustrate the action that took place there, to face page 546.
- X. A map to shew the movements of the army of the marquis Cornwallis, and general Lake, to face page 559.

There is annexed to every map, a lateral index, at each side of it, divided into inches, and indicated by numbers from the top to the bottom of the page, which will facilitate the finding any particular place, by shewing its latitude. Thus, Wexford will be found in Plate III. No. 6. but when a place lies between two numbers, it will be so stated. Thus Gorey is in Plate II. 4, 5.

The general number of the appendixes is expressed by Roman characters, with subordinate ones marked by figures.



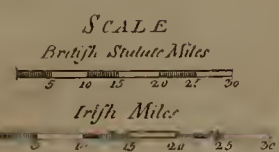


A MAP  
of  
IRELAND  
to  
Elucidate the  
IRISH REBELLION  
of 1798



LIST of the COUNTIES

Antrim	3	Limerick	23
Armagh	7	Londonderry	2
Carlow	28	Longford	15
Cavan	12	Louth	13
Clare	22	Mayo	9
Cork	31	Meath	17
Donegal	1	Monaghan	6
Down	8	Queens	25
Dublin	21	Roscommon	14
Fermanagh	5	Sligo	10
Galway	18	Tipperary	24
Kerry	30	Tyrone	4
Kildare	20	Waterford	32
Kilkenny	27	Westmeath	16
Kings	19	Wexford	29
Leitrim	11	Wicklow	26

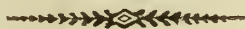




# M E M O I R S

OF THE

DIFFERENT REBELLIONS IN IRELAND, &c.



## INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE.

THE antiquaries of the last century contended, that the Christian religion was introduced into Ireland by Roman missionaries, in the beginning of the fifth century; but a \* learned writer clearly proves, that it was established there at a much earlier period, and by missionaries of the Greek church.

It is most certain, that the Irish clergy had no connection with, and did not submit to, the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, till the year 1152, when pope Eugenius sent, by cardinal Paparon, four palli to the archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, when the Romish ritual was substituted in the place of the Greek, which was previously used in the Irish church; an undoubted proof that it was perfectly independent of the pope till that period.

B

Our

\* Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland, p. 358, et seq.

Our excellent primate Usher proves this in a most unquestionable manner, in a learned treatise on the religion of the antient Irish, well worth the perusal of the natives of Ireland. Archbishop \* Anselm, in his letters to Muriardach an Irish king, complained that bishops were consecrated by bishops alone, and often by one bishop only, contrary to a canon of the Nicene council, which required two bishops, at least, to attend the consecration of one; but the Irish clergy were totally ignorant of the councils of the church, and derived their knowledge of Christianity, for near eight hundred years, from no other source but the bible, the grand charter of Christians. Athanasius allowed the consecration of Siderius, bishop of Palæbifca; and the church of Alexandria that of Evagrius, though performed but by one bishop. As to celibacy, we know, from Ware, that the four archbishops of Armagh who preceded Celsus, and Celsus himself, who died 1129, were married; and, not until popery was established at Cashel in 1172, was marriage interdicted.

In the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, a season of midnight ignorance in Europe, the Roman pontiff, who was regarded with superstitious reverence, claimed and gradually acquired a superiority, not only of spiritual, but of temporal power, over all the potentates of Europe, who considered his sanction as necessary to expiate the guilt of any crime, how heinous soever, or to promote the success of any adventure.

For this reason, Henry II. solicited pope Adrian for a Bull to give him the investiture of Ireland; and, in consideration of it, agreed to grant him a tax of one penny on each house in it, called Peter Pence.

When Phocas murdered his liege sovereign Mauritius, emperor of Constantinople, in the year 602, he obtained the pope's benediction, and by this varnished over the turpitude of that foul action; and Pepin, having deposed king Chilperic, and seized the throne of France in the year 751, prevailed on pope Zachary to absolve the French from their

\* Anselm. Epist. l. 3. ep. 142, 147. Usher, Epist. Hib. p. 95. Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, complained of this practice above twenty years before. Usher, sup. p. 73.

their allegiance to their lawful prince, whom he shaved, and confined in a monastery, “*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*”

In like manner, when Ethelred, king of the Northumbrians, was assassinated in the year 796, Eardulph, who usurped his throne, was anointed, and went through some pompous ceremonies at his coronation, to hallow his usurpation with the odour of sanctity.

Rebellion, usurpation, and murder, are crimes that require extraordinary measures to palliate them in the eyes of the people, and to procure some veneration for the persons who have been guilty of them.

Adrian, in his bull, empowered Henry II. “to \* propagate in Ireland the righteous plantation of faith, and the branch most acceptable to God;” which meant no more, than that he should subject that kingdom to the dominion of the pope, which it is remarkable was the last country in Europe that submitted to the ambitious and rapacious designs of his holiness.

At this day the Roman catholicks deprecate the grant of Ireland to a foreign and not a native prince. Mc. Geoghegan, in his history of Ireland, tom. 1. p. 440, exclaims thus against it: “A decree pronounced against Ireland, by which the rights of nations, and the most sacred laws are violated, under the specious pretext of religion, and the reformation of manners! Could one suspect the vicar of Christ of such gross injustice? Could one believe him capable of issuing a bull, by which an entire nation was overturned?”† If the aboriginal Irish lament the settlement of the English in Ireland, all its loyal inhabitants have to deplore, that they introduced popery into it, as it has been a constant source of disaffection, and has produced unutterable calamities in it.

B 2

It

\* Unde tanto in eis libentius plantationem fidelem, & germen gratum Deo inferimus. Usher, sup. p. 109.

† Un arrêt prononcé contre l'Irlande, par le quel le droit des gens, & les loix les plus sacrées sont violées, sous le specieux pretexte de religion & de reformation des mœurs. Peut on soupçonner le vicaire de Jesus Christ d'une injustice si criante? Peut on le croire coupable d'avoir dicté une bulle qui a bouleversé toute une nation? Mc. Geoghegan was a Roman Catholick.



## MEMOIRS OF THE DIFFERENT

It is not the object nor the wish of the writer of the following pages to disparage Ireland, or its inhabitants; the former, in point of soil and climate, the latter, in their intellectual and corporeal powers, being deservedly esteemed among the finest works of the creation; but to evince the truth of the maxim, that an imperium in imperio, or two separate sovereign powers, civil and ecclesiastical, cannot co-exist in the same state, without perpetual collision, producing discord and rebellion; and that the only remedy for the calamities attendant on such a state is, either the extinction of one power, or the milder procedure of incorporating it with the other. The latter mode has been adopted in Ireland: abstract reasoning must approve, and experience will demonstrate, the measure to be founded in the truest wisdom.

Few of the writers on the Union of Ireland with England have calmly discussed the subject on the grounds here stated; if they had, those who opposed it would have received conviction, and those who supported it, would have found invincible arguments in its favour, from the instances now adduced.

As this great political question is finally settled, Why, it may be asked, bring it again before the publick? The answer is, that the publick mind is far as yet from being reconciled to it; that a plain statement of facts, in an authenticated historical detail of the various rebellions, and particularly of the occurrences of the last which afflicted this kingdom, and desolated a considerable portion of it, must bring conviction to the most uninformed, of the instability of their safety or happiness, while both are subject to the workings of bigotry, or the flagitious designs of the rebel and the plunderer. A mariner, who has been shipwrecked on a sunken rock, does not accurately describe its longitude and latitude for others to run on it, but carefully to avoid it; so the writer, in recounting the former and the late rebellion, does not wish to revive party distinctions and animosities, which he ardently hopes will be for ever buried in oblivion; but to point out the necessity of adopting radical remedies to prevent their recurrence, which have been neglected by former governments.

In speaking of the Roman catholick religion, the writer hopes he will not be misinterpreted, when he declares, that, as far as it is agreeable

able to the Gospel, he most highly respects it; but the superinduced doctrines, as the Pope's infallibility and supremacy, his dispensing power, exclusive salvation, and other points, he knows, and the reader will perceive, are subversive of society; and its pliability, so much boasted of by doctors Troy and Hufsey, must alarm every loyal subject, when they asserted in their pastoral letters, that it was equally suited to a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a democracy, at a time that France was endeavouring to democratize every state in Europe. After this explanation, I shall proceed to sketch the state of Ireland, on the arrival of the English, in the year 1169.

The country was divided among clans or septs, professing subjection to a higher power; but, at the same time, exercising every independent right. Their numbers then, according to sir William Petty, did not exceed three hundred thousand souls, dispersed over more than twelve millions of acres. The country, as described by Giraldus Cambrensis, in the twelfth century, an eye-witness of it, was overrun with forests, or cankered with bogs, and in all the arts of civil life, the inhabitants were little superior to the Indians of North-America. Their Brehon laws were calculated to make them savage, and to keep them so; as they rendered the enjoyment of life and property insecure. Their kings or princes did not succeed each other by hereditary descent, or any fixed principles of succession, but by force and arms. It was a peculiar favour from heaven to send a civilized people among them, nor did the wiser part seem insensible to it; for Matt. Paris tells us, that, at a council at Lismore, they gratefully received the laws of England (*gratanter receptæ*) and swore to obey them, (*juratoria cautione præstita*) which included their allegiance to the crown of England. As soon as Henry II. returned, they rejected the laws, violated their allegiance, and ran into rebellion: which excluded them from the benefit of them.

A few septs, who adhered to their oaths, were considered as English subjects, and were protected by law. Attached to their barbarous manner of living, and indulged by their own municipal laws in licentiousness of every kind, they found the wholesome restraint of English regimen, so irksome and galling, that, by perpetual insurrections, they endeavoured



endeavoured to shake it off; and in the reign of Henry III. 1230, they collected such a force, that they flattered their party with the hope of being able totally to expel the English (*omne genus Anglorum ab Hiberniæ finibus exturbare*,) says Matt. Paris. This has been the declared purpose of the native Irish for above six hundred years. What alone they were unable to accomplish, they endeavoured to effect by calling in the aid of the pope, and the king of Spain, as we shall see in the sequel. The kings of England tried various means to civilize the Irish; but they were so blinded by disaffection, and attached to their own barbarous customs, as to oppose every measure for that purpose. The statute of Kilkenny, 1367, is a decisive proof of this, for by it the Brehon law was abolished; and again by the tenth Henry VII. and lastly by a judgment of the court of King's Bench, fifth James I.

Speaking a different language, and obedient to different laws, it is not to be wondered at that the English and Irish did not cordially unite, and coalesce into one people. Nothing was attempted which could materially conduce to effect this; for the operations of government were confined for centuries to pitiful expedients. The introduction of the reformed religion, by increasing the antipathy of the native Irish to the English, was a new source of calamities; for, as the Irish ecclesiasticks, to whom the ignorant and bigoted people were blindly devoted, received their education in foreign seminaries, particularly in those of France and Spain, they returned to their native country, bound solemnly to the pope, in an unlimited submission, without any bond of allegiance to the king, and full fraught with those absurd and pestilent doctrines, which the moderate of their own communion, at least, professed to abominate; of the universal dominion of the pope, as well spiritual as temporal; of his authority to excommunicate and depose princes; to absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and to dispense with every law of God and man; to sanctify rebellion and murder, and even to change the very nature and essential difference of vice and virtue. With such impious tenets, fabricated by their schools and councils, they filled their superstitious votaries,

contrary,

contrary, says Walsh the Irish franciscan, to the letter, the sense, and design of the Gospel, the writings of the apostles, and the commentaries of their successors, to the belief of the Christian church for ten ages, and to the clearest dictates of nature.

I hope the reader will excuse the digression which I shall now make, to shew him the origin of the Papal power, which became, in process of time, from very slender beginnings, formidable to sovereign princes, and fatal to the peace of Europe; as he will be able to discover in it, the real source of the various rebellions which have disgraced and desolated the kingdom of Ireland; so that I may say with the Roman poet,

Hoc fonte derivata clades,  
In patriam populumque fluxit.

Long after the death of the apostles, the popes continued to be elected by the people and the clergy, and, when elected, they were consecrated by some other prelates, which, as \* Eusebius tells us, happened in the case of St. Fabian, bishop of Rome, in the year 236. But the bishop, after being elected, could not be consecrated, or confirmed in the See, without the consent of the emperor, which was as essential to the ratification of it, as that of our king to the election of a bishop, by a dean and chapter. For this reason, when pope Gregory I. was elected, about the year 600, he, not wishing to fill the pontifical chair, wrote to the emperor Mauritius, not to consent to his election; but he refused, and ratified it. The emperors thus continued to watch the elections and the conduct of the popes with a vigilant and jealous eye, till the year 896, when Charles the bald resigned to the pope all power and authority over the Roman See; and, on the extinction of the race of Charlemagne, Adrian III. made a decree, that in future the popes should be elected without the emperor's consent.

Previous to this period, the emperors maintained and exercised supreme power in ecclesiastical affairs:† they appointed judges for religious causes, presided at councils, and often, in ecclesiastical courts, they

\* He was bishop of Nicomedia, and died in the fourth century.

† Spanheim's Ecclesiastical History, p. 1102.

they deposed bishops that were lapsed into heresy, and determined disputes and schisms in the church. It is remarkable, that, till this æra, the councils were denominated from the emperors, and not from the popes; because their canons and ordinances were invalid, till confirmed by the former. Eusebius tells us therefore, that Constantine the great was called the general bishop, from his universal supremacy over all prelates.

He also tells us, in his life of this emperor, (lib. 3. cap. 18.) that the fathers of the council of Nice obtained the confirmation of their decrees from Constantine the great; and the fathers of the council of Constantinople from Theodosius the great, in the year 381, as we are told by Socrates in his Ecclesiastical History.

The emperors foresaw how necessary it was, that the civil and ecclesiastical powers should be united in the supreme executive magistrate, to promote and secure the peace and prosperity of the state; and the discord, the strife, the bloodshed, and the various calamities which their separation afterwards occasioned, in every kingdom of Europe, proved the foresight, the prudence, and the policy of the imperial sovereigns. And yet the Irish innovators, whose ignorance can be equalled by nothing but their disaffection and audacity, have treated the union of the spiritual and temporal power as absurd and ridiculous.

So little idea had the Roman pontiff of supremacy in the fifth century, that, when there was a rivalry between him and the patriarch of Constantinople for precedence, it was resolved by the twenty-eighth canon of the council of Chalcedon, \* 451, that the same rights and honours which had been conferred on the bishop of Rome, were due to the bishop of Constantinople, on account of the equal dignity and lustre of the two cities, in which they exercised their authority. On the close of the sixth century, Gregory I. was possessed of immense territories, and was in such estimation for his piety, that he stands high as a saint in the Roman calendar; and yet he had so little idea of being supreme head of the church, that, when the bishop of Constantinople

\* This was a general council.



Constantinople assumed that title, he declared in a letter to the emperor Mauritius, "that it was a blasphemous title, and that none of the Roman pontiffs had ever assumed so singular a one." \* And in a letter to the same patriarch, he says, "What wilt thou say to Christ, the head of the universal church, in the day of judgment, who thus endeavourest to subject his members to thyself, by this title of universal? Who, I ask thee, dost thou imitate in this, but the devil?" † And in a letter to the empress Constantia, he says, his pride, in assuming this title, shewed the days of Antichrist were at hand. ‡ The same pope said, "I acknowledge that a prince, having his power from God, is supreme over, not only the military, but the sacerdotal power." §

Rome continued the capital of the western empire, till the reign of Valentinian II. who, about the year 390, transferred it to Ravenna, for the purpose of being near the Alps, to oppose the incursions of the northern barbarians; and afterwards, Theodorick, king of the Goths, did the like for the same reason.

As the dignity and authority of the bishop of Ravenna were augmented by the splendor of the court, and the august presence of the emperor, he disputed the primacy of Italy with the bishop of Rome. ||

When this salutary restraint of the emperors over the Roman pontiffs was removed, their eagle-winged ambition soared above the power of sovereign princes, and often was the means of their dethronement.

That arrogant pontiff, Gregory VII. raised to the popedom in the year 1073, claimed and exercised a right of excommunicating and deposing sovereigns, by invoking their subjects to rise in rebellion  
C against

\* Gregory's Epistles, lib. 4. Ind. 13, p. 137.

† Gregory's Epist. 34.

‡ Ibid. Epist. 38.

§ Lib. 2. Epist. 94.

|| This rivalry reminds me of the following anecdote: An itinerant friar was preaching on a stage in the street of Florence, with a crucifix in his hand, to a numerous audience. A mountebank erected his stage within a few yards of him, and, by his pleasantry and sallies of wit, attracted to him all the followers of the friar, who was soon deserted. A mountebank in Italy goes by the appellation of punchinello. The friar, having in vain exhausted all the force of his eloquence to induce his auditory to return, cried out in a rage, pointing to the crucifix, Ecco, il vero punchinello! Behold, the true punchinello!



against them. His ambitious efforts to gain an ascendancy over the emperors, on the close of the eleventh century, occasioned the faction of the Guelphs and Gibellines in Germany and Italy, which produced numberless assassinations, tumults, and convulsions, and no less than sixty pitched battles in the reign of Henry IV. and eighteen in that of his successor Henry V. when the claims of the Roman pontiff finally prevailed.

The emperor, Henry IV. with the empress, and his children, waited three days and three nights, barefooted, at the gates of the pope's palace, for absolution; and after all, his Holiness deprived him of his dominions, and gave them to Rodolphus, in the most \* insulting manner.

The following emperors experienced the effects of this scourge from the popes, whose names are annexed; and some of them lost their thrones and their lives by it :

Gregory VII.	excommunicated	Henry III.	-	-	1076
Calixtus II.	—————	Henry IV.	-	-	1120
Adrian IV.	—————	Frederick	-	-	1160
Calixtus III.	—————	Henry V.	-	-	1195
Innocent III.	—————	Otho IV. about	-	-	1209
Gregory IX.	—————	Frederick II.	-	-	1238
Again,	—————	Frederick II.	-	-	1239
Innocent IV.	—————	Frederick II. and deposed him,			1245

Besides the above, a great many sovereign princes lost their lives and their dominions by this dreadful engine of superstition.

The popes, well knowing that they could not maintain the immense power, the great wealth, and the extensive territories which they had acquired when Reason re-assumed her empire, resolved to erect, in the bosom of every state, a system of terror, by a device, the ingenuity of which could be equalled by nothing but its monstrous iniquity. Pope Innocent III. in the year 1215, procured the following ordinances

\* He sent a crown to Rodolph with this Leonine verse :

“ Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.”

ordinances to be passed by the fourth council of Lateran ; and the decree of a legitimate general council, such as this, has been always deemed infallible and irreversible in the Roman church : “ Hereticks of every kind against the true orthodox faith shall be condemned ; and if they shall not prove their innocence by a proper purgation, they shall be excommunicated, and their effects shall be confiscated. All secular powers shall be compelled, by ecclesiastical censures, to take an oath to extirpate\* within their respective territories, such of their subjects as shall be condemned as hereticks by the church. But if any temporal prince shall refuse to purge his territories of heretical pravity, when required to do so by the metropolitan and his suffragan bishops, let him be excommunicated ; and if he shall not make full satisfaction in one year, let it be notified to the sovereign pontiff, that he may absolve his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and transfer his territories to any other catholics, who may enjoy them without contradiction, provided they exterminate all hereticks in them, and preserve the purity of the catholic faith.”

“ All catholics, who shall take up arms for the purpose of extirpating such hereticks, shall enjoy the same indulgence, and the like holy privilege, with those who visited the holy land.”

This means eternal salvation ; and the reader will find, in the course of the late rebellion, that the sanguinary fanaticks who embarked in it were sure of enjoying happiness in a future state, for having risen in arms against an heretical king, and that they regarded the extirpation of hereticks, as a sacred duty which recommended them to the divine favour.

In consequence of the commentaries made on this council, the following doctrines have been inculcated : Cardinal Tolet affirmed, “ that the subjects of an excommunicated prince are not absolved from their oaths of allegiance, before denunciation ; but, when he is denounced, they are completely so, and are bound not to obey him, unless the fear of death, or the loss of goods, excuse them ;” which was the case with

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\* Bona fide pro viribus exterminare studebunt.

the English catholicks in the reign of Henry VIII; and father Bridgewater, an English priest, commended this saying of the cardinal.

Father Crefwell, an English priest, said, "it is the sentence of all catholicks, that subjects are bound to expel heretical princes, by the commandment of God, the most strict tie of conscience, and the extreme danger of their souls." How strongly this doctrine appeared in the late rebellion among the popish multitude!

Suarez, a most learned divine, says, "an excommunicated king may with impunity be deposed or killed by any one." After the diabolical conspiracy of the gunpowder plot was discovered and defeated, it became indispensably necessary to provide as far as could be against such horrible machinations, and therefore the oath of allegiance, supremacy and abjuration was enacted in the year 1605. Burke, in his *Hibernia Dominicana*, page 613, observes, that the Romish divines and laymen were divided into two factions; one thought the oath reasonable and proper, the other rejected it. To settle this matter, pope Paul V. issued two bulls, in which, under pain of damnation, he orders the oath not to be taken. King James, in a very learned treatise, supported the oath; and Suarez, in a very long and laborious work, in vain endeavoured to subvert the arguments of the king.

Cardinal Bellarmine says, "though it may be a sin to depose or kill an excommunicated prince, it is no sin if the pope commands you to do so; for if the pope should err by commanding sin, or forbidding virtues, yet the church were bound to believe that the vices were good, and the virtues evil."

Azorius, highly eminent in the Romish church, says, "a catholick wife is not tied to pay her duty to an heretical husband. The sons of an heretical father are made *fui juris*, that is, free from their father's power; and servants are not bound to do service to such masters."

According to the decree of this council, and that of Constance also, it has been held, and the doctrine has been constantly carried into practice, that no faith is to be kept with hereticks; in consequence of which, no contracts, leagues, promises, vows, or oaths, are sufficient security to a protestant that deals with one of the church of Rome,  
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if he shall make use of the liberty, which may, and is often granted to him that solicits it. But it is certain, that many good and conscientious Roman catholicks spurn at this infamous privilege offered by the pope, and adhere to the laws of God.

Becanus says, there are two distinct tribunals, and the ecclesiastical is the superior; and therefore, if a secular prince gives his subjects a safe conduct, he cannot extend it to the superior tribunal.

In a council held at Vienna, Clement V. avowed and maintained, that the power of all kings depended on him: *omne jus regum a se pendere*.

Pursuant to this doctrine, the whole council of bishops at Constance determined, 1415, that John Hufs should be burnt, though he had been summoned by the emperor Sigismund to appear and defend the reformed religion, and had obtained a safe conduct from him; but the council determined that his power was subordinate to theirs, and, as their concurrence had not been previously obtained, his grant of a safe conduct was null and void.

It was strongly contended at Worms, by all the bishops who attended there, that Luther should be burnt; but the emperor, who had given him a safe conduct, would not allow his good faith to be violated. It is very remarkable, that the council of Lateran, which I have quoted, made transubstantiation an article of faith, and at the same time, treason and rebellion to be the duty of subjects.

A council held at Toledo, contains provisions against hereticks exactly similar to those of Lateran, "that if a temporal prince shall neglect to purge his territories of heretical pravity, notice must be given to the pope, that he may thenceforth pronounce his subjects discharged of their oaths of allegiance, and give his dominions to catholicks."

The dissimulation and cruelty of queen Mary were the result of these councils; for she gave her subjects the strongest assurance, by a declaration in council, that she would permit them to pursue any such religion as their conscience should dictate; but, when firmly established  
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on her throne, she promoted the burning of her protestant subjects, merely on account of their religion.

Human ingenuity could not form a better device, to impose the shackles of superstition on the human mind, and that universal domination over sovereign princes, to which the pope aspired, than this council; but his Holiness, knowing that he could not enforce the execution of this dreadful engine, unless he had a number of persons attached to him in every state, and that the battering ram, so ingeniously contrived by him, could not be worked without artificers of his own appointment, struggled hard to obtain the investiture of bishops; and having succeeded, he laid them all under a necessity, at their inauguration, of taking an oath of allegiance to him, of which I give some paragraphs.

“The rights, privileges, and authority, of the holy Roman church, and of our Lord the pope, and his successors, I will be careful to preserve, defend, enlarge, and promote.”

“All hereticks, schismatics, and rebels against our said Lord, and his successors, I will, to the utmost of my power, persecute and impugn.”

From this time the bishops became the spies and centinels of the Roman pontiff; and, in order to insulate their affections, to detach them from the state to which they belonged, and to engage them in the interest of the Holy See, he enjoined celibacy to the Popish clergy.

The words in the bishops' oath of allegiance are, *pro viribus persequar et impugnabo*. Some Romish ecclesiasticks have contended, that the word *persequar* signifies to persecute by argument; but the futility of that construction will appear very obvious. When Paschal II. excommunicated the emperor Henry IV. he used exactly similar words, in a bull directed to Robert count of Flanders: *Henricum caput hæreticorum, et ejus fautores, pro viribus persequaris et impugnes. Hoc tibi et militibus tuis precipimus*. “We command you, and your soldiers, to persecute and impugn Henry, the head of the hereticks.”

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It is not to be supposed that he would call upon soldiers to dispel and prostrate heresy by ratiocination. The logick of a soldier lies in his arms; besides, *impugno* signifies to attack by argument, and is put in contradistinction to persecute.

The only heresy of which he could accuse this innocent prince was, that he opposed the pope's claim to the investiture of bishopricks in his dominions.

We may conceive how obedient councils must have been to the pope, when he procured this sentence to be first voted and ratified by a council held 1102.

Cicero, in his fourth oration against Catiline, uses the word *persequar* in the sense which I contend for. “ *Atque illo tempore, hujus avus Lentuli, clarissimus vir, armatus, Gracchum est persecutus: ille etiam grave tum vulnus accepit. Persequor and persecutio are words appropriated by ecclesiastical writers to express the bloody cruelties exercised on christians by heathen princes. After enumerating thirty-four under the Roman emperors, they reckon ten under Antichrist, to which they might have added hundreds under the popes.*

Raymond, count of Thoulouse, was the first sovereign prince against whom this dreadful engine was levelled. Part of his subjects called the Albigenses and Waldenses, happened to obtain, about the close of the twelfth century, a translation of some parts of the New Testament; and because they endeavoured to conform their tenets and practices to the light of the Gospel, which was obviously repugnant to popery, they were excommunicated by the pope; and because Raymond refused to persecute them, he was deprived of his dominions by the orders of his Holiness, who invoked his subjects to rise in rebellion against him, by a promise of eternal salvation; and Simon de Mountfort, whom he nominated general of the crusade, was invested with the dominions of Raymond, by Innocent III. at the council of Lateran. It is universally allowed, that nearly one million of these innocent people were extirpated by the sword and the gibbet, in conformity to the decree of that council.

It was on that occasion that the bloody court of inquisition was established, and the superintendence of it was committed to the dominican friars, by Gregory IX. in the year 1233.

In consequence of the oath which bishops were obliged to take at their installation, obviously repugnant to the fidelity which they owed their respective sovereigns, William Rufus told archbishop Anselm, that he could not preserve his allegiance to the pope, and his temporal sovereign, at the same time; \* and cardinal De Retz tells us, in his *Memoires*, that the Parisians, for the same reason, objected to the ministry of cardinal Mazarine; and Hall tells us, that Henry VIII. did so.

In that savage scene of butchery, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, planned with all the coolness of deliberation, five hundred gentlemen, and ten thousand persons of inferior rank, were massacred in one night at Paris alone, and great numbers in the provinces, because they were protestants. † The Roman pontiff, on hearing it, expressed great joy; announcing that the cardinals should return thanks to the Almighty for so signal an advantage obtained for the Holy See, and that a jubilee should be observed all over Christendom. ‡ Sixtus V. excommunicated Henry III. of France, as a heretick, because he, contrary to his Holiness's orders, spared the blood of his protestant subjects; and he granted nine years indulgence to such of his subjects, as would bear arms against him; upon which Jacques Clement, a friar, assassinated him with singular treachery.

In a publick consistory held at Rome, the pope, in a long premeditated speech, applauded the virtue and the firmness of the holy friar; declaring, that his fervent zeal towards God, surpassed even that of Judith and Eleazer; and that this assassination was brought about by divine providence. §

Henry III. left his kingdom by will to Henry IV. to whom also it devolved by hereditary right; but the Parisians, having consulted the doctors of the Sorbonne on his claim, they declared that his title was inadmissible,

\* Speed, 441, 442.

† Thuanus, lib. 63, sec. 14.

‡ Thuanus, lib. 63, sec. 14.

§ Ibid. vol. 4. page 767, 768.



inadmissible, because he had been excommunicated, and excluded from succeeding to it by the Holy See. They pronounced that those who should assist him would be damned, and they promised eternal happiness to those who should oppose him, even to the shedding of blood, “*usque ad effusionem sanguinis.*” \*

The bull fulminated against this amiable prince by Sixtus V. 1585, begins thus: “The authority given to St. Peter and his successors, by the immense power of the eternal King, excels all the powers of earthly kings: it passes uncontrollable sentence upon them all.”

Henry, though endued with the most shining virtues, was, after two attempts to murder him, assassinated at Paris by Ravallac. He was twice deposed by Gregory XIV. and once by Clement VIII. as a favourer of hereticks. †

In the year 1538, pope Paul III. issued a bull of excommunication and deposition against Henry VIII. because he declared himself, and not the pope, to be head of the church of England:—A right which both the Saxon and Norman monarchs had always asserted, and which had been indisputably established by various acts of parliament, from the time of Edward the Confessor, to the reign of Henry VIII. for the laws of the latter do not contain stronger provisions against papal encroachments, than those of Edward I. and Richard II.

The bull of excommunication and deposition which Pius V. denounced against queen Elizabeth begins thus:

“He that reigneth on high, to whom all power is given in heaven and earth, hath committed the one holy catholick and apostolick church, out of which there is no salvation, to one alone on earth, namely, to Peter, prince of the apostles, and to the Roman pontiff, successor of St. Peter, to be governed with a plenitude of power. This one he hath constituted prince over all nations, and all kingdoms, that he might pluck up, destroy, dissipate, overturn, plant, and build.” For the many conspiracies to murder queen Elizabeth, as a heretick, and some of them by the express orders of the pope, I shall refer the reader to Speed, Rapin, and Hume. I shall mention but one. Two priests of the names

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\* Thuanus, lib. 93, sec. 19.

† Spond. tom. 2. p. 868.

of Parsons and Campion, who conspired to murder that princeſs, obtained for themſelves, and all the papifts in England, a diſpenſation from the rigorous obſervation of the bull fulminated by pope Pius V. againſt her. They were allowed by it to appear obedient and reſpectful to her, until their party was ſtrong enough to riſe againſt her. It ends thus : “ The higheſt pontiff granted the foreſaid graces to fathers Robert Parsons and Edward Campion, who are now to take their way to England, the fourteenth of April, 1586 ;” \* but theſe holy fathers, very fortunately for England, could not ſucceed in their pious deſign, for they were detected, arreſted, and hanged.

The popes, well knowing that riches are the finews of power, adopted the following expedient to fill their treaſury, by a conſtant and never-failing revenue. Having firſt eſtabliſhed the doctrine of purgatory, and the pains and torments attending it, the deluded ſectaries of the Roman pontiff had recourſe to him to be relieved from their terrors.

Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, an eminent Romiſh divine, ſays, that indulgences were not neceſſary in the firſt ages of the church ; and that they were not deviſed till the people were frightened with the torments of purgatory.

Moſt of the ſchoolmen confeſs, that the uſe of indulgences began in the time of pope Alexander III. towards the end of the twelfth, or beginning of the thirteenth century ; and from that period, till the folly and iniquity of them occaſioned the Reformation, the ſale of them was a fruitful ſource of wealth to the popes.

They alſo inflicted penalties on the commiſſion of ſin, ſuch as rigorous faſts, bodily pains and mortifications, long and frequent prayers, and pilgrimages to the tombs of ſaints and martyrs ; and as theſe penalties could be commuted or diſpenſed with for money, thoſe who choſe to lead voluptuous lives, and to continue in a courſe of licentious pleaſure, embraced this new mode of expiation. †

At length the remiſſion of ſins became ſo ſyſtematick, and ſuch a conſtant and regular ſource of revenue to the Holy See, that they were reduced to a ſchedule, in a book of rates, with the ſums correſponding

\* Speed, 871.

† Muratori, de redemptione peccatorum in antiqui. Italiæ mediæ ſeculi.

ing for which they were to be remitted. Of this work, entitled, "The taxes of the Romish Chancery," different editions were published for the use of Roman catholick states: one at Rome by Marcellus Silber in 1514: one at Cologne in 1515: three at Paris in 1520, 1545, 1625: one at Venice, in the sixth volume of the Oceanus Juris in 1523. The protestant princes published one among their reasons for rejecting the council of Trent. \*

The reader may judge of this extraordinary work by the following short extracts:

"A nun having committed fornication several times, shall be absolved, and enabled to hold the dignities of her order, even that of abbess, on paying 39 livres tournois, and 9 ducats."

"The absolution of him who has deflowered a virgin, gr. 6."

"The absolution of a clerk for all acts of fornication with a nun, within or without the limits of the nunnery, or with his relations in affinity or consanguinity, or with any woman whatsoever, 36 livres."†

The Roman pontiff very wisely gave great latitude to the clergy, as they were prohibited from marrying.

When celibacy (a doctrine justly reprobated in the scriptures, and refuted by the practice of the apostles, all of whom were married men, except Paul and John; a doctrine peculiarly unfit for the church of Rome to teach, their founder, as they term him, and prince of the apostles, as they ridiculously call him, having exploded it by his example, ‡) was first enforced in England, the bishops constantly granted licenses to the parochial clergy to keep concubines, lest they might run into licentiousness with the wives and daughters of their parishioners.

Exclusive salvation, a doctrine invented by the artful policy of the Roman pontiff, for the purpose of encouraging profelytes to his church, and for securing those who were already within its pale, has been a fruitful source of discord and rebellion in many countries in Europe.

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\* Heideggeri myster. Babylonix, tom. 2. p. 350.

† Every crime that human depravity can commit, is inserted in this book.

‡ Peter's *wife's* mother was sick of a fever. Matt. viii. 14. And Simon's *wife's* mother was sick of a fever. Mark i. 30. And Simon's *wife's* mother, &c. Luke iv. 38.—See also, on this subject, St. Paul's epistle to 1 Timothy iii. 2. and 8, 17, and Hebrews xiii. 4.



It is not only contrary to the doctrine of the scriptures, but repugnant to the moral and physical perfections of the Deity, subversive of his attributes of wisdom, justice, and mercy, which are the main pillars of the divine administration; and it is likely to end in atheism, and has already produced all its baneful effects; for any persons who can be brought to debase and disparage the Almighty so much, as to assert that he is so unwise, so unjust, and so unmerciful, as to ordain, that a very small portion of his creatures shall enjoy eternal happiness, and that the remainder shall be doomed to eternal punishment, because they differ from them in a few trifling ceremonies and tenets, will soon probably become atheists.

This doctrine, which narrows the channels of infinite mercy, sets bounds to omnipotence, and teaches that there is but one road that leads to the heavenly city, engenders in the lower class of people an uncharitable aversion, a cruel and unrelenting spirit of persecution against protestants, which manifested itself in a most flagrant manner during the late rebellion. In short, nothing but fanaticism, kindled by this doctrine, could have enabled the leaders of rebellion, and the Irish priests, to invoke the popish multitude to rise against their sovereign and their protestant fellow subjects, which they did with as much zeal as the Crusaders shewed against the Saracens. We shall find the pope's supremacy, and exclusive salvation, with all the ramifications of new-fangled doctrines which have branched out from them, eminently conspicuous in the late rebellion.

Boniface VIII. in the year 1294, boldly asserts the latter: "We declare, say, define, and pronounce it to be necessary to salvation, for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff."

Human vanity has been such in all ages, that statesmen, warriors, poets, historians, and divines, have thought their own works and achievements the best. Cicero in his epistles to Atticus makes the following observations on this, Καθολικὸν θεῶν μαρτυρία, nemo unquam, neque poeta neque orator fuit, qui quenquam meliorem se arbitraretur. Epist. 14. 20. Adhuc neminem cognovi poetam, et mihi fuit cum Aquinio (id

\* In extrava. v. com. lib. i. tit. 38.

(id est) deterrimo amicitia, qui sibi non optimo videretur. Tusc. 5. 22.

Juvenal, the latin poet, mentions two towns in Arabia, near the Isthmus of Suez, Ombos and Tentyra, between the inhabitants of which this ridiculous doctrine maintained mutual and implacable hatred.

“ Dira quod exemplum feritas produxerit ævo,  
 “ Inter finitimas, vetus atque antiqua simultas,  
 “ Immortale odium et nunquam sanabile vulnus,  
 “ Ardet huc Ombos et Tentyra. Summus utrinque,  
 “ Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum,  
 “ Odit uterque locus; cum solos credat habendos,  
 “ Esse deos, quos ipse colit.”

Eternal hate, unmitigated rage,  
 And bigot fury, burn from age to age;  
 Each scorns his neighbour's god, asserts his own,  
 And thinks salvation works for him alone.

Mahomet inculcates the same doctrine in the Koran, and it produces the most intolerant and sanguinary principles between his votaries and other religionists.

Plutarch, in his life of Pericles, censures the poets for being guilty of the same absurdity; “for though, at times, they ascribe to the gods that degree of happiness and serenity which is agreeable to their divine and immortal nature, yet, on other occasions, they assert that they are subject to anger, enmity, and other passions, which are unworthy even of men, who have any understanding.”\*

When these doctrines occasioned the dethronement, and the murder of so many princes, the massacre of the Albigenes and Waldenses in the thirteenth century, that of the protestants at Paris in the sixteenth, the extermination of many thousands of them in the Low Countries, the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, the persecution of the Vaudois in the king of Sardinia's dominions, we cannot be surpris'd that they should

\* Gods partial, changeful, passionate, unjust,  
 Whose attributes were rage, revenge, or lust. POPE.

should have produced so many rebellions in Ireland, as her inhabitants have been plunged in the most abject ignorance, and have been blindly devoted to their priests.

Accordingly we find that kingdom involved in one scene of intestine disorder during a period of forty years, from the year 1567, to the year 1607, occasioned by the interference of the Roman pontiff, and the fermentation of popery. The rebellions of that period may be divided as follow :

1st. In 1567, Shane O'Neil raised a notable one in Ulster, merely in hatred to the English; and he erected a castle on Loughneagh, which he named Feogenall, which signifies, in Irish, the hatred of the English. His forces were routed and dispersed by sir Henry Sidney.

2d. In 1569, the Fitz-Geralds of Munster raised one, in which the Byrnes, Tooles and Cavenaghs joined; but they were subdued by sir William Drury, and were all attainted the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth of Elizabeth.

James Fitz-Gerald published a manifesto in justification of this rebellion, in which, he said, it was for the glory of God, and of Christ, whose sacraments the hereticks deny; for the glory of the catholick church, which the hereticks falsely assert was not known for many ages.

3d. In 1595, Hugh O'Neil raised a rebellion, which lasted till the end of Elizabeth's reign.

It was called Tyrone's rebellion, and branched out into three different civil wars, according to Borlase.

4th. On the accession of James I. the citizens of Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Kilkenny, and Wexford, denied his title, and attacked so furiously the persons who went to proclaim him, that they narrowly escaped with their lives. They openly avowed, that they opposed his accession for no other reason, than that he was not a catholick; but they were soon brought to obedience by lord Mountjoy.

5th. Within four years after, Tyrone and O'Donnell conspired with Maguire, Cormack O'Neil, lord Delvin, O'Cahan, and others, to raise a rebellion, but were prevented by the lord deputy Chichester, in 1607, and an act of attainder passed against them.



6th. In 1608, sir Cahir O'Dogherty's civil war, raised principally by the priests, lasted no longer than five months; but it was bloody and destructive while it continued, and was accompanied with shocking instances of cruelty and treachery on his part.

Previous to the reign of queen Elizabeth, the aboriginal Irish bore a most unrelenting hatred against those of English blood; but on the Reformation, popery became a firm bond of union amongst them, and inspired them with inextinguishable rancour against protestants in general; and it is remarkable, that the natives of English blood became more stubborn and inveterate rebels after that period, than the primitive Irish.

Francis I. desirous to embarrass Henry VIII. resolved to raise some commotions in Ireland; and for that purpose, in the year 1523, he opened a negociation with the earl of Desmond, whom he found ready to co-operate with him against his liege sovereign.

In 1539, the popish clergy engaged O'Neil as their champion, and to this he was encouraged by pope Paul. This rebellion was subdued by lord Grey. In 1545, O'Neil, O'Donnell, and the other Irish chiefs, offered Ireland to the French king, provided the pope consented to it; and the proposal was so flattering, that the king sent over John de Montluc, bishop of Valence, to enquire more minutely into the business. In 1568, the confederate rebels of Munster implored the aid of the pope and the king of Spain, through their ambassadors, the titular bishops of Cashel and Emly; in 1570, they prevailed on pope Paul V. to issue a bull, declaring queen Elizabeth deprived of her crown, and absolving her subjects from their oaths of allegiance; which bull was confirmed by the popes Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V.

But the sovereign pontiffs contributed something more substantial than bulls to separate Ireland from England; for in 1579, the two jesuits, Allen and Saunders, disappointed in their application to the king of France, obtained large sums of money from the pope and the king of Spain, with which they excited a rebellion in Munster. In 1595, O'Neil, otherwise Tyrone, made an offer of Ireland to the king of Spain, if he assisted him with men and money, and began  
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an alarming rebellion. The lords justices wrote to queen Elizabeth, "that an universal Irish rebellion was intended, to shake off all English government." To the same purpose the earl of Essex, in his letter to the queen declares, that, "in their rebellion they have no other end but to shake off the yoke of obedience to her majesty, and to root out all remembrance of the English nation in this kingdom: I say this, adds he, of the people in general."

In her reign, a declaration of the divines of Salamanca and Valladolid was dispersed through Ireland by O'Sullivan, a Spanish priest; in which they maintained the pope's supremacy, both in temporals and spirituals; and that no oath could bind the faithful to hereticks. They approved of the former rebellions which were raised in Ireland, and they encouraged the Irish to oppose the title of an heretical prince; and yet the Roman catholicks of England in the year 1789, obtained, and published the opinions of those universities, and those of Paris, Doway, Louvain, and Alcala, that they did not admit such to be doctrines of the Roman catholic church.\*

This was done with a design of clearing themselves from the odium of maintaining such infamous tenets; and it is most certain, that they deserved the admiration and the applause of every British subject, for the bold and unequivocal manner in which they renounced them, and vindicated the purity of their principles, notwithstanding the inhibitions and menaces of their bishops. In the reign of Charles I. 1626, pope Urban VIII. exhorted the Irish, by a bull, to lose their lives, sooner than submit to the wicked and pestilent oath of supremacy, by which the sceptre of the Catholic church was wrested from the vicar of God Almighty; and yet such blasphemy had the desired effect on the ignorant and superstitious multitude!

In the distracted reign of Charles I. the popish lords, prelates, and clergy, and popish deputies, chosen by several counties and towns in the different provinces, assembled at Kilkenny, regulated all their proceedings with the forms and solemnity of parliament, and bound themselves

\* The Irish Roman catholicks published the opinions of these universities in Dublin in 1792.

selves by oath, “ that they would obey and ratify all the orders and decrees made, or to be made, by the supreme council of the confederate catholicks of the kingdom ; that they would not seek directly or indirectly any pardon or protection for any act to be done touching the general cause ; and that they would not accept or submit unto any peace, made or to be made, with the said confederate catholicks, without the consent thereof ;” and by the preamble to said oath it appears, that it must have been administered univversally.

“ Whereas it is requisite, that there should be an unanimous consent, and real union, between all the catholicks of this realm.” \*

Their prelates enjoined all the priests to administer an oath of association to their parishioners, and to raise subscriptions amongst them.

The chief object which they professed, was, to maintain inviolable the rights and immunities of the Roman catholick faith ; and they so far succeeded in restoring popery, on the ruins of the protestant church, that the confederates wrote to the pope in 1644, “ that their religion was publicly practised according to the Romish ritual ; that most of the bishops were in possession of the cathedrals, the priests of the parishes ; and that many of the convents were restored to the monks.” †

After various negotiations they made peace with the duke of Ormond, but not until they had obtained the free exercise of their religion, and many other important privileges.

Rinuncini, the pope’s nuncio, a turbulent fanatick, who was then in Ireland, exclaimed loudly against the peace, and denounced the terrors of excommunication against such persons as should adhere to it, unless it was framed and approved of by the pope, and unless they obtained an immediate, a complete and splendid establishment of the Romish worship and hierarchy.

But finding them determined not to comply with his very unreasonable wishes, and that they were resolved to accept of the indulgent and conciliating offers of the duke, he, in a speech to the confederates

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\* Their combination cemented by an oath resembled that of the united Irishmen.

† Burke *Hibernica Dominicana*, appendix, page 876.



at Kilkenny, recommended fidelity, first to God and their religion,\* and next to the king, by which they meant the pope and their own clergy; and they were always taught, that their attachment to them should supersede and predominate over their allegiance to a protestant state.

He sent a copy of his speech to Rome, and in return was severely reprimanded by cardinal Pamfilio; and the following reasons were assigned for it: "That the Holy See never would, by any positive act, approve the civil allegiance which catholicks pay to an heretical prince; and the displeasure of the court of Rome was the greater, as he had deposited a copy of his speech with the council of Kilkenny, which, if published, would furnish hereticks with arguments against the papal authority over heretical princes, when the pope's own minister should exhort catholicks to be faithful to such a king.

Rinuncini, after he had separated from, and excommunicated the confederates, put himself at the head of a body called the general assembly, consisting of some of their bishops, peers and commoners, and a number of the common herd of papists, who were entirely at the devotion of this furious fanatic; and such was the religious rancour which he infused into them, that they offered to treat with the members of Cromwell's government, sooner than submit to the royal authority. Nicholas French, the titular bishop of Ferns, a zealous partizan of the nuncio, and a virulent enemy of a protestant government, was earnest for this treaty, which had been entered upon with some of Ireton's agents. How exactly do the circumstances of the present times resemble those of that period, when the Irish Roman catholicks shewed an earnest desire to renounce their allegiance to, and overturn the government of their present amiable sovereign, through whose intercession almost the whole of the penal laws have been repealed, and a college has been erected for the education of their clergy; and this with  
a design

\* By this doctrine the priesthood have made the temporal power subservient to the sacerdotal; and we find it strongly inculcated in the pastoral letters of doctors Troy and Huffy. According to this, John Huss was burnt in 1415, contrary to the emperor's wishes; and James II. was induced to violate his coronation oath, in attempting to overturn the protestant religion.

a design of connecting themselves with a set of blood-stained monsters, who murdered their king, and would wish to dethrone their God!

At last, such was their enthusiastick virulence against the government of a protestant king, that they sent Nicholas French to the duke of Lorraine, to invite him to accept of the sovereignty of the kingdom, and they signed a treaty with him, by which he was, in effect, completely invested with it, as far as their power could extend.

Carte, in his life of the duke of Ormond, b. 3. 155, mentions another conspiracy for a general rising in the year 1634. It was discovered by Emer Mac Mahon, afterwards titular bishop of Clogher, to sir G. Radcliffe, on a general assurance of pardon; and he acknowledged, that the conspirators were to have received assistance from abroad, and that he had been employed many years in soliciting assistance from foreign courts to carry on the business for the good of religion.

The earl of Strafford, viceroy at that time, a great and wise minister, without alarming the nation, or driving the party concerned in it by their fears into open rebellion, engaged the English ministers abroad to watch the practices of the Irish in foreign courts, and to baffle their schemes.

Carte imputes the rebellions in Ireland to the Irish priests on the score of religion, and to the hopes of the old proprietors to recover the forfeited estates; \* and it must be allowed, that while the latter have this in contemplation, and the mass of the natives retain their hatred to England, *no parallel can be drawn between the Roman catholicks of Ireland, and those of any other state.*

When James II. arrived in Ireland, the popish parliament which he assembled, proposed, by an act, to make it independent of England; but having a strong hope of remounting the English throne, he hesitated to give his assent to it, on which they resolved to renounce him and his cause; for they sent to him, Nagle, a rigid papist, whom he had made attorney general, to inform him, that they could do without him.

\* Life of the duke of Ormond, b. 3.

In short, such was their inextinguishable hatred to a connexion with England, that, though he attempted a complete extirpation of protestantism, by attainting every protestant landholder in Ireland, and by restoring their property to the old proprietors, and promised that the popish religion should predominate there, they would not be satisfied, without a total separation from England. Mr. Macpherson very properly observes, “ that James soon found, that he was not master of his own kingdom.”

Some persons have endeavoured to palliate the horrors and atrocities committed during the rebellion of 1641, by imputing it to various causes of provocation, without considering that the pope’s interference was the chief cause of inciting it. For, besides the bull issued by pope Urban in 1628, the same pontiff, during the existence of that dreadful civil war, the better to inflame his votaries, fulminated another, containing the following paragraphs: “ In imitation of their godly and worthy ancestors, to endeavour by force to deliver their thrall’d nation from the oppressions and grievous injuries of the hereticks, wherewith this long time it hath been afflicted and heavily burthened; and gallantly do in them what lieth, to extirpate, and totally root out those workers of iniquity, who, in this kingdom of Ireland, had infected, and were always striving to infect, the mass of catholick purity, with the pestiferous leaven of heretical contagion.”

Mr. Edmund Burke seriously intended to have written a history of that rebellion, for no other purpose but to vindicate the Roman catholicks from the odium which they brought on themselves by it.

Lord chief justice Lowther, in his speech at the opening of the court, on the trial of sir Phelim O’Neil, one of the leaders of rebellion in 1641, stated that the following privileges were enjoyed by the Roman catholicks previous to its eruption: “ That besides the licentious freedom of their Romish superstition, they had their titular archbishops for every province, their titular bishop, with his dean and chapter, for every diocese, and their secular priest for every parish in the land; besides their abbots, priors, monks, nuns, jesuits, friars, monasteries, nunneries, and other religious houses, and convents in the principal cities



cities and towns of the land, even in the city of Dublin, the residence of the state; so that father Harris, a secular priest of their own, published in print, that it was as hard to find what number of friars were in Dublin, as to count how many frogs there were in the second plague of Egypt."

"Besides the exercise of their superstitious rites and ceremonies, they had also papal jurisdiction, as by law they had vicars general, and kept their provincial courts and consistories, and excommunicated the people, delivering them unto satan. Their lawyers, sheriffs, and justices of the peace were not required to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which were not dispensed with as to protestants; and all these popish lawyers, priests, jesuits, and friars, were the principal incendiaries and fire-brands in the rebellion; and the publick burthens and charges of the commonwealth were more borne by the protestants than by them, in proportion to their numbers, and the quality of possessors of inheritance."

"And of the subsidy granted in the tenth Charles I. whereof the Roman catholicks raised so great a clamour, both in England and Ireland, the protestants paid above one-third part of the whole, besides the clergy; though neither the quantity or quality of lands of inheritance, then holden of them in the land, did amount to more than a fifth part; and besides all this, the protestants had contributed to the charge of their committees, towards the obtaining grace, in bounties, in sending commissioners for them. They were made earls, viscounts, lords, baronets, and knights; enjoying all this and much more, without any provocation to rise up suddenly to this height of cruelty, and to murder many thousand protestants, that lived peaceably and friendly with them, before they could take up arms for their defence, made the sins of murder, violence, and cruelty, unmeasurably sinful and detestable."

Borlase adds, "that they were elected knights, citizens, and burgeses, in parliament: they enjoyed their religion without control, while protestants, dissenting from the church of England, were often summoned before the bishop's court: justice was equally administered to the British and Irish;

Irish; duties and taxes were levied without distinction; all private animosities were suppressed; all antient grudges were removed; and, in all outward appearance, they lived so affectionately intermixed together, that they could not be esteemed two nations in one kingdom."

But we cannot be at a loss for the real source of the rebellion, when Walsh, the franciscan friar, tells us at large, of a printed book, written by Mac Mahon an Irish jesuit, inculcating the lawfulness of killing, not only all the protestants, but even such of the Roman catholic Irish, as should stand for the crown of England, and the rights of the king to Ireland.

There have been various opinions as to the number of protestants massacred in the rebellion of 1641. Mr. Carte, an able and judicious historian, after examining them with the utmost candour, coincides with sir William Petty, who makes them amount to thirty-seven thousand, in his *Political Anatomy*; and as he was well skilled in calculation, and had surveyed the whole kingdom, soon after that dreadful event happened, it is probable that his account was accurate.

In the year 1729, the popish bishops of Ireland applied for, and obtained, a bull from the pope, to raise money by the sale of indulgences, to be speedily applied to restore James III. to his right, and to put his majesty George II. and all the royal family to the sword. The whole of this plot is to be found in the sixth volume of the journals of the house of commons, page 342.

It appears that a number of popish prelates and other ecclesiastics, being assembled at the house of Teigue Mc. Carthy, alias Rabagh, titular bishop of Cork, Conner Keefe, bishop of Limerick, presented a letter to the said Mc. Carthy, from doctor Butler, titular archbishop of Cashel, informing him, that his holiness the pope, had at last complied with the request of the Irish archbishops and bishops, in granting them an indulgence for the above purpose.

The purport of the bull was this: "That every communicant duly confessing, and receiving the sacrament on the patron days of every respective parish, and every Sunday, from the first day of May to September, having repeated the Lord's prayer five times, and once the  
apostles

apostles creed, and upon paying two pence each time, was to have a plenary indulgence for his sins; and all approved confessors had full power to absolve in all cases, with intent that God would speedily place James III. on the throne of England. Every parish priest was to pay 5l. towards this fund, and was to account upon oath for the collection of it; and the pretender had an agent in each province to collect it."

Some of the papers of these traitors were discovered, and seized, by which the conspiracy was detected. \*

\* See the journals before cited. \*



## ORIGIN OF THE WHITE BOYS.

IN the year 1759, and under the administration of the duke of Bedford, an alarming spirit of insurgency appeared in the South of Ireland, which manifested itself by the numerous and frequent risings of the lower class of Roman catholicks, dressed in white uniforms, whence they were denominated white boys; but they were encouraged, and often headed, by persons of their own persuasion of some consideration. They were armed with guns, swords, and pistols, of which they plundered protestants, and they marched through the country, in military array, preceded by the musick of bag-pipes, or the sounding of horns. In their nocturnal perambulations, they enlisted, or pressed into their service every person of their own religion, who was capable of serving them, and bound them by oaths of secrecy, of fidelity and obedience to their officers; and those officers were bound by oaths of allegiance to the French king, and prince Charles the pretender to the crown of England, which appeared by the confession and the informations of several of the insurgents, some of whom were convicted of high treason, and various other crimes. The pretext they made use of for rising and assembling was, to redress the following grievances: The illegal enclosure of commons, the extortion of tythe proctors, and the exorbitant fees enacted by their own clergy, though it appeared that they were deeply concerned in encouraging and fomenting them, in the commission of outrages.

They committed dreadful barbarities on such persons as hesitated to obey their mandates, or refused to join in their confederacy; they cut out their tongues, amputated their noses or ears; they made them ride many miles in the night on horseback, naked and bare-backed; they buried them naked, in graves lined with furze, up to their chins; they plundered and often burned houses; they houghed and maimed cattle; they seized arms, and horses, which they rode about the country, and levied money, at times even in the day. I shall refer the reader to

to Appendix, No. I. for their designs and practices. \* They resembled the modern defenders in every respect, except in the title which they assumed; and their object was exactly the same, that of subverting the constitution, and separating Ireland from England, with the assistance of France.

These miscreants became so formidable in many parts of the provinces of Leinster and Munster, that many laws, which I shall explain in the sequel, were enacted for their suppression.

In the year 1762, the marquis of Drogheda was sent to command a large district in the province of Munster, and made Clogheen in the county of Tipperary his head-quarters; at that time much disturbed by the white boys, who used to assemble in bodies of from five hundred to two thousand.

On the night of the day on which he arrived at Clogheen, a number of white boys, well armed and headed by father Nicholas Sheehy, assembled close to that town, and were on the point of attacking it, which induced his lordship to double the guard. From this, the inhabitants of it, having a suspicion that he was going to march out against the insurgents, father Doyle, parish priest of Ardfinnan, (alluded to in the information of David Landregin; Appendix, No. I. 2.) after having expostulated with them on the danger of assaulting the town, went to lord Drogheda, pale and trembling with fear, assured his lordship that his garrison was in no danger, and besought him not to march out against the insurgents. I received this information from the marquis himself, and it corresponds exactly with the deposition of Landregin.

His lordship's regiment killed great numbers of them in that and the adjacent country; and he assured me, that French money was found in the pockets of some of them.

His lordship, during his residence there, took the famous father Nicholas Sheehy, who was afterwards hanged at Clonmel. He had been a noted leader of the white boys, and incited them to commit murder, and various outrages; and yet his memory is held in such veneration by the popish multitude, and the clay of his tomb is supposed to be endued with such supernatural powers, that various miraculous

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\* There is a gross misrepresentation of these insurgents in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under the title of Ireland, printed by James Moore in College-green, in the year 1790.

cures are imputed to it ; in consequence of which, it is in such request among the popish rabble, that the sexton of the church, where his body is interred, is obliged very often to renew it.

The marquis of Drogheda took, in the castle of Cahir, the domestick chaplain of the then lord Cahir, who constantly resided with his lordship, on serious charges against him for high treason.

It is most certain, that the white boy system was at first formed to co-operate with the French, who meditated an invasion of Ireland under Conflans ; but when that was defeated, and even during a time of profound peace, the barbarous rabble, free from all moral restraint, elate with the hope of plunder, and fraught with disaffection to a protestant state, continued to commit the most horrid enormities in many parts of Leinster and Munster, for above twenty-five years after.

John Twohy states in his information, that they began to enlist men for the French so early as the year 1756. See Appendix, No. I. 7.

At first they were headed, marshalled, and disciplined, by officers who had served in the Irish brigades, in the French service ; but when peace was concluded, their leaders consisted of popish farmers and persons in a mean situation.

Mr. Conway, an Irish Roman catholick gentleman resident at Paris, used to remit money to them, on the part and by orders of the French government ; and some popish merchants of the province of Munster, who received and distributed it among the insurgents, were afterwards members of the Catholick committee in 1792.

In the year 1762, they committed such dreadful excesses in the South of Ireland, that sir Richard Aston, lord chief justice of the common pleas, was sent down with a special commission to try them ; and the mistaken lenity which he shewed them in the course of his circuit was such, that it encouraged them to persevere in the commission of enormities for some years after.

The late earl of Carrick and the reverend Mr. Hewetson in the county of Kilkenny, sir Thomas Maude, baronet, afterwards lord De Montalt, William Bagwell and John Bagenall, esquires, of the county of Tipperary, took a very active part in suppressing the white boys, for which they were as much traduced and vilified, as the orangemen, yeomen,



yeomen, and all loyal subjects who endeavoured to put down the defenders.

The grand jury of the county of Dublin were so much incensed at this, that they voted an address of thanks, Appendix I. 6. to the earl of Carrick and those gentlemen, for their spirited and laudable exertions. It appears by the examination of David Landregin, (Appendix, No. I. 2.) that a party of white boys took a solemn oath, in the town of Clonmel, to assassinate the earl of Carrick and the other gentlemen.

As Mr. Edmund Burke, who always shewed a decided attachment to popery, manifested it for the first time on this occasion, I shall, in touching on it, relate a few of the early circumstances of his life.

In doing so, I must premise, that I do not mean to disparage him. I had the honour of being acquainted with him; and I was so sensible of his exalted moral and intellectual excellence, that I gave the following character of him in a pamphlet published in London by J. Stockdale in 1794, which was noticed in the Monthly Review of April, 1795:

“ His book on French affairs contains more political wisdom, and more profound knowledge of practical government, than any that ever appeared; and in future ages will tend to endear the British constitution to its subjects.

“ The bright effulgence of his genius, like the sun, raised up some buzzing insects, who cavilled at the doctrines which he advanced; but the state of France proves the futility of their assertions, and that he spoke prophetic truth.

“ His long and luminous life, devoted to the cause of wisdom and virtue, was more bright in its setting, than the meridian blaze of most other geniuses.”

He was the son of a popish solicitor in Dublin, at the university of which he received his education; but I have been assured by his contemporaries, that he did not, in the course of it, display any symptoms of those shining abilities, which afterwards made the progress of his life so brilliant.

Soon after he went to the Temple to study the law, he married a daughter of doctor Nugent, who had been bred at Doway in Flanders, and was a most bigoted Romanist. A year after he had gone to the

Temple, Mr. Griffith, who was at that time serving his apprenticeship to Mr. Burke's father, informed me, that his master sent him to London, relative to some law business, and that Mr. Edmund Burke detained him many days longer than he had permission to remain there: that during his stay, he seemed much agitated in his mind, and that, when they were alone, he frequently introduced religion as a topick of conversation, and said, that he had strong reasons for thinking more favourably of the Romish persuasion than he formerly did. For these reasons, this gentleman assured me, he verily believed, that he was become a convert to popery.

Soon after this gentleman's return, Mr. Burke, senior, having heard a report that his son had really changed his religion, was much concerned at it; because he had entertained the most sanguine hopes that he would acquire great wealth and fame at the Irish bar, from practising at which Romanists were excluded by law.

He therefore employed Mr. Bowen, his brother-in-law, who, as a linen merchant, had a very extensive correspondence in London, to make strict enquiry about the conversion of his son.

Some days after, Mr. Bowen entered his office, and in the presence of the gentleman who gave me this information, threw him a letter, saying, There, your son is most certainly become a Roman catholic. On reading the letter, Mr. Burke became furious, lamenting that the rising hope of his family was blasted, and that the expence he had been at in his son's education was now thrown away.

As some of the greatest men, even at an advanced period of life, have become slaves to the passion of love, it is very possible that Mr. Burke, in the spring of life, when its influence is irresistible, and endued with a lively imagination, and all the tenderness of sensibility, might have conformed to the exterior ceremonies of popery, to obtain miss Nugent, of whom he was very much enamoured; but it is not to be supposed, that a person of so vigorous and highly cultivated an understanding, could have continued under the shackles of that absurd superstition.

At last, when he had served a sufficient number of terms to be called to the bar, he refused to return to his native country, declaring, that  
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the climate of it disagreed with him ; and that he expected to get some employment in the line of his profession in America, through one of the Grenville family. He therefore remained in London, where he subsisted chiefly by his pen ; and he soon acquired a considerable degree of celebrity, as a writer, and a man of genius, by the publication of his *Treatise on the Sublime and Beautiful*, and by his *Vindication of Natural Society*, in imitation of lord Bolingbroke, which introduced him to the notice and acquaintance of Mr. Hamilton. When that gentleman came to Ireland, as secretary to the earl of Halifax, he, wishing to avail himself of Mr. Burke's talents, solicited him to attend him, but in no official capacity ; and he accordingly complied.

He accompanied him a second time to Dublin, when Mr. Hamilton was secretary to the earl of Northumberland, and was rewarded with a pension of 300 l. a year.

When they returned to England, Mr. Hamilton intended to have spoken a speech on the peace in the year 1763, which he had prevailed on Mr. Burke to compose.

It unfortunately happened, that as he was about to rise, Mr. Charles Townshend entered the house ; and as his wit and eloquence had been always terrific to him, his appearance palsied his exertions and struck him dumb. Mr. Burke, enraged at this, (as they had united their talents in a kind of partnership) said, with some warmth, What signifies my making speeches for you, when you cannot speak them ?

A warm altercation ensued, in the course of which Mr. Hamilton informed Mr. Burke, that he had been overpaid ; on which Mr. Burke, with becoming spirit, resigned his pension, which was afterwards given to a gentleman who enjoys it at this time. Mr. Mc. Cormick in his life of Mr. Burke is mistaken in this circumstance. Their quarrel became a matter of curiosity and debate in the superior circles of society, in which the partizans on each side were very warm.

The discussion of this affair introduced Mr. Burke to the notice of lord Rockingham, who having formed a friendship for him, made him an under-secretary in the treasury ; but having lost that employment in six months, the period of his lordship's administration, he brought him into parliament, where the eloquence and the great intellectual powers displayed



displayed in his speeches, will remain a striking and an eternal monument of his genius.

When the enormities committed by the white boys were about to draw on them the vengeance of the law, and some time before sir Richard Astor proceeded on his commission to try them, Mr. Edmund Burke sent his brother Richard, who died recorder of Bristol, and Mr. Nagle, a relation, on a mission to Munster, to levy money on the popish body, for the use of the white boys, who were exclusively papists.

Some Roman catholicks complained bitterly of the sums of money which they extorted from them.\* The despotism which the Romish prelates have over their own body is such, that they can at any time levy large sums of money on them, to promote the interest of their church, which is a most dangerous engine in a well-governed state. The open and general exercise of it in the years 1792 and 1793, and again in 1794 and 1795, was sufficient to create an alarm in the government. At those periods some of the lower classes of people in Munster complained loudly of the exactions practised on them; and on being asked, for what purpose they were? they answered, that they had made that enquiry, and were informed, at one time, that it was to obtain for them the elective franchise; at another, to procure the privilege of sitting in parliament for persons of their own persuasion. It is well known that Mr. William Todd Jones was their warm partizan while in the house of commons;† and, from the intemperate zeal which some members of that body shewed in promoting their designs, it was universally believed that they were actuated by sinister motives.

It was strongly suspected, that a person in an elevated situation in England, from his singular pertinacity in adhering to their cause, when in actual and open rebellion, had received some of their contributions; and

\* I have no other proof that these gentlemen were employed by Mr. Burke, than that they declared so without reserve to the persons from whom they obtained money. In doing so, he might have been actuated by motives of charity and humanity.

† Mr. Jones afterwards accused, in the publick prints, the Catholick committee, of not giving him the whole of the money which they had promised to pay him.

and the debates which took place in the Romish convention in the year 1792, and which the reader will see in the sequel, and the sudden, successful, and unexpected turn which their affairs took in the year 1793, left very little room to doubt, but that some extraordinary secret influence was exerted in England. \*

In the year 1757, there appeared a very singular and unquestionable proof that those doctrines of the Romish church, which had disturbed the peace of many protestant countries ever since the Reformation took place, existed in full force in Ireland.

In that year, a bill was introduced into the house of lords, to secure the protestant succession, in which there was an oath of allegiance.

Thomas Burke, titular bishop of Offory, and publick historiographer to the dominican order in Ireland, made the following observations on that oath. After animadverting on the severity of setting aside the different foreign branches of the Stuart family, he says, " Would it not exceed the greatest imaginable absurdity, that a Catholic priest, who instructs his Catholick people in the will of God, from scripture and tradition, by his discourse and actions, and nourisheth them with the sacrament of the church, should swear fidelity to king George, as long as he professeth a heterodox religion, or has a wife of that religion? that then, and in that case, the same Catholick priest ought instantly to abjure the very king to whom he had before sworn allegiance." Impiety most horrible! †

Thomas Burke was made titular bishop of Offory in 1759, and died at Kilkenny in September, 1776. He was, as he frequently tells us, a favourite of pope Benedict XIV. was a man of respectable learning, and perfectly well acquainted with the doctrines of the Romish church, the bulls and epistles of the popes, and the sentiments of the Irish Roman catholicks; and yet some of the heads of the Irish clergy have had the effrontery and duplicity to vilify the talents and information of this writer, and to represent him as a dotard, haunted with dreams of pontifical omnipotence; but such perversion of truth, and such varnishing of odious doctrines are only calculated to deceive, and can  
impose

\* It cannot be supposed that I allude to any of his Majesty's ministers, whose honour and integrity are far above my praise.

† *Hibernica Dominicana*, page 723.

impose on no rational man ; for all the tenets contained in his book were carried into practice during the late rebellion.

Burke, after reciting part of pope Paul V.'s bull, encouraging the Irish in the rebellion, exclaims, *Quid celebrius? Quid insignius? \**

On the flight of king James II. he says, that he seasonably left the British nation, whom he brands as perjurers and traitors, who conspired against his life, subject to the slavery of this new Cromwell (meaning king William,) *vilissimi novi hujus Cromwelli servitute.*

The first part of his *Hibernica Dominicana* was printed at Kilkenny in the year 1762, the second in 1772, both by Edmund Finn ; but it was stated to have been published at Cologne, *Coloniæ Agrippinæ.*

In speaking of the gun powder plot, he says, it was an invention, and that the gun powder was secretly put under the parliament house, by the order of William Cecil, to afford a specious pretext for extirpating all the catholicks of England.

Again, in the year 1768, when an oath of allegiance to be taken by the Roman catholicks of Ireland, was in the contemplation of parliament, Thomas Maria Ghillini, the pope's legate at Bruffels, who had a complete control and superintendence over all the northern churches, and spoke *ex cathedra*, made the following animadversions on that oath, in four letters to the titular archbishops of Ireland ; and these letters are styled by Thomas Burke, who published them in his *Hibernica Dominicana*, *literæ vere auræ, cedroque dignæ.*

The legate treats the clauses in the proposed oath, containing a declaration of abhorrence and detestation of the doctrines, "that faith is not to be kept with hereticks ; and that princes, deprived by the pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, as absolutely intolerable ; because, he says, those doctrines are defended, and contended for by most Catholick nations, and the Holy See has frequently followed them in practice. On the whole he decides, that as the oath is in its whole extent unlawful, so in its nature it is invalid, null, and of no effect, inasmuch that it can by no means bind or oblige consciences."†

It is well known, that similar decisions have been uniformly made by the Roman pontiffs, on the validity of oaths any way detrimental  
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\* What can be more famous ? What more illustrious ?

† Page 925. This was in the supplement of that work published in the year 1772.



to the Holy Sec. In the late rebellion, the popish multitude, and many of the Romish clergy and gentlemen, paid no regard whatever to an oath of allegiance.

When the emperor and the Roman catholick princes of Germany concluded a peace called the treaty of Westphalia, in the year 1648, with the protestant princes, they mutually bound each other by a solemn oath, to the observance of it; on which the pope published a flaming bull, in which he pronounced the oath to be null and void, as no oath could bind them to hereticks. This bull was exposed by Hornbeck, a famous German divine, in a work entitled, "*Examen bullæ papalis, qua Innocentius X. abrogare nititur pacem Germaniæ.*"

The conduct of the parliament of Ireland, from the beginning of his present majesty's reign till the end of the year 1793, presents the reader with an uninterrupted series of blunders in politicks.

All our disgraces and misfortunes are to be found in the history of our penal laws, and in the feeble execution of them, beginning with the third of Geo. III. cap. 19. for indemnifying all such persons as have been, or shall be aiding in the dispersing of riots, and apprehending the rioters, which was enacted for the suppression of the white boys. As the boldness and temerity of these insurgents continued to encrease, the fifth of Geo. III. cap. 8. passed, and was entitled, "An act to prevent the future tumultuous risings of persons within this kingdom." The want of enforcing the salutary provisions of these laws tended to encourage the white boys in the commission of atrocities for above twenty years after. About the year 1773, that system of conciliation and concession, which laid the foundation of the late rebellion began; for, while this popish banditti, encouraged by their clergy, were committing the most dreadful enormities, the thirteenth and fourteenth of Geo. III. cap. 35, to enable Roman catholicks to testify their allegiance to his majesty by oath, was enacted; but the folly and absurdity of that law were fully proved by the necessity of passing, soon after, the thirteenth and fourteenth of Geo. III. cap. 45. to prevent malicious cutting and wounding, and to punish offenders, called chalkers; for the assassin in the morning testified his allegiance to his king, and at night, with his chalking knife, renounced his allegiance to

his God, by mangling and maiming his fellow creature, and houghing his cattle.

As the barbarous excesses committed by the white boys continued to encrease, the fifteenth and sixteenth of Geo. III. cap. 21. was enacted against them. It recites that the fifth of Geo. III. cap. 8. was insufficient for suppressing them; and it states, "That they assembled riotously, injured persons and property, compelled persons to quit their abode, imposed oaths and declarations by menaces, sent threatening and incendiary letters, obstructed the export of corn, and destroyed the same." This is an exact description of the defenders.

As their turbulence and ferocity continued to encrease, and as they made a constant practice of houghing soldiers in a wanton and unprovoked manner, the chalking act was extended, and amended by the seventeenth and eighteenth of Geo. III. cap. 49.

Concession and conciliation holding pace with an encrease of the enormities committed by those savages, a law passed soon after, the seventeenth and eighteenth of Geo. III. cap. 49. to enable Roman catholics to take leases for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, or five lives, at any rent; and by it, all lands of which a Roman catholic was at that time seized, were made descendible, devisable, and transferable, as fully as if the same were in the seisin of any other person.

The preamble of this act recites, "That for their uniform peaceable behaviour, for a long series of years, it appears reasonable and expedient to relax several of their incapacities and disabilities." The falsity and inconsistency of this assertion will be an eternal stain on the parliament of Ireland.

There is not a doubt, but that the Romanists had some hired agents in that assembly at this period. A strong argument in favour of an Union!

As a mark of gratitude for these indulgences, this infamous banditti proceeded to commit greater enormities than they had practised before, in consequence of which the legislature were obliged to pass the eighteenth and nineteenth of Geo. III. cap. 37. and the title of it will shew how necessary it was: "An act to prevent the detestable practice of houghing cattle, burning houses, barns, haggards, and corn; and for other purposes."

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Though they continued to commit their usual excesses, the legislature, actuated by what was called liberality of sentiment, put the Roman catholics on the same footing with protestants, as to property, in the year 1782; and almost the whole of the restrictive laws were repealed. The volunteers checked, in some degree, the barbarous outrages committed by the white boys from the year 1780 to the year 1784, when the institution began to languish, and then we find them as furious as ever in the province of Leinster. This proves how necessary a numerous and well-armed police, consisting of protestants, is to the prosperity of Ireland.

In December, 1784, a body of white boys broke into the house of John Mason a protestant, in the county of Kilkenny, in the night, placed him naked on horseback, and having carried him in this manner five or six miles from his house, they cut off his ears, and in that state buried him up to his chin; they also robbed him of his fire arms.\*

This year they were so outrageous in the province of Leinster, particularly in the county of Kilkenny, that a denunciation was read against them in all the popish chapels in the diocese of Ossory, on the seventeenth of November, 1784.

This was a strong proof of the returning loyalty and obedience to the laws of the popish clergy of that diocese; or, if they were insincere and secretly encouraged the white boys as much as formerly, of their extreme duplicity.

As doctor Butler, brother of Mr. Butler of Ballyragget, and of the noble house of Ormond, was at that time titular archbishop of Cashel, a gentleman who was sincerely loyal, it is very likely that he prevailed on his clergy to adopt this procedure. He should not be confounded with doctor Butler who was in that See when the white boys began their excesses.

All these privileges were granted with a good grace by parliament, and they met with no opposition from the constituent body, who were at that time exclusively protestants.

Notwithstanding such liberality on the part of the protestant state, the white boys still continued to commit nocturnal depredations in different parts of Leinster and Munster; but in the latter they were

\* See Appendix, No. 1. 8. for a few specimens of white boy atrocity.



succeeded by a set of insurgents called Right boys in 1786, who resembled them in every respect, except in the title which they assumed. Their proceedings, chiefly directed against the protestant clergy, were not the wild and extravagant efforts of rash and ignorant peasants, but a dark and deep-laid scheme, planned by men skilled in the law and the artifices by which it might be evaded. Such men suggested to the farmers, to enter into a combination under the sanction of an oath, not to take their tythes, or to assist any clergyman in drawing them.

Some of the protestant gentlemen, hoping to exonerate their estates of tythes, by the machinations and enormities of these traitors, secretly encouraged them; and others connived at their excesses, till they began to oppose the payment of rent, and the recovery of money by legal process, and then they came forward in support of the law.

A form of a summons to the clergy to draw their tythe, penned with legal accuracy, was printed at Cork, and circulated with great diligence through many parts of Munster. In order to make the combination universal, some of the most active and intelligent members of it administered oaths to all the lower class of people, at the Romish chapels and market towns.

To varnish over the knavery and turpitude of their designs, they published a tything table, according to which they pretended that they would pay the clergy, but to which they did not adhere, and, if they had done so, it would not have afforded them a subsistence; besides, by swearing not to hire horses to them, and by a great number of them combining to sever the tythe, and draw their corn, on the same day, they completely robbed them of their property; and the protestant clergy would actually have starved, but that an act of parliament passed in the year 1787, to enable them to recover the tythes of which they had been defrauded in this manner.

At last, the protestant clergy in the county of Cork were so much intimidated by the menaces and insults which they received from them, that many were obliged to fly to the city of Cork for protection. These traitors soon proceeded from one act of violence to another, and established such a system of terror, that landlords were afraid to distrain for rent, or to sue by civil process for money due by note. They took arms from protestants, and levied money to buy ammunition,

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They broke open gaols, set fire to hay and corn, and even to houses, especially to those occupied by the army. At last they had the audacity to threaten the cities of Limerick and Cork, and the town of Ennis, the capital of Clare, with famine; and took measures to prevent farmers and fishermen from conveying supplies of provisions to them. They proceeded by such a regular system, that they established a kind of post-office, for communication, by which they conveyed their notices with celerity for the purpose of forming their meetings, which were frequent and numerous.

This spirit of riot and insurrection occasioned the passing of a law in the year 1787, drawn by the present lord Clare, entitled, "An act to prevent tumultuous risings and assemblies, and for the more effectual punishment of persons guilty of outrage, riot, and illegal combination, and of administering and taking unlawful oaths;" and in the formation of that law, he shewed the same political wisdom, and firmness of mind, which he evinced on all subsequent occasions. By that law government were empowered to raise an armed police in any county they chose; and the introduction of it into the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary, Cork, and Kerry, occasioned such a revolution in the morals and manners of their inhabitants, and was so efficient in preserving social order, that some of the principal landholders in them declared openly in parliament, that their estates were increased two years purchase in value by that salutary statute.

An ingenious foreigner observed to me, that he never saw a country in which so many proclamations were issued against malefactors, and the commission of crimes, as in Ireland; a sure proof of the feeble execution of the laws!

At last, doctor Woodward, bishop of Cloyne, shocked and alarmed at seeing his clergy driven from their houses to the city of Cork, whither they went for an asylum, and that a conspiracy was formed for the destruction of the protestant church, wrote a very able pamphlet, stating the origin and progress of the insurrection in Munster, hoping thereby to rouse government to take measures for its defence.

Nothing marked so strongly the depravity of the times, as the malignant attacks, attended with scurrility and abuse, which were made

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on this amiable prelate, for this seasonable and spirited discharge of his pastoral duty. I had the honour of being well acquainted with him, and I never knew a person more profoundly and elegantly learned, or so well versed, not only in every thing that concerned the ecclesiastical department, but in the various duties of every line of social life. Having visited every part of the Continent, he spoke the modern languages with great fluency and purity, and had uncommon ease and affability of manner.

He had the most exalted piety, and was not only very charitable himself, but an active promoter of publick charities. His eloquence in the pulpit was irresistible, as his style was nervous and elegant ; his voice was loud and harmonious, and he had great dignity of manner.

With all these exalted qualities and endowments, he possessed the most brilliant wit, and such a happy vein of humour, as enlivened society wherever he happened to be.

This necessary and important duty, the neglect of which would have been criminal, drew on him a host of foes, consisting of popish bishops, priests, friars, and presbyterian ministers, who abused and vilified him with singular malignity ; and even some members of parliament had the hardened audacity to arraign him with much severity.

This amiable prelate made a most eloquent speech in support of the privileges granted to the Roman catholicks in the year 1782.

This spirit of insurrection spread over most parts of Munster. The conspirators bound each other by oath to resist the laws of the land, and to obey none but those of captain Right ; and so strictly did they adhere to them, that the high sheriff of the county of Waterford\* could not procure a person to execute the sentence of the law on one of these miscreants who was condemned to be whipped at Carrick-on-Suir, though he offered a large sum of money for that purpose. He was therefore under the necessity of performing that duty himself, in the face of an enraged mob.

\* The writer of these pages was high sheriff at that time.



## ORIGIN OF THE VOLUNTEERS.

IN the year 1779, when England was involved in a war with the French, Spaniards, and Americans; when the combined and naval armies of the enemy were superior in point of number to the channel fleet; when constant and well-grounded apprehensions were entertained that Ireland would be invaded, the loyalty of her parliament, trembling for the fate of the empire, left the kingdom almost destitute of any military force for its defence. At the same time what little commerce she then enjoyed, was completely stagnated by privateers, which constantly hovered on her coast. In this critical juncture, some maritime towns, dreading that they might be plundered by the latter, applied to government for a military force for their defence; but received in answer, that they must arm and defend themselves.

This gave rise to the volunteers, of which numerous bodies were immediately raised, who at first supplied themselves with arms at their own expence; and government, wishing to encourage the laudable spirit which the Irish nation shewed, distributed immense quantities among them.

It is most certain, that these military associations deterred the French from attempting an invasion of the kingdom, which they meditated at that time; and they completely preserved the police of the country.

To their immortal honour be it spoken, that, though self-embodied, armed, and disciplined, they not only shewed the greatest respect for the laws, but the utmost zeal in enforcing the execution of them.

Without attempting to detract from the institution, or questioning the important advantages derived from it, every person acquainted with the science of civil polity must acknowledge, that no power should be allowed to exist within a state, capable of overawing or of overturning it.

Government were soon so much intimidated by the volunteers, that they shewed a degree of obeisance and deference for their officers, bordering upon pusillanimity; and popularity among that order became a certain step to preferment.

It was a common practice to obtain adulatory addresses from the volunteers, of which great numbers constantly appeared in the publick prints ; and he who could procure the greatest number of them, was sure to succeed in his ambitious designs. It was to be lamented, that they soon began to deviate from the end of their institution, and to form provincial meetings, for the purpose of new modelling the state ; of which a notable instance occurred on the fifteenth of February, 1782 ; when delegates from one hundred and forty-three corps of the province of Ulster assembled at Dungannon, and entered into resolutions of that tendency, which were soon adopted by all the volunteer corps and grand juries of the kingdom.

It is far from my intention to censure that assembly, who were actuated by the generous design of improving the constitution, and of diffusing the blessings of civil liberty as extensively as possible ; but every moderate and rational person must allow, that it was incompatible with the principles of sound policy, that an armed body should take upon them to dictate to the government. It is to be lamented that such assemblies and their discussions taught the mass of the people to speculate upon politicks, and as they cannot distinguish sophistry from truth, prepared their minds for the reception of those deleterious doctrines which produced the rebellion.

On the ninth of October, 1783, delegates from all the corps of the province of Leinster assembled at the Royal Exchange of Dublin, when a reform of parliament, and the admission of Roman catholicks to the elective franchise were propounded.

On Monday the tenth of November, 1783, the grand national convention of volunteers, consisting of delegates from every county in the kingdom, met at the Royal Exchange in Dublin, marched in regular procession to the Rotunda, where they opened their session, and entered into deliberation, on new modelling the constitution. Some men, distinguished in parliament for wisdom, virtue, and eloquence, were so much heated with the frenzy of innovation which then prevailed, that they took the lead in that singular assembly, which was said in most of the public prints to consist of the real representatives of the people.

On the twelfth of that month, father O'Leary, an Irish friar, who had announced himself as chaplain to the Irish brigade, a popish corps of volunteers, entered the convention; and such was the folly of the times, that the volunteer guard at the gate received him with a full salute of rested arms; and many members of the convention paid him the most flattering compliments.

On the twenty-fifth of November, the committee of the convention reported their plan of reforming the constitution; and one of its members, the right honourable Henry Flood, attempted, on the twenty-ninth, to introduce it into the house of commons, in the shape of a bill; but it was scouted with a degree of indignation which did honour to that assembly.

On the first institution of the volunteers, some low persons, who turned out notorious traitors in the late rebellion, assumed the rank of officers; and many gentlemen of rank and fortune, who headed them at first, having retired, were succeeded by men destitute of both, and well known to be disaffected.

Of this description were Napper Tandy, Bacon the tailor, Matthew Dowling, and many others concerned in the late rebellion, whom the lenity of government has saved from the vengeance of the law.

Such men having acquired popularity and influence among the volunteers, some of the first of our nobility and gentry, who offered themselves candidates for a superior command among them, courted these miscreants for their interest, with all the meanness of servility; for they elected their own officers.

There is not a doubt, but that numbers of unprincipled men, enrolled among the volunteers, formed schemes for subverting the constitution; and their invitation to the Roman catholics to take up arms, and their earnest desire that they should be admitted to a participation of the elective franchise, were made with the hope of procuring their co-operation for that purpose.

That amiable nobleman the earl of Charlemont, who had very great influence among the volunteers, well knowing that such propositions flowed from sinister designs, successfully opposed them in the year 1784.

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There is no doubt, but that the flirtation between John and Peter was formed during the existence of the volunteer institution. \*

Mr. Edmund Burke alluded to this heterogeneous coalition between Roman catholicks and presbyterians, in the following passage of his letter to sir Hercules Langrishe in the year 1792, on the claims of the former to the elective franchise: "As to the low, thoughtless, wild and profligate, who have joined themselves with those of other professions, (meaning the presbyterians) but of the same character; you are not to imagine, that, for a moment, I can suppose them to be met with any thing else than the manly and enlightened energy of a firm government, supported by the united efforts of all virtuous men; if ever their proceedings should become so considerable as to demand its notice, I really think that such associations should be crushed in their very commencement."

Mr. Burke did not know that the mass of the Roman catholicks were infected with revolutionary designs at so early a period, not only in Dublin, but in many other parts of the kingdom, as we shall find in the sequel. A corps called the Irish brigade was raised in the city of Dublin, of which nineteen out of twenty were Roman catholicks, and they appointed father O'Leary, an obscure itinerant friar, their chaplain. I have been assured, that they exceeded in number all the other volunteer corps in the city. From the principles which some of its members displayed during the late rebellion, we may infer that they harboured treasonable designs even at that early period.

On the fifteenth of May, 1784, the Belfast first volunteer company resolved and agreed to instruct, in the use of arms, persons of all ranks and religious persuasions, who should present themselves for that purpose; and they offered them the use of their own arms.

On the 16th of May, 1784, the builders corps in Dublin resolved, that their drill serjeant should attend at Marlborough-green, three days in the week, to teach persons of all ranks and religious persuasions the use of arms.

They resolved also, to have annual parliaments, and to impart the elective franchise equally to persons of every mode of religious worship.

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\* This alludes to St. Peter and John Calvin.

On the twentieth of May, 1784, delegates from all the volunteer corps in the city and county of Dublin resolved unanimously, that the training to the use of arms every honest and industrious Irishman, however moderate his property, or depressed his situation, was a measure of the utmost utility to this kingdom, and would produce a valuable acquisition to the volunteer arms and interest. Similar resolutions were entered into in different parts of the kingdom.

In the summer of the year 1783, the Irish brigade, and the Dublin independent volunteers, commanded by James Napper Tandy, Matthew Dowling, and Bacon the tailor, formed an encampment between Roebuck and Dublin, under the pretext of studying tactics, and learning camp duty; though it was well known, that they were hatching revolutionary projects. It is to be observed, that the war, the only pretext for their arming, was now at an end; yet many corps in different parts of the kingdom resolved not to lay down their arms, but with their lives.

The volunteer institution occasioned much idleness and dissipation among the industrious part of the community, and destroyed subordination, so essential to the existence of social order; for persons of low rank, associating with their superiors, lost that respect which they had entertained for them, and were inspired with levelling principles.

The immense quantity of arms, which government had imprudently distributed among the volunteers, fell into the hands of traitors in the late rebellion, and made it more terrific.

It is stated in the report of the secret committee, and it is strictly true, that the national guards, who, in the year 1792, meditated the subversion of the constitution, sprung from the volunteers.

The principal argument used against the Union by the gentlemen who opposed it was, that the constitution, as settled in the year 1782, was perfect, and therefore conclusive: how came it then, that a representative body of the whole nation in arms, and many of them consisting of the very first of our nobility and gentry, assembled for the express purpose of remedying the defects of that very constitution, the year after it was established? and it is very remarkable, that many members of both houses of parliament, who were constituent members of that mock parliament, were the most sanguine opposers of the Union.

In short, it will appear, that, from the year 1782, when our constitution was supposed to have arrived at the summit of perfection, an immoderate and alarming spirit of innovation, which ultimately produced the rebellion, never ceased to break forth in and out of parliament; and that Mr. Grattan and his adherents, who piqued themselves on being the chief authors of the constitution of 1782, were the principal promoters of that very spirit of innovation, which shook the pillars of the throne in 1798, desolated some of the most fertile portions of Ireland, and aimed at its separation from England.

ORIGIN



## ORIGIN OF THE DEFENDERS.

AS a great conflagration is often kindled by a small spark, so the feuds and altercations between the peep-of-day boys and defenders, the former presbyterians, the latter Romanists, which occasioned much strife and bloodshed, has been ascribed to a trifling dispute between two individuals.

On the fourth of July, 1784, two men of the former persuasion had a quarrel, and fought near Market-hill, a small town in the county of Armagh, when one of the combatants became victorious by the advice and assistance of a Roman catholic peasant and his brother, who happened to be present, for which the vanquished hero vowed vengeance against the latter.

A second challenge took place, but the two Romanists would not attend the combat, having been informed, that the presbyterians, who had been defeated, resolved to be revenged of him and his party.

At last the vanquished presbyterian published, that a horse-race would take place on a certain day at Hamilton's-bawn, where the combatants met and fought a second time; when the conqueror became victorious by the assistance of some Romanists who fought on his side. Both parties began to raise recruits, and to collect arms; but presbyterians and papists mixed indiscriminately, and were marked for some time by the district to which they belonged, and not by any religious distinction. Each body assumed the singular appellation of fleet, and was denominated from the parish or town-land where the persons who composed it resided.

The Nappagh fleet was at first headed by a Roman catholic; and the people in the neighbourhood of Bunker's-hill, (in the road from Newry to Armagh,) entered into an association to defend themselves against the Nappagh fleet, chose a dissenting minister for their leader, assumed for the first time, the title of defenders, and were joined soon after by the Bawn fleet, in order to protect themselves against the Nappagh fleet. On Whitfun-monday, in the year 1785, the two parties met, and were to have had a desperate engagement.

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The Nappagh fleet, 700 in number, were all armed with guns, swords, and pistols. The Bunker's-hill defenders, and the Bawn fleet, though much more numerous, were not so well armed. When they were on the point of engaging, Mr. Richardson, of Richhill, member for the county of Armagh, and two more gentlemen, interposed, and induced them to separate, which prevented a great effusion of blood.

From the inveterate hatred which has ever existed between the two sects, they soon began to separate, and to enlist under the banners of religion; and as the Roman catholics shewed uncommon eagerness to collect arms, the presbyterians began to disarm them.

The former assumed the appellation of defenders, the latter that of peep-of-day boys, because they visited the houses of their antagonists at a very early hour in the morning, to search for arms; and it is most certain, that in doing so, they often committed the most wanton outrages, insulting their persons, and breaking their furniture.

The passions of both parties being very much inflamed, they never missed an opportunity of exercising hostilities against each other, which frequently terminated in the commission of murder.

A detail of their battles would be as uninteresting as that of the kites and crows.

To exasperate the defenders, and to induce them to embody themselves from motives of fear, prophecies were frequently made, that the Scotch (meaning the presbyterians) would rise on a certain night, and massacre the Romanists, who, being credulous and timorous, posted watches all night to give the alarm. As such reports were constantly made, some time previous to, and during the rebellion, as devices to inflame the popish multitude against the protestants, we may reasonably conclude, that the authors of them, at this early period, had the same sinister designs.

By a seasonable exertion of government, this spirit of combination and outrage might have been easily extinguished; but I have been assured, that it was fomented by the improper interference of country gentlemen, who espoused one party or the other, for electioneering purposes; and it happened, that one person, who had popish tenants, was partial to the defenders, and another, whose estate was chiefly occupied by presbyterians, protected the peep-of-day boys.

In the year 1785, some presbyterians, prosecuted by one Keegan, a papist, whom they had beaten in a most cruel manner, were sentenced to be imprisoned for a certain time; but they were immediately liberated at the instance of a gentleman of influence. In the same manner, one Mc. Quone, a defender, who was sentenced to die at Armagh, in the year 1787, for the murder of one Donaldson, a presbyterian, obtained his pardon by the interference of an individual of considerable weight.

In the year 1787, the disturbances rose to such an alarming pitch, in the county of Armagh, that two troops of dragoons were sent to the city of Armagh to quell them, as infantry were found inadequate for that purpose.

At last it became a downright religious war, and the fanaticks of one sect exercised the most barbarous revenge on the innocent members of the other, for the crimes of the guilty; but the protestants of the established church were no way concerned in their disputes at that time.

On the trials of some of the insurgents, at the summer assizes of 1786, it was proved by some respectable witnesses, that, in a riot at Tanderagee, the defenders, who were then arraigned, had offered 5*l.* for the head of a protestant.

In the year 1788, the defenders combined among themselves, not to purchase any goods from a protestant, which turned many persons of the established church against them, who had formerly been rather friendly to them, and induced them to retaliate.

The people of Lurgan, and its vicinity, were remarkably quiet during the heat and frenzy of the insurgents, because it abounds with protestants of the established church; the only sect uniformly attached to the constitution.

In the year 1788, some volunteer corps were raised, for the purpose of checking the spirit of turbulence and outrage that prevailed, by strengthening the arm of the civil magistrate. \* They completely put an end to the perambulations, and the domiciliary visits of the peep-of-day boys, and very wisely entered into resolutions, that they would not shew favour or affection to any description of men who should disturb the public tranquillity; yet the defenders shewed the most decided aversion

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\* In the same manner associations of armed men were necessary to put down the white boys.



to this institution, began to collect arms with more zeal than ever, and even to learn the manual exercise.

These volunteer corps were very useful in preventing tumultuous meetings, riots, and disturbances. In consequence of a challenge given by the defenders and peep-of-day boys, there was a numerous meeting of both within two miles of Lifinadil, in the county of Armagh, in the year 1788; and the consequences might have been very fatal, had not eighteen of the first volunteer Armagh company repaired there, and declared that they would fire on the first person who would resist the lawful commands of the magistrate, and they took some arms from both parties.

In the same year, the defenders, emboldened by the numbers and the arms they had procured, sent some challenges to the volunteers, of which a notable instance occurred at Granemore in the same county, when they sent a challenge to a party of the latter, after they had fired their last cartridge in their evolutions, preparatory to a general review. The volunteers, thus circumstanced, being unable to defend themselves, were obliged to retire to a place of safety, till they procured a reinforcement for their protection; and then they proceeded to their respective homes.

The Benburb corps of volunteers, in the county of Tyrone, having proceeded, without arms, to hear divine service at the church of Armagh on a Sunday, headed by Mr. Young, one of their officers, passed by a Romish chapel, the congregation of which abused, and threw stones at them. The volunteers, having procured some fire arms at Armagh, the altercation was renewed at their return, and ended in a conflict, in which two of the popish congregation were killed, and some persons were wounded on both sides. It was conjectured that the former were prepared for the combat, as they had five muskets.

The volunteers were very much censured for having returned by the same road, when they might have taken another.

The open hostility which the defenders displayed against the volunteers, raised for no other purpose but to maintain social order, and their intemperate zeal to furnish themselves with fire arms, alarmed all loyal and peaceable subjects; in consequence of which the earl of Charlemont, governor of the county, and the grand jury, published a manifesto in the  
year

year 1788, against all papists who should assemble in arms, and against any persons who should attempt to disarm them without legal authority.

It appears then, that the fears of the presbyterians were not groundless; and as they were prevented from dispossessing them of arms, which they were collecting in great numbers, they sought for legal redress, and indicted some of the defenders in the year 1788; but baron Hamilton quashed the indictments, and dismissed both parties, with a warm and impressive exhortation to live in peace and brotherly love.

The following discovery, made in the year 1789, clearly proved that the defenders were systematically organized, and that their uncommon eagerness to procure arms and ammunition, arose not from defensive, but offensive designs. One of their plans or constitutions was found in the year 1789, by a magistrate of the county of Armagh, on one of their leaders of the name of Sharky, and dated the 24th of April of that year, at Drumbanagher.\* It is very evident that their views must have been hostile, as one essential required in a member of the order was, to be possessed of a musket and a bayonet. Defenderism prevailed also in the county of Louth, and it could not be pleaded in excuse for introducing it there, that it was done for protection against the presbyterians, as none of that persuasion, and but few protestants of the established church, compared to the Roman catholics, existed there. It must have taken up some time to bring this system to maturity, and they were probably numerous in the county of Armagh, as Sharky's lodge is number 18. There must have been an intercourse, and a communication between the lodges of different counties; for, in this plan, there appears a certificate, that Michael Moor was a brother defender, and he is recommended to the committee of Carrickarnan, number 1, in the county of Louth. Sobriety, secrecy, the accumulation of arms, and the giving assistance to each other on all occasions, seem to have been leading objects with them. They were exclusively of the Roman catholic religion. They knew each other by secret signs: they had a grand master in each county, who was elected at a general annual meeting, and they had also monthly meetings.

For the following reasons, it unquestionably appears, that they had treasonable designs:

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\* See Appendix, No. II.

The defenders oath found in every other part of the kingdom, corresponds in general with this;\* and it has one peculiarity which is worth observation: They are required to take an oath of allegiance, which ends thus, *While we live under the same government.*

Weldon, a noted defender, who was tried in the year 1795, in Dublin, and afterwards hanged, for various treasonable practices, but particularly for having administered this oath, observed, on the last paragraph of it, "If the king's head were off to-morrow, you would not be under the same government."† Weldon dated the origin of the order in 1790, but I suppose he alluded to the introduction of it into Dublin. It appeared afterwards, on the trials of all the noted defenders, particularly on those of Weldon, Hunt, and Brady, in Dublin, that the extirpation of protestants was one of the chief objects of the institution. Some intelligent magistrates in the county of Armagh have assured me, that they were organized at an early period, with such a degree of art and ingenuity, as the low people of which they were composed, could not have possessed; and the same observation is made in the report of the secret committee of the house of lords of 1793.

We cannot be surpris'd at this, when it is very well known, that the famous father Quigley ‡ was very active among the defenders. As he interested himself very much in their concerns, it is not improbable that their organization was on the French plan, as it has been discovered, that he made a practice of going often to France.

They had parochial and baronial committees, and a superior one to which they appealed; and from a connection which appeared afterwards to have subsisted between them and the Catholick committee in Dublin, we may infer that they were much influenced by it.

The disturbances excited by them in the counties of Armagh, Antrim, Down, Louth, and Monaghan, were such, in the year 1789, that general Eustace received orders to repair to these counties, and to take the command of a body of troops for suppressing them.

At Rathfriland, in the county of Down, and its vicinity, he found that the papists and presbyterians harboured such mutual enmity and suspicion,

\* But after the war broke out, they were universally bound to join and assist the French.

† I give this man's trial in the year 1795, and in page 139.

‡ He was afterwards hanged at Maidstone, in Kent, in 1798.



picion, that a body of each under arms, constantly kept watch and ward. On being asked their reasons for so doing, each said they were afraid of being murdered by the other.

At Loughbrickland, their animosity was so great, that the general recommended to a Mr. White to quit it, as it would be unsafe for a protestant or a Roman catholic gentleman to reside there; and he followed his advice.

Many gentlemen of the North have assured me, that the origin of the defenders, and the excesses which they committed, may properly be imputed to the savage and sanguinary spirit of the lower class of Romanists in the county of Armagh, where they are peculiarly barbarous.

The following transaction will fully prove this, and that fanaticism was one of the principal sources of defenderism :

Richard Jackson, of Forkill, in the county of Armagh, esquire, who died on the 11th of January, 1787, devised an estate of about 4000l. a year to the following charitable purposes : That his demesne, consisting of 3000 acres, should be colonized by protestants ;\* and that four school-masters should be established on it, to instruct, *gratis*, children of every religious persuasion.

In the year 1789, the trustees obtained an act of parliament, to carry the provisions of the will into execution ; and they appointed the reverend Edward Hudson, rector of Forkill, who was also one of the trustees, agent to transact the business of the charity. The papists, who lived in the neighbouring country, a savage race, the descendants of the rapparees, declared, without reserve, that they would not suffer the establishment to take place ; and they soon put their menaces into execution. They fired twice at Mr. Hudson. On one occasion, an assassin was sent from a popish chapel, when the congregation was assembled, to the road side, where Mr. Hudson was passing by, and he deliberately fired at him with a musket, from behind a bush, and killed his horse. The new colonists were hunted like wild beasts, and treated with savage cruelty : their houses were demolished, and their property was destroyed.

The treatment of Alexander Barclay, one of the school-masters, in February, 1791, will shew the reader the ferocious disposition of these savages ; and he must shudder with horror at hearing, that they openly exulted in the perpetration of these enormities, many of which they

\* It had no tenants on it, as it was his demesne.

committed by torch light. They burned the manor mill, and would have murdered the miller, but that he made his escape, naked, across a river, in the night.

A REPORT of some of the TRUSTEES of the charity at Forkill, devised by RICHARD JACKSON, esquire, of the massacre of the Barclay family, to the bishop of DROMORE.

“ MY LORD,

Forkill Lodge, 1st Feb. 1791.

“ We whose names are hereunto subscribed, having assembled at Forkill, pursuant to act of parliament, to superintend the execution of the charities of the late Mr. Jackson, are much concerned to acquaint your lordship, that a most horrid outrage was committed on Friday last, on the person of one Barclay, one of the school-masters appointed by us, in this parish, (the particulars of which we enclose to your lordship,) in consequence of which, we think it absolutely necessary to suspend all operations of the charity, until the opinion of a general board can be had, which we request your lordship will summon with all convenient speed, and take such further steps as the circumstances may require. We beg leave to remind your lordship, that at the last general board, it was unanimously resolved, that the establishment of a barrack\* at Forkill, for a company of foot, would be of general utility, and that your lordship agreed to recommend it to the lord lieutenant. The late event shews the expediency of such an establishment; and we greatly fear, that if some means are not immediately used to restore the peace of the country, the objects of the charity can never be fulfilled.

PERCY JOCELYN.

RICHARD ALLOTT.

E. HUDSON.

“ On Friday evening at seven o'clock, a number of villains assembled at the house of Alexander Barclay, one of the school-masters in the parish of Forkill, near Dundalk, appointed by the trustees of the late Richard Jackson's charities, to instruct indiscriminately the children of the poor of said parish. They rapped at the door, he enquired who was there, and

\* From the time of the last rebellion in Ireland, in 1689, there had been a small barrack there, in which troops were cantoned, till within 30 or 40 years before this period, to represent the ferocious spirit of the rapparees.

and one man of the name of Terence Byrne, his near neighbour (whose voice he well knew, and had before at different times admitted upon knowing it) told him it was he was there; he opened the door, and a number of men rushed in, threw him on his face, and three of them stood on him, and stabbed him repeatedly. They then put a cord round his neck, which they tightened so, as to force out his tongue; part of which, as far as they could reach, they cut off. They then cut off the four fingers and thumb of his right hand, and left him on the floor, and proceeded to use his wife in the same manner. To add to their barbarity, they cut out her tongue, and cut off her four fingers and thumb, with a blunt weapon, which operation took them up above ten minutes, one or two of them holding up her arm, while they committed this inhuman action. They then battered, and beat her in a dreadful manner. Her brother, a boy of thirteen years of age, had come from Armagh that morning to see her. They cut out his tongue, and cut off the calf of his leg, and left them all three in that situation.

“ No reason can be assigned for this most inhuman transaction. The man was a protestant, a peaceable decent man; he taught above thirty of their children *gratis*, being allowed a salary by the trustees for forty more. He asked them, whether he had ever offended them? They said not; but that was the beginning of what he and those like him\* should suffer.

“ Shocking as this account is to human nature, it is publicly exulted at in the parish; and no person seems to think, that any punishment will follow the commission of this most atrocious wickedness. So far were they from wishing to conceal it, that they proceeded on the road with torches, publicly, and in defiance of every body.

“ There is every reason to dread the most alarming consequences from the effects of this transaction. The protestants are every where in the greatest terror; and unless government affords them assistance, must leave the country; as this recent instance of inhumanity, and the threatenings thrown out against them, leave no doubt upon their minds of what the intentions must be against them.

“ The man and the boy can speak a little, the woman † cannot, and  
fortunately

\* Meaning protestants.

† She was a handsome young woman; they cut off one of her breasts, and she soon after died.



fortunately they are all likely to die ; as, if they live, they are incapable of earning their subsistence. Terence Byrne is since fled."

One Devitt, who was privy to it, turned approver, and charged a man of the name of Murphy, with being concerned in it. The watch of Alexander Barclay was found in his house ; and all the family having identified him, he was convicted at Armagh, and hanged at Forkill. In his way thither he shewed strong signs of despondency, sobbing, sighing, and bewailing his fate. But when near Forkill, he met a priest, who whispered a short time in his ear, after which his countenance brightened up, he advanced to the place of execution with firmness, and was launched into eternity with singular resignation. The barbarous treatment of this colony by the Romanists, and their savage cruelty towards the Barclays, convinced the presbyterians that the extirpation of protestants of every denomination was the main design of the defenders.

As their zeal to collect arms still increased, and as a large quantity of them was imported into Newry for their use, which occasioned a general alarm, the grand jury and high sheriff of the county of Armagh entered into the following resolution, at the spring assizes of 1791 :

Resolved, " That a rage among the Roman catholicks, for illegally arming themselves, has of late taken place, and is truly alarming : In order then to put a stop to such proceedings, and to restore tranquillity, we do pledge ourselves to each other, as magistrates and individuals ; and do hereby offer a reward of five guineas, for the conviction of each of the first twenty persons, illegally armed and assembled as aforesaid."

Though the origin of the defenders has been imputed to a particular quarrel, and dated from a certain period, we may fairly conclude, that they had treasonable and revolutionary schemes, which were inspired by missionaries from France, probably some of their own clergy ; and what corroborates this opinion is, that the fermentation among them increased, and kept pace with the disturbances of that kingdom.

When Spain was the most potent state in Europe, the Irish maintained a connection with her, and sought her assistance to make war against their liege sovereign, and to separate their native country from England ; for which purpose they brought two Spanish armies into Ireland, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, which produced two dreadful civil wars.

When

When France rose to unrivalled wealth and power, on the declension of the Spanish monarchy, under the auspices of Richlieu and Mazarine his élève, the Irish began, and have never ceased, to attach themselves to her, hoping, through her aid, to accomplish their treasonable designs; and the popish clergy, many of whom have been bred in France, never fail to inspire their flock with admiration of the Gallic nation, and with the most inveterate hatred towards the English, whom they brand with the odious appellation of hereticks. For this reason, we find father Quigley, an active agitator among the defenders, and afterwards among the united Irishmen.

In the years 1792 and 1793, they broke out into open rebellion, and attacked, with destructive rage, protestants of every denomination, in the counties of Dublin, Louth, Meath, Cavan, Monaghan, Roscommon, Westmeath, Donegal, Leitrim, Down, Mayo, Sligo, Derry, Limerick, and Wexford, and even in the county of Kerry. In short, we may venture to assert, that before the end of the year 1793, they had spread the seeds of combustion over most parts of Ireland. Not to interrupt the course of the narrative, I have annexed, in Appendix, No. IX. some of the principal outrages committed by them.

In the year 1792, they plundered one hundred and eighty protestant houses in the county of Louth, though the protestants in it are not numerous; and they never experienced any enmity or opposition from them, till they were roused to come forward in defence of their lives and properties. The depriving protestants of their arms and ammunition seemed to have been one of their principal designs.

In some places, landlords were obliged to reduce their rents, and the clergy to relinquish their tithes, to calm the storm of licentious turbulence, but without effect. Many protestant families abandoned their houses, and fled to the capital for protection.

In the autumn and winter of 1792, so many barbarous outrages were committed by them, in the county of Louth, that at the spring assizes following, held at Dundalk, twenty-one defenders were sentenced to die, twenty-five to be transported, twelve to be imprisoned a certain time, for having conspired to murder different persons, thirteen indicted for murder put off their trials, and bench warrants issued against eighty persons who absconded.\*

The

\* In the reign of queen Elizabeth, before England had completely experienced the blessings of the Reformation, we find frequently as many, nay more delinquents, at an assizes.

They would have completely desolated the county of Louth in the year 1792, but that the right honourable John Foster, speaker of the house of commons, whose activity as a useful country gentleman could be equalled by nothing, but the zeal and wisdom which he ever displayed in parliament, for the improvement of its trade, manufactures and finances, gave them a complete overthrow, by the most vigorous and unabated exertions, in the course of which his life was often endangered.

In the county of Louth, they marched in great numbers, and in regular array, to their mass houses, to fairs and patrons, and were at times heard to declare, that they would not suffer any protestant to live in the country.

In the year 1788, Mr. Camac employed a number of masons to build an inn between Dundalk and Drogheda. Some carriers, who were conveying linen from Dromore to Dublin, were stopped by the masons, who required them to cross themselves, and say their Ave Maria. Such of them as were papists, of course complied; and one presbyterian, who living much with Romanists, knew all their tricks and manœuvres, was permitted to pass unmolested; but a protestant of the established church, who unfortunately happened to be ignorant of them, was most grievously beaten by them.

Some people have been led into the following error, as to the origin and the title of the defenders:

That they often, and particularly in the year 1786, indicted some of the peep-of-day boys, who were acquitted, though their guilt was evident: That finding no redress from the laws of their country, they united, collected arms for their defence, and assumed the name of defenders.

Some persons of both parties were frequently convicted and punished. Two peep-of-day boys at the spring assizes of 1788, at Armagh, were sentenced to be fined and imprisoned for ill treating a Roman catholic. Baron Power, in the year 1795, hanged three defenders, and two peep-of-day boys. In the year 1797, government sent the attorney general to Armagh, to dispense justice equally to both parties. He tried alternately two of each party, and some of both were found guilty, and punished.

As the defenders were committing the most dreadful outrages in the county of Louth, in the year 1792, and the Roman catholic gentlemen did not shew any inclination to assist in suppressing them, the following query appeared in the Dublin Journal of the third of January, 1793:

Have



Have the Roman catholick gentlemen and landholders of the county of Louth stepped fairly forward, in conjunction with the protestant gentry and landholders, in repressing the outrages of the banditti, called defenders? Or do they keep back, silent and inactive, pretending to disapprove, yet really acquiescing in their conduct? This query demands an answer.

On the third of January, 1793, a few persons, who called themselves the Roman catholick inhabitants of the county of Louth, assembled at Greenmount, near Castle Bellingham, entered into strong resolutions against the defenders, and exhorted all persons of their persuasion, to abstain from their combinations, and their unwarrantable practices; and they published them in the Dublin Journal. It was signed by sixty laymen, most of them in very low situations, and by eighteen popish priests, and doctor Reilly, the titular primate of Ireland.

The following persons were among the laymen who signed it: One Coleman of Dundalk, with one Sweetman, secretary of the Catholick committee, corresponded in the month of August, 1792, relative to protecting the defenders then in prison, and for whom he employed counsel in their defence, as stated in the report of the secret committee of the house of lords: \*

Another man of the same name, convicted of lying in wait, and conspiring with others, to murder Parker M'Neil, esquire, a magistrate, because he had taken an active part against the defenders:

Patrick Byrne of Castletown, esquire, a man of fortune but very seditious, who was fined 1000 l. and imprisoned two years, for having published an inflammatory pamphlet, and who has since absconded, having been deeply engaged with the defenders:

John Hoey and Anthony Marmion, convicted of treasonable practices, as defenders, and hanged at Dundalk, in the summer of 1798:

Thomas Marky, condemned to die, but his sentence was mitigated to transportation: Bartholomew Mc. Gawley, transported for defenderism:

One Mc. Allister, deeply concerned with the defenders: John Conlon, a noted defender, who afterwards became an approver; and it is most certain, that the majority of those who signed that paper were defenders.

K

On

\* This is given at large in the origin of the Catholick committee.

On the seventh of November, 1792, Mr. Mc. Neil was fired at in the night, when at a window in his house, on account of the active part which he had taken against the defenders.

In the year 1793, the grand jury and high sheriff of the county of Cavan entered into strong resolutions against them, at the spring assizes.

The magistrates, gentlemen, and landholders of the county of Meath, viscount Headfort in the chair, did the like.

The landholders in the Queen's county, duly assembled by the sheriff on the twenty-ninth of June, 1793, alarmed at the outrages committed by them, resolved to unite and exert themselves for their suppression.

The inhabitants of the barony of Demisore, in the county of Westmeath, adopted similar resolutions on the twenty-seventh of January, 1793.

At last, they became so furious and alarming, that the lord lieutenant and council issued a proclamation on the thirteenth of February, 1793, offering a reward of 100 l. to any person, who would prosecute them, in the counties of Louth, Meath, Monaghan, Cavan, Dublin, and the county of the town of Drogheda, where they assembled in large bodies, with arms and other offensive weapons, administered illegal oaths, sent threatening letters, plundered houses of arms and other things, and burned both houses and offices.

It has been said, in their excuse, that they acted in their own defence, in the counties of Armagh and Down, having been attacked by the presbyterians; but in the other counties, which I have mentioned, their aggression on the protestants was wanton, spontaneous, and offensive; as there were but few, if any, presbyterians in them, and they met with no provocation whatsoever. Some gentlemen in the North, of great sagacity and solid judgment, have ascribed the origin of the defenders to the following cause:

During the American war, when volunteering was in its meridian, some presbyterians, who had revolutionary projects, invited the Roman catholics to join them in arms, from the use of which they were prohibited by law.

They meant to avail themselves of their assistance to subvert the constitution, knowing that they, on all occasions, had evinced a decided hostility to the protestant state.

When

When the restoration of peace had defeated the hopes of the presbyterians, they resolved to disarm the Roman catholicks, who, animated by the possession of arms and a knowledge of discipline, not only refused to surrender them, but proceeded to collect large quantities of them, and even boasted that they would not lay them down, until they obtained a further extension of their privileges, in addition to those which had been recently conceded. Such boasting alarmed the fears, and roused the indignation of the presbyterians, who proceeded in large bodies to disarm them, which produced mutual hostility.

From the envenomed hatred with which the popish multitude are inspired from their earliest age by their clergy to a protestant state, their protestant fellow-subjects, and to a connection with England, and which has appeared in various shapes, such as levellers, white boys, right boys, united Irishmen, and defenders, we cannot be at a loss to account for the origin of the latter ; they are but a link of the same chain ; they, like the white boys, cement their union by oaths, plunder or burn houses, cut out the tongues, and cut off the ears of their fellow creatures, mangle, maim, or murder them, and hough cattle ;—a barbarous practice, which is peculiar to the savages of Ireland !

In the year 1795, the Romanists, who assumed the name of masons, used frequently to assemble in the neighbourhood of Loughgall, Charlemont, Richhill, Portadown, Lurgan, the Ban-foot and Black-water foot, and robbed protestants of their arms.

In the month of September of that year, they assembled in arms, in the day time, marched into the parish of Tentaraghan, in the county of Armagh, and fired into the houses of protestants.

Next day the latter assembled in arms for their defence, and a constant discharge of musketry was kept up at each other from distant hills, but no lives were lost.

On the eighteenth of September, some magistrates of the neighbouring country, prevailed on the leaders of the protestants and the defenders, to repair to the house of one Winter, near Portadown, where articles of amnesty and mutual reconciliation were drawn up, and signed by both parties ; who also entered into recognisances of 50 l. on each side, to keep the peace, which were also signed by two popish priests on the part of the defenders.



Mr. Atkinson was one of the gentlemen who signed the articles on the part of the protestants; yet the defenders way-laid and fired at him, as he was returning to his house, at Crowhill, on the same day.

The defenders, in violation of these articles, assembled next day, in arms, and attacked the protestants, who again proposed peace and mutual forgiveness, but in vain.

The defenders, elate with their numbers, having sent for reinforcements to the mountains of Pomeroy and Ballygawly, in the county of Tyrone, made an attack on the protestants, near a village called the Diamond; and were heard to declare, that they would not suffer a person of their persuasion to remain in the country.

The shouts and the firing of the defenders alarmed the protestants, who assembled from all quarters; and an engagement having ensued, forty-eight of the defenders were killed, and a great number were wounded, on the twenty-first of September, 1795.

It was universally allowed, that the defenders were, at least, ten to one in this conflict, ever since known by the name of the battle of the Diamond.

During the three days that the defenders continued under arms, provisions were sent to them in abundance, on cars, from remote parts; so strong was the spirit of their party!

As the passions of both parties were now so much inflamed, that they seemed mutually to think of nothing less than extermination, as the defenders were in the proportion of six to one to the protestants; and as the former had been supplied clandestinely with large quantities of arms and ammunition from Dublin, and various other quarters, the former proceeded, immediately after the victory, to search their houses for them, and wherever they found them concealed, they demolished both of them and the furniture; in consequence of which their inmates emigrated to the province of Connaught, particularly to the counties of Mayo and Sligo, where they were well received and protected; but it will appear in the sequel, that their protectors had reason to repent of the reception which they gave them.

The reader may form some idea of the animosity of both parties in the county of Armagh, from the following circumstance: A respectable gentleman

gentleman of that county assured me, that the protestant inhabitants of the parish of Sego, were so much afraid of being murdered by the Romanists in the year 1795, that they would not venture to go to Lurgan or Portadown, market towns in the neighbourhood, unless they were well armed, and in considerable numbers.

All the emigrants to Connaught did not go from Armagh, or in consequence of feuds or quarrels. Some gentlemen in the county of Tyrone assured me, that many popish families emigrated from it to Connaught, in consequence of prophecies frequently uttered, that civil wars would soon take place on the east side of the Shannon; that the rivers would be crimsoned with blood, and that there would be a destructive plague, occasioned by the number of putrid carcases unburied. The protestants in the county of Armagh, finding that it was necessary they should unite for their defence, instituted Orange clubs, of which I shall now proceed to give an account.

But I think it necessary to observe, that the spirit by which the defenders were actuated, appeared in a most desperate and outrageous manner in four of the most remote counties of the kingdom, in the year 1793, in Kerry and Donegal, in Wexford and Limerick, and in many of the intermediate ones; which clearly proves that their plans were not defensive.

## ORIGIN OF THE ORANGEMEN.

AS the defenders not only became terrifick to individuals, in most parts of the kingdom, by the constant perpetration of nocturnal robbery and assassination ; as they formed a systematick combination, and supplied themselves with arms, for the obvious purpose of subverting the constitution in church and state ; and as they were encouraged and directed by the Catholic committee, and the united Irishmen, the protestants of the established church, to defeat their malignant designs, found it necessary to excite and cherish a spirit of loyalty, which began to languish and decline, in a very alarming degree, and to rally round the altar and the throne, which were in imminent danger.

The battle of the Diamond, in the county of Armagh, in the month of September, 1795, and the duplicity and treachery of the Romanists, on that occasion, convinced the protestants, that they would become an easy prey to their enemies, from the paucity of their numbers, unless they associated for their defence ; particularly, as the fanatical vengeance, which they displayed on that and other occasions, convinced the members of the established church, that they meditated nothing less than their total extirpation.

In commemoration of that victory, the first Orange lodge was formed in the county of Armagh, on the twenty-first of September, 1795, though the name of orangeman existed some time before.

They were merely a society of loyal protestants, associated and bound together, solely for the purpose of maintaining and defending the constitution in church and state, as established by the prince of Orange, at the glorious Revolution, which they regarded as a solemn and sacred duty. It confers distinguished credit on its members, that they united and stood forward for this truly patriotic purpose, unsupported and unprotected by the great and the powerful, to whom their motives were misrepresented by traitors, who knew that the institution would form a firm barrier against their nefarious machinations.

I have



I have universally observed, that the disaffected, who arraigned with the utmost severity the Orange societies, never uttered any censure on the committees of assassination, to which so many loyal men fell a sacrifice.

Plutarch, in his life of Solon, tells us, that he procured a law to be passed at Athens, by which any person should be branded as infamous, that remained neuter when any disturbance or commotion took place, which endangered the existence of the state. Should not, on the same principle, those who did not assist in opposing the rebellious designs of the defenders and the united Irishmen, be deemed disloyal, or even traitors?

The lower class of protestants of the established church, actuated by an invincible attachment to their king and country, stood forward at this perilous crisis, in the spirited defence of both, and avowed their unalterable determination to stand or fall with them.

As they increased, a spirit of loyalty increased with them, and strength and confidence succeeded to the place of supineness and despondency, in the breasts of loyal men. Supported by a consciousness of the goodness of their cause, and by the protection of Providence, they persevered through every difficulty in their generous resolution; rapidly increased in numbers, and became an irresistible obstacle, wherever the institution got a footing, to the progress of the seditious societies. Lest its members, roused by wanton and unprovoked outrages, might have been stimulated to retaliate, and from retaliation to commit any excesses, gentlemen, highly respectable, not only by birth and fortune but by moral excellence, put themselves at its head, to regulate its motions; whose characters were alone sufficient to refute the many falsehoods and calumnies uttered against the institution. As a further refutation of them, they published a declaration of their principles in the newspapers, which will convince the reader of the purity of their intention; \* and this was done at an early period in many parts of the north.

The members of the Orange institution, being thus instrumental in uniformly resisting the progress, and contributing to defeat the revolutionary designs of confederated traitors, became of course objects of their most pointed and vindictive resentment. Every means were used to traduce and vilify them. The nature of their association was misrepresented, and

\* See Appendix, No. V.

and oaths which they abhorred, were fabricated and imposed upon the publick as the obligations of orangemen.

With equal virulence, and from the same motives, the establishment of the militia, and the formation of the yeomanry were opposed by them.

The following circumstance unquestionably proves, that the institution was perfectly defensive : It never was introduced into any county or district, till it had been some years disturbed or desolated by the defenders or united Irishmen.

It was not established in the metropolis, though many years threatened with open rebellion, till the month of January, 1798; and many gentlemen of high character and considerable talents placed themselves at its head, to give the institution a proper direction, and to silence the calumnious clamours of traitors against it.

It is well known, that the Revolution in England could not have been effected, if combinations of persons, attached to the constitution, had not been made for its accomplishment; and it is universally acknowledged, that it could not have been maintained against the many conspiracies formed for the restoration of king James, but by the same means.

As the Jacobins vilified and maligned those associations, from the same motives that the disaffected did the orangemen, the house of commons of England resolved in the year 1695, "That whoever should affirm an association was illegal, should be deemed a promoter of the designs of king James, and an enemy to the laws and liberties of the kingdom."

From the year 1792, to the year 1797, the county of Monaghan had been disturbed by the defenders, who at that time became terrifick by the aid and co-operation of the united Irishmen.

In the beginning of that year, the loyal subjects, alarmed for their safety, began to form Orange clubs, against the combination of traitors, who were constantly committing nocturnal robbery and assassination; but some of the leading gentlemen of the county opposed the institution.

In consequence of this, the disaffected disseminated their doctrines so rapidly, and with so much success, that many loyal subjects were obliged to compromise with them from motives of fear, to take their oaths, and to enter into their system.

At last, those very gentlemen, who at first opposed the Orange institution, perceiving that their opposition must soon terminate in a total subversion

version of social order, and the destruction of their lives and properties, encouraged with infinitely more zeal, than they had before resisted, its establishment; in consequence of which, the loyal subjects, animated by their united strength, struck the combined traitors with terror and dismay, and restored energy to the execution of the laws. The same thing occurred in the counties of Fermanagh, Donegal, Derry, Tyrone, and Armagh, where it was observed it had a peculiar good effect in detaching the presbyterians from the union.

I have been assured by a very respectable gentleman of the county of Tyrone, that its inhabitants were so much intimidated by anonymous threatening letters, and by the assassinations committed there, that in the lordship of Caledon, containing ten thousand people, the whole of them, except about six or eight persons, were sworn; but the loyal subjects having entered into the Orange societies, and having gained courage and confidence by their united strength, renounced with indignation these traitorous combinations, invigorated the arm of the civil magistrate, and completely checked the progress of treason. The honourable general Knox, a gentleman whose sagacity is not inferior to his courage and military skill, which he has displayed in Europe, Asia, and America, commanded at Dungannon, in the summer of 1798; and he assured government, that the institution of Orange lodges was of infinite use, and that he would rest the safety of the North on the fidelity of the orangemen who were enrolled in the yeomanry corps.

I think it right to mention, that the Orange association should not be confounded, as it has often invidiously been, with the mutual and disgraceful outrages which prevailed in the county of Armagh many years preceding, between the lowest class of presbyterians, under the denomination of peep-of-day boys, and the Roman catholics, as defenders; for it was not instituted till the defenders manifested their hostile designs against protestants of every description, in most parts of the kingdom.

Borlase tells us, that, in the year 1641, the lords justices invited the Roman catholic lords and gentlemen of the pale to come to Dublin, and assist them in preventing strife or sedition; but they refused, under a pretext that every person of their order was to be massacred, which was done merely to alarm the lower class of Roman catholics, and inspire them with vengeance against protestants; and for the same reason the disaffected



asserted, in the years 1797 and 1798, that all persons of that order were to be murdered by orangemen.

James Beaghan, executed on Vinegar-hill the twenty-fourth of June, 1799, for various murders, which, he said, he was instigated by popish priests to commit, confessed, that “ every man that was a protestant was called an orangeman, and every one was to be killed, from the poorest man in the country. They thought it no more sin to kill a protestant than a dog.” See his confession at large in Appendix, page 100.

However useful the Orange institution may be in a country where the members of the established church are numerous, it must be allowed that it must have been injurious where there are but few, because it only tended to excite the vengeance of the Romanists against them ; and they could not unite with celerity, and in sufficient numbers for their defence. It should not be admitted in our regular army, or militia, consisting of both, as it would be likely to create party zeal and discord.

As soon as the massacres perpetrated at Vinegar-hill and Scullabogue were known in the North, numbers of presbyterians, of whom some had been disaffected, and others lukewarm, in the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Donegal, trembling for their safety, became orangemen ; and general Knox, depending on their zeal and sincerity, embodied them, and procured arms for them from government.

In the year 1792, when the dissemination of treason and the formation of seditious clubs, in London, threatened the immediate destruction of the constitution, Mr. Reeves, by seasonably encouraging loyal societies, checked the progress and the baneful effects of their doctrines. The institution of orangemen did not differ from them in the smallest degree.

I give the following extracts from Harris’s Life of king William, to shew that the Irish Roman catholics in the year 1689, propagated reports of the malevolent designs of the protestants towards their order, similar to those which were set on foot of the orangemen, and for the same purpose :

“ In the mean time, the Irish papists throughout the kingdom, proceeded in impeaching the protestants of traitorous designs ; but their plots were so ridiculously contrived, and made up of such palpable contradictions

tions and incongruities, that they served only to demonstrate the innocence of the accused, and inveteracy of the informers. These impeachments failing of the intent, they applied themselves to other courses, many turned tories and highwaymen, housebreakers, and stealers of cattle, and were guilty of so many enormities to the English, that thousands were forced to desert the kingdom, and pass into England, under as great fears and jealousies as if there had been an open rebellion, and five hundred together transported themselves to the English foreign plantations.”\*

“ The Irish pretended, that the protestants assembled in great numbers in the night time; and, to gain the more credit, the vulgar Irish were instructed to forsake their houses, and to hide every night in the bogs, pretending a fear, that the English would, in that dead season, cut their throats; a practice, as notorious among them, as unheard-of among protestants, and for which there neither was, nor could be, the least foundation; for their infinitely superior numbers to the English, in some parts an hundred families to one, shewed how ridiculous the invention was; and they were convinced, both by the practice of the protestants, and the principles of their religion, that they were not men of blood. Whoever considers the genius of the Reformed and Romish churches in this particular, must needs acknowledge a strange opposition between them. However, with what malice and injustice soever the English were represented as nightwalkers, with design of murdering the Irish, yet examinations of those charges were taken by justices of the peace, calculated for the purpose, and transmitted to the lords justices and council; upon which, by the king’s directions, a proclamation was issued, forbidding all night meetings, though the lords justices well knew there was no such practice.”†

\* Harris’s life of King William III. edit. of 1749, Dub. folio. 107. † Ib: p. 105.

## ORIGIN OF THE CATHOLICK COMMITTEE.

THE Abbé O'Connor says, in the life of his grandfather Charles O'Connor, the Irish antiquary, page 330, "that he, doctor Curry, and Mr. Wyse of Waterford, first thought of establishing a Roman catholick committee in the city of Dublin, in the year 1757."

"The first meeting was held at the Globe coffee-house, in Essex-street, and only seven gentlemen attended: Mr. O'Connor, Mr. Wyse of Waterford, doctor Curry, doctor Jennings, Anthony Mc. Dermott, Mr. James Reynolds of Ash-street, and another gentleman, whose name I could not find among the original letters now in my possession."

Their numbers soon increased, and they assembled and determined with the greatest secrecy on the best and most likely means of procuring a restoration of those privileges which they had been formerly deprived of.

They, at some period, which I cannot ascertain, assimilated to the confederate catholicks, assembled at Kilkenny in the year 1641; for members, duly elected and returned by towns and districts, in almost every part of the kingdom, sat in it; gentlemen of landed estate had a right to a seat there; and they soon began to regulate their proceedings according to the form and solemnity of a parliament.

These particulars are fully proved by the following resolution, which they entered into the fifteenth day of November, 1783:

"Sir Patrick Bellew, in the chair.

"Resolved, That we feel ourselves particularly called upon to declare, that this committee consists of every Roman catholick nobleman and gentleman of landed property, and of other gentlemen, chosen by their fellow-subjects of that persuasion in Dublin, and other principal parts of the kingdom."

"Resolved, That thus constituted, we have, for *several years past*, been the medium through which the voice of the Roman catholicks of Ireland has been conveyed, and the only one competent thereto."

At



At a session held by them on the tenth of February, 1791, styled a meeting of the general committee of the Roman catholicks of Ireland, they resolved, "That the several papers now read, containing resolutions and instructions from this city, and from the principal cities and towns of Ireland, be referred to a committee of eight, who shall report thereon to this committee, on Friday the eighteenth instant."

They assembled again on the eighteenth of February, the late earl of Fingal in the chair, when the report was received, and the committee of eight produced a petition, which was to have been presented to parliament, praying a repeal of some of the restrictive laws; but after different interviews with Mr. Hobart, the lord lieutenant's secretary, it was resolved not to present it that session.

In a report, made the eighteenth of April, 1791, by the committee of eight, after stating the interviews and discussions which they had held with the lords Fingal and Kenmare, and Mr. Hobart, they cast severe censures on those noble lords, as if they had, by their conduct, thrown obstacles in the way of presenting the petition, which, however, lord Kenmare presented to the lord lieutenant, on the twenty-seventh of December, 1791, as the address of the Roman catholicks of Ireland, and which contained strong expressions of loyalty, and of attachment to the constitution.

They resolve in it, to apply to parliament in the next session, for a further repeal of the restrictive laws; and they say, that they do not presume to point out the measure or extent to which such repeal should be carried, but leave it to the wisdom and discretion of parliament, confiding in their liberality and benevolence.

It breathed that spirit of mildness and moderation which appeared in all their proceedings, while they were regulated by the nobility and gentry of the Roman catholick persuasion.

It was signed by the lords Fingal, Gormanstown, Kenmare, doctor Troy, titular archbishop of Dublin, and by most of the landholders and respectable gentlemen of their persuasion in the kingdom.

On the sixth of January, 1792, the general committee of the Roman catholicks in Dublin published resolutions, condemning the address presented by the late lord Kenmare on the twenty-seventh of December, 1791, as surreptitiously obtained; and not containing the real sense of the Catholick body, and they resolved to address the lord lieutenant, to signify to his  
majesty

majesty their reasons for withdrawing their signatures from said address. They resolved, that lord Kenmare had entirely forfeited their confidence, by his late conduct in procuring, by his own exertions, and those of his emissaries, certain servile and insidious addresses, calculated to divide the catholicks of Ireland, and eventually to defeat their just applications for relief from the grievous oppressions under which they laboured. They also struck out his name from the list of the committee of eight.

The turbulent leaders of that assembly were very much enraged against his lordship, because he had presented a loyal address in the name of the Roman catholicks of the county of Kerry, containing expressions of concern, that certain inflammatory writings had appeared, and that associations had been attempted to be formed, which might possibly sow the seeds of discontent among the lower classes of their persuasion.\*

Parochial meetings were held in different parts of the kingdom, in which addresses were voted to the general committee, reflecting on the lords Fingal and Kenmare, and recommending their expulsion.

The Catholick society, composed of some discontented members of the Catholick committee, seceded from them in the year 1791, and continued to act as a separate body.

They announced that their object was, to obtain a repeal of the popery laws; they invited their fellow-sufferers throughout the kingdom to unite with them for that purpose; and they asserted, that it is the interest of every man in the kingdom, that the entire should be abolished.

The lords Fingal and Kenmare, and sir Patrick Bellew, were at the head of the committee, till the beginning of the year 1792, when they, and above sixty respectable Roman catholick gentlemen, disgusted and alarmed at their intemperate proceedings, seceded.

Some of its demagogues, who had revolutionary designs, fearing that the moderation and loyalty of these noblemen and gentlemen would check them in their furious career, made the committee so unpleasant to them, that they prudently resolved on retiring from it. Lord Fingal was voted out of the chair, in rather a tumultuous manner, and Thomas Braughall was

\* Such seditious publications frequently appeared at that time in the publick prints, and associations were formed in many parts of the kingdom, in order to agitate the popish multitude.

was voted into it; on which his lordship said, "Sir, I wish you luck with it."

I have been assured, that lord Fingal declared, soon after this event, that he should be very sorry to see the members of his church put on an equal footing with those of the established religion; dreading, I presume, the effects of their fanatical zeal.

A writer of their own persuasion, doctor Mc. Kenna, made the following strictures on their intemperate conduct at that time, in which he depicted the committee as it then stood: "If ever there should arise among us a ridiculous cabal of men, ambitious of rule, without abilities to regulate, who, actuated by vanity and jealousy, will endeavour to estrange from our cause the men of rank, and disgust its natural leaders, and discountenance men of letters, its natural auxiliaries; such persons may mean well, but their good intentions will only retard, not avert, what they well deserve, the execration of the body, whose opinions they caricature, and whose interest they injure."

"I am obliged reluctantly to express, (what the entire nation must perceive,) that the few gentlemen of the metropolis, the sub-committee of catholicks, who have hitherto assumed the direction of business, stand in need of coadjutors. I question their prudence, not their zeal, not their intentions; but their reflection, foresight, and political sagacity. It is time the cause of a great people should assume the appearance of system. For the last ten months it has fluctuated before the publick in the hands of unskilful managers, without even the dignity of steadiness, advancing and retreating, asserting and retracting, with the giddiness of school boys, and the random of a game of nine pins."

The proceedings of the committee were then governed by Edward Byrne, John Keogh, Randal Mc.Donnell, Thomas Braughall, John Sweetman, and Richard Mc.Cormick. They had three secretaries, the two latter and Theobald Wolfe Tone, who turned out to be notorious traitors, and whose characters I shall describe in the sequel.

The claims of the committee were moderate as yet, compared to those which they made a few months after; for at a meeting held the fourth of February, 1792, Edward Byrne in the chair, they declared that they expected no more than,

- 1st, Admission to the profession and practice of the law.
- 2d, Capacity to serve on county magistracies.



3d, A right to be summoned and serve on grand and petit juries.

4th, A right of voting in counties only, for protestant members of parliament, in such a manner however as that a Roman catholick freeholder should not vote, unless he either rents or cultivates a farm of 20l. per annum, in addition to his 4cs. freehold, or that he shall be in possession of a freehold of 20l. a year.

They said, that they thus publish their expectations, in vindication of themselves; as their enemies, to injure them, assert that they expect more.

In the beginning of the year 1792, there was a correspondence between Sinclare Kelburn, a presbyterian minister at Belfast, as chairman of a town meeting of its republican inhabitants, held in a meeting-house, and Edward Byrne, as chairman of the Roman catholick committee, at that time sitting in Dublin.

The sudden union and fraternity of two sects, who were formerly as hostile to each other as they were to the state, must have had a questionable appearance in the eyes of every person interested in its preservation.\*

Kelburn was an active demagogue at Belfast, the mass of whose inhabitants are presbyterians; and his conduct as an agitator was so flagrant, that government found themselves under an indispensable necessity of having him committed on charges of a serious nature, in the year 1797.

This man, as chairman of the town meeting at Belfast, wrote to Edward Byrne, then at the head of the Catholick committee, to send him a declaration of the religious tenets of Roman catholicks, that he might read and explain them to the members of the town meeting, usually held in his meeting-house.

The leaders of the conspiracy for subverting the constitution, well knowing the antipathy which had always existed between the presbyterians and papists, and that they could not indulge the most distant hope of effecting a revolution without the concurrence of the former, used their most strenuous exertions to reconcile and unite the two orders, who were well inclined individually to subvert the constitution, and they began with the factious demagogues of Belfast, the focus of republicanism, as they had very great influence over the presbyterians of the North.

Edward

\* This flirtation between John and Peter, began during the American war, as I before observed.

Edward Byrne having assembled the leading Roman catholicks of Dublin on the twenty-third of March, 1792, they framed a declaration of their tenets, which their chairman forwarded to Kelburn, and he read it in his meeting-house to his levelling sectaries, who expressed their approbation of it by acclamation.

This declaration was signed by doctor Troy, titular archbishop of Dublin, Edward Byrne, and Richard Mc. Cormick. \*

In the rebellion which broke out in the year 1798, the Romanists violated every principle which they pretended to maintain in it, and followed and reduced to practice the old deleterious doctrines which they affected to renounce.

The popish inhabitants of Belfast and its vicinity, in imitation of those in Dublin, assembled on the sixth of April, 1792, James Mooney in the chair, adopted their declaration, and sent it to Edward Byrne, Theobald Wolfe Tone, and Todd Jones. Tone, the secretary and agent of the Catholick committee, was detected in a conspiracy with the reverend Mr. Jackson, in the year 1794, for bringing the French into Ireland; but was permitted, through the mistaken lenity of government, to transport himself, and even obtained a sum of money for that purpose.

He was afterwards taken by sir John B. Warren, in a French squadron, on the northern coast of Ireland, on the twelfth of October, 1798, being attached as an officer to a body of French troops, who were coming to invade Ireland. He was tried and convicted of high treason; but put a period to his existence before the sentence of the court could be executed.

Mr. Jones, a member of parliament, was a sanguine advocate for the Romanists in the house of commons, so early as the year 1792; he accused them afterwards in the Belfast News-letter, of having withheld a considerable portion of the money which they had stipulated to pay him.†

M

When

\* Transported for being a traitor.

† It is not improbable that they had many hired agents in a great assembly, from the intemperate zeal which some gentlemen shewed in their cause. It is well known, that the Romanists often levied money on every individual of their order; and when some poor people in the province of Munster complained to me of the sums which were extorted from them, I asked them, to what purpose it was to be applied? and many of them informed me, they were told that it was to bribe the parliament.

When the Roman Catholick committee assembled on the twenty-third of March, 1792, to frame a declaration of their tenets, a debate took place, which shewed the designs and the rashness of that body.

A Mr. O'Sullivan said, "That they did not lament the absence of the landholders, nor did they wish for their presence, till they had repented of their political sins. If they were present, the assembly would be contaminated by a set of self-interested hypocrites, who preferred their private advantage to the good of the community to which they belonged; hypocrites, who had not courage to act right, and who were afraid to speak the truth."

Many gross untruths were uttered there, to impose on the publick, and to inflame the popish multitude.

John Keogh, who had chief sway in the committee, and guided all their movements, said, that a gentleman of high rank told him a few days before, that he was obliged, with great regret, to transport whole villages,\* to prevent his losing his election: Now I will take upon me to say, that no instance can be proved of a papist being deprived of his farm, for the purpose of substituting a protestant.

Mr. Mc. Laughlin said, "By this declaration, sanctioned by our most respectable prelate, will our protestant brethren be rescued from *fears and superstitious prejudices*, which, *however ill-founded*, must have made too deep an impression on their minds, as having imbibed them from their earliest education."

In the month of February, 1792, a petition was presented to the house of commons, on behalf of the Roman catholicks, stating, that they expected no other extension of their privileges, than what was announced by their committee on the fourth of February. It was conceived in such disrespectful and indecorous terms, that the gentleman who presented it requested permission to withdraw it.

The committee was so much ashamed of it, that they attempted to substitute another petition, more decent and temperate, in its place, which they had printed in many newspapers and magazines; but the original was published in the Northern Star of the twenty-eighth of April, 1792.

Another petition, presented soon after, was rejected. The numbers for its rejection were 202, for receiving it 25.

The

\* Meaning of Roman catholicks.



The honourable Denis Browne, who gave it the warmest support, expatiated largely on the loyalty and the peaceable deportment of the Roman catholicks, whom he and his family vindicated and panegyricized on all occasions; but in the rebellion which broke out in the year 1798, they experienced an extraordinary degree of ingratitude from them.

On the third of March, 1792, at a post assembly held in Dublin, consisting of the lord mayor, the sheriffs, commons, and citizens, they voted their thanks to the 202 members of the house of commons, who rejected the petition of the Roman catholicks, for obtaining the elective franchise.

On the twelfth of the same month, the Catholick society, Theobald Mc. Kenna in the chair, Thomas Braughall, secretary, condemned, in rather severe language, the resolutions of the post assembly; and thanked the minority in parliament, who supported their claims. Not only the grand juries at the subsequent assizes, but the Protestant and Roman catholick inhabitants of many counties and towns assembled, and followed their example; the former, thanking the majority in parliament, and declaring their determination to maintain the constitution as it then stood; the latter, the minority, and resolving that they would persevere in asserting their claims; by which the passions of both parties were very much inflamed.

About the same time, parochial meetings were held in different parts of the kingdom, where the lowest orders of Roman catholicks assembled, debated on their rights, censured the conduct of the grand juries, and applauded that of their delegates in the Catholick committee, which engendered universal discontent and dissatisfaction among the popish multitude.

The reader may form an opinion of the spirit of commotion which their leaders endeavoured to excite among the popish multitude, so early as the month of January, 1792, when their warm and uniform advocate, sir Hercules Langrishe, said, in the house of commons, "That, notwithstanding my prepossessions in favour of the Roman catholicks, I was checked for some time in my ardour to serve them, by reading of late, a multitude of publications and paragraphs in the newspapers, and other publick prints, circulated *gratis* with the utmost industry, purporting to convey the sentiments of the catholicks.—What was their import?—they were exhortations to the people never to be satisfied at any concession,

till the state itself was conceded : they were precautions against publick tranquillity ; they were invitations to disorder, and covenants of discontent ; they were ostentations of strength, rather than solicitations for favours ; rather appeals to the powers of the people, than applications to the authority of the state ; they involved the relief of the catholick, with the revolution of the government ; and were dissertations for democracy, rather than arguments for toleration."

At this time the Irish Roman catholicks had more civil liberty than the most favoured subjects of any state in Europe, except England, and much more than the protestant subjects of any Roman catholick state.

A Calvinist teacher, if detected and convicted in certain provinces in France, was punished with death ; and those who gave him a supper or a bed, were sent to the galleys for life.

On the fourteenth of April, 1792, the general committee, Edward Byrne in the chair, Richard Mc. Cormick, secretary, voted an address of thanks to Mr. John Keogh,\* which was to be presented by a committee of five. They assert in it, " that his conduct, resolute without rashness, and firm without obstinacy, has restored the general committee to the sense and practice of their duties ; and the Catholick community to the knowledge and assertion of their rights."

In the session of parliament in 1792, the following privileges were granted to the Roman catholicks :

That, after the twenty-fourth of June, 1792, they may practise as barristers and attornies ; that protestants and papists may intermarry ; that popish school-masters need not obtain licenses from the ordinary to keep school ; and all restrictions as to foreign education were removed.

These favours, which parliament granted with a good grace, were certainly obtained through the mediation of lord Kenmare ; and yet they loaded him with opprobrium, spurned at them, and resolved to succeed by a system of terror in the whole of their ambitious designs.

The general committee having got rid of the nobility and gentry of their persuasion, resolved, by every means, however unwarrantable, to obtain a total repeal of the popery laws ; and thinking that they might intimidate

\* He has considerable abilities, and was the most ambitious and enterprising member of the committee ; and, it is believed, advised the expulsion of the nobility and gentry from it.

intimidate the government, by putting the mass of the people in motion, Edward Byrne, by their order, issued writs to every county, and to many towns and districts, desiring certain persons therein to hold elections, and to choose representatives, who were to be returned forthwith to Dublin, for the purpose of forming a convention; and he mentions, in his circular letter, that their chairman had actually left Dublin, with an intention of going through a great part of Ireland to promote this design.

The elections were to be held (according to the plan adopted by the republicans in France,) in the Roman catholic chapels in every district.

He says, in his circular letter, that frequent consultations were held, for the laudable purpose of reuniting to the committee lord Fingal, and the other gentlemen who had withdrawn from it; and yet he says, that the plan enclosed was sanctioned by lord Fingal, and those very gentlemen who had left the committee in the month of January preceding, by which he was guilty of a gross inconsistency.

We may conceive, how much the semibarbarous popish rabble, tumultuously assembled in their respective chapels, must have been agitated by such a procedure.

The writs were obeyed, the elections were made with the utmost celerity, the convention assembled, and began its session on the third of December, 1792, and was ridiculously called the Back-lane parliament; because it sat in Tailors-hall in that street.

At a post assembly, consisting of the lord mayor, sheriffs, commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, held the eleventh day of September, 1792, they condemned the object of Edward Byrne's circular letter; and resolved, in spirited resolutions, to maintain the constitution in church and state. See them in Appendix, No. III.

The protestants were encouraged to adopt this procedure, by the spirited and determined manner with which the government rejected the demands of the papists; and the assurances which they received from its leading members, that the Romanists never should obtain any share of political power, induced them to speak out, and with firmness, by which the two sects were committed. Soon after, government having swerved from their opinion, and conceded the whole of what they had peremptorily refused, encouraged the Roman catholics to rise in their demands, particularly because the former were thought to have been influenced by terror, as the  
defenders



defenders were at that time desolating many parts of the kingdom, and were terrifick in the environs of the capital. To this system of terror, succeeded by concession, we may in a great measure impute the rebellion.

As the Roman catholick committee resolved on the fifteenth of January, 1783, that the Roman catholicks of Ireland were fully and completely represented in that assembly, we should be inclined to think, that this new plan of election would have been unnecessary, and that it was brought about merely to put the popish multitude into a state of commotion, to alarm and overawe the government.

A member of the Back-lane parliament, who quitted it on account of its rash and intemperate proceedings, assured me, that on their first meeting they resolved, not to petition parliament as Roman catholicks, but as Irishmen. This was done with a view of inducing the presbyterians to unite with them; by insinuating, that they had no particular object on the ground of religion, but were actuated by a pure and disinterested love of liberty; and this was originally the main object of the united Irishmen.

The protestants were so much alarmed at this bold and extraordinary procedure of Edward Byrne, in issuing writs for electing a popish convention, that the grand juries, at the summer assizes of 1792, encouraged by the conduct of government, entered into strong resolutions, condemning it in severe terms; and declaring, that they would maintain the constitution, as it then stood, against all hostile attacks, particularly against the dangerous effects of democratic principles; and some of them vindicated the lords Fingal and Kenmare, and the respectable Roman catholick gentlemen who had seceded from the committee, from the aspersions which had been cast on them in the publick prints.

The latter end of the year 1792, and the beginning of the year 1793, the popish housekeepers in many parishes assembled, and voted addresses to the general committee, in which they vilified these noblemen and gentlemen, and strongly recommended the expulsion of lord Kenmare.

The Roman catholicks assembled in several counties, districts, and towns, defended Edward Byrne's plan of election, and retorted with much acrimony on the resolutions of the protestants. On the seventeenth of September, they submitted a case to two barristers for their opinion, to know, whether the plan adopted by Edward Byrne, for summoning a  
popish

popish convention, was legal and constitutional? and they answered in the affirmative. These opinions and answers were published in the publick prints, in order to give confidence and courage to the demagogues of the party, at that time very active in many parts of the kingdom in agitating the people.

The Back-lane parliament continued to sit and debate for some time, with the doors of the room in which they assembled, closed; and they framed an address to the king, containing an exaggerated statement of their grievances, which they forwarded by five delegates, Sir Thomas French, Christopher Bellew, James E. Devereux, Edward Byrne, and John Keogh, esquires.

Having gone round by Scotland, attended by their secretary Tone, a noted traitor, they met with a very kind and warm reception from the republican levellers of Belfast, who regarded the object of their mission as conducive to promote their wishes of overturning the constitution.

The following account of their arrival appeared in the Northern Star, a noted vehicle of treason:

Belfast, December 12th, 1792.

“At nine o'clock this morning, the delegates from the catholicks of Ireland, who were elected to present their petition to the king, arrived at the Donegal arms in this town, on their way (by Portpatrick) to London. Immediately on their arrival being known, a number of respectable inhabitants waited on, and breakfasted with them. They remained here about two hours; and, on their departure, the populace, who had assembled in the interim, took the horses from their coach, and having fastened ropes to it, dragged them throughout the town, quite over the long bridge on the road to Donaghadee; and then permitted the horses to be put to, amidst the loudest huzzas of “success attend you,” “union,” “equal laws,” and “down with the ascendancy.” The delegates politely returned thanks for this strong mark of affection; declared their determination to maintain that union which formed the strength of Ireland: and proceeded on their way, accompanied with three cheers.”

His majesty was pleased, in consequence of the address of the Roman catholicks, to recommend to parliament in his speech, in January, 1793, to take into serious consideration the situation of the Roman catholicks; and, in compliance with his majesty's benevolent intentions, they repealed the whole of the restrictive laws, except those which excluded them from  
sitting

sitting in parliament, and from about thirty great offices of state, which are immediately concerned in the confidential departments of the executive government.

We shall find, in the sequel, that these very liberal concessions by no means satisfied the Roman catholicks.

The debate which took place in the house of commons, on the bill for granting these concessions to the Roman catholicks, will remain a lasting monument of the depravity and frailty of human nature; for, though the defenders, a popish banditti, encouraged by the Catholick committee, were committing murder and robbery at that very time in many parts of the kingdom, some members praised them for their steady loyalty, their peaceable deportment, and respect for the laws.\*

The resolutions of a numerous body of dissenters, assembled at Crofarrule, in the county of Cavan, on the third of February, 1793, throw an oblique censure on the inconsistency of these gentlemen in parliament. They state and complain of "the enormities committed by the defenders, in plundering the houses of protestants of arms, and other property, as if they meant to compel the legislature, by intimidation, to grant a relaxation of the popery laws, which they were on the point of conceding from motives of liberality."

In most parts of the country, the presbyterians held the defenders in such abhorrence, and were so unwilling to commit any outrages, that they often joined and assisted the king's troops, who, at different times, were wantonly attacked, when on their march, by this banditti. But the republicans of Belfast laboured with unceasing sedulity, and at last with success, in corrupting great numbers of them.

On the twenty-fifth of April, 1793, the general committee of Roman catholicks assembled at Tailors-hall, and agreed to an address of thanks to his majesty for the benefits they had received, to the lord lieutenant, and to both houses of parliament; and, after transacting some business, they resolved, that with pleasure and gratitude they observed, that the house of commons had unanimously taken into consideration parliamentary reform; and they most earnestly exhorted the catholicks of Ireland, to co-operate

\* Though there issued a proclamation on the thirteenth of February, against the defenders who were desolating many counties, it is stated in the preamble of the act of parliament for their relief, "that from their peaceable and loyal demeanour, it is fit that the restraints and disabilities should be discontinued."



operate with their protestant brethren to carry into effect a measure so essential to the freedom, happiness and prosperity of Ireland. After which, they dissolved themselves.

They alluded to the debate which took place in the month of January, on a motion for an address to his majesty, when the heads and representatives of the principal families of the kingdom declared in the house of commons, in the most unequivocal manner, their willingness to sacrifice their parliamentary interest and influence, in conformity to the wishes of the people, for reforming the house of commons. Their weakness and pusillanimity on that occasion afforded peculiar pleasure to that intriguing body, the Catholick committee, as they hoped that it would lead to their favourite object, the establishment of a republick.

The extraordinary inconsistency of the Irish parliament, in rejecting with indignant contempt the claims of the Roman catholicks in the year 1792, and the tameness with which they now conceded, much more than what had been at that time demanded, joined to their fears and imbecility in expressing their wishes to renounce their power and pre-eminence to gratify a democratick faction, must convince every Irishman of spirit and common sense, that such an assembly, constantly oscillating between one extreme and another, and convulsed by party zeal, was incapable of promoting the peace and prosperity of his native country; and that he must depend for its accomplishment on nothing but the firmness, the wisdom, and disinterestedness of an Imperial parliament.

As exclusive salvation, of all the doctrines of the Romish church, is the most fatal to the peace and security of society, doctor Duigenan, a gentleman of great sagacity, extensive erudition, and of distinguished firmness and integrity of mind, proposed that a clause of the following tenor should be inserted in an oath of allegiance, prescribed by the law which was then passing through the house of commons, for relief of the Roman catholicks: Nor do we believe, that any other sect of christians are, of course, to be doomed to eternal damnation hereafter, and that they may not enter into a state of salvation, because they happen to differ from us in religious tenets. But all their ecclesiasticks, and the leading members of the laity declared, that the fundamental principles of their religion rendered such an oath inadmissible.

The reader may judge of the sincerity of the Roman catholick committee, from the following transaction:

It appears by a report of the secret committee of the house of lords, published in 1793, instituted for the purpose of investigating the origin and cause of the spirit of treason and disaffection, which the defenders manifested in many parts of the kingdom, that salutary measures might be adopted to prevent the progress of it; that John Sweetman, secretary of the Roman catholic committee in Dublin, wrote letters to a person in Dundalk, of the name of Coleman, of considerable opulence, and of the Roman catholic persuasion, relative to the defenders, numbers of whom were then imprisoned in that town; and in one of them, dated the ninth of August, 1792,\* he, in the name of the Roman catholic committee, directed enquiries to be made, touching the offences of which the culprits were accused. By this report it appears, that the Roman catholic committee were warmly interested about the defenders; and that the person to whom the letter was addressed, did employ, at a considerable expence, an agent and counsel to act for several persons, who were then in prison under an accusation of being defenders.

They were well able to do so; for in the years 1792 and 1793 they levied an immense sum of money on the members of their religion, in every part of the kingdom, which appears by a circular letter, dated the fifth of February, 1793, published in said report of the house of lords, in which they say, that the object is, the raising a fund to defray the heavy and growing expences of the committee, in conducting the affairs of the catholics of Ireland. See these letters, Appendix, No. IV.

It is observable, that in the letter of the ninth of August, 1792, the name of one Nugent, a defender then in prison, is mentioned.

The Roman catholics of the city of Dublin, assembled in November, 1792, stated in their declaration, that they never will forego the hopes of emancipation; that they defy the malice of invention to produce any one instance of their having ever made any efforts in favour of a popish king, or French connections, since they consented to a Revolution in 1691; and that their inclinations are not to subvert any one establishment. They admit, "that from the moment the protestant began to make concessions, the Roman catholic began to extend his claims; and in their address presented at St. James's in January, 1793, they speak of their unvarying loyalty, peaceable demeanour, and submission to the laws, for one hundred years, and their determination to persevere in the same."

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\* Report of the secret committee of the lords in 1793.

† Ibid.

At this time, as I before observed, they enjoyed more extensive privileges than the Roman catholic subjects of any protestant state in Europe, even those in England, and by far more than protestants living under any popish government.

Why they rose in their claims, so moderate at first, may be accounted for in the following manner :

Knowing that Mr. Edmund Burke, a warm favourer of popery, had in a high degree conciliated the esteem of our gracious sovereign, and the government of England, by his ingenious and energetic writings against the extravagant theories and frantick proceedings of the French republicans ; they resolved to employ his son, an over-weening, petulant young man, to be their agent, in forwarding their pretensions ; hoping thereby, to ensure the weight and consideration of his father for that purpose. They then sent one of their body to London, in September, 1791, to Mr. Richard Burke, who, through his father, rendered them the most important services ;\* and soon after having gone to Ireland, he made a most extensive circuit there, and in the course of it, visited many of the nobility and gentry, and endeavoured to conciliate them to support the claims of the Roman catholics. As he was their hired agent, we are not to impute his conduct to disinterested and generous motives ; though we may infer that he had a predilection for popery, from the strong attachment which his father had to it, and because his mother was a most rigid papist. Though he did not attain the object of his mission, he awakened the ambition of the Roman catholics, and gave them the strongest assurances, that a steady perseverance in their claims would finally produce a total repeal of the popery laws.

The success of the French on the continent, to whom the Irish Roman catholics were, on former occasions, very much attached, and the invitation of the former, to the subjects of every nation in Europe, to rise against their respective governments, elevated their hopes, and filled them with expectations, that the parliament would be impelled by motives of fear, to grant what their policy and prudence might have refused. To these causes we may impute the sudden rise in their demands, and their condemnation and renunciation on the sixteenth of January, 1792, of the address presented by lord Kenmare, to the viceroy, on the twenty-seventh of December preceding.

\* This was stated by Mr. John Keogh in his speech.



It appears by the speech of Mr. John Keogh, in the debate of the Roman catholicks, assembled on the twenty-third of March, 1792, in Dublin, that there was an interior cabinet in the Catholick committee, with the secrets of which the nobility and gentry had been unacquainted; for he calls those, who had signed the loyal address presented by lord Kenmare, “ sixty-eight dupes, many of whom were totally ignorant of the negotiation going on at the foot of our throne.”

Mr. Keogh said, “ That, from the negotiation in London, there was every reason to expect, that though a great and vast catalogue of restrictions would be retained, yet sufficient would be removed, to afford protection to all the classes of our people.”

“ I now come to what is more pleasing; that is, to state my opinion, that the time is not remote, when we shall meet to join with heart and voice, in the sincerest gratitude to parliament and to government. When that day arrives, and it will soon arrive, you will then prove your just and unfeigned gratitude to your deliverers, to government, to the legislature, to the illustrious men who espoused your cause in parliament, to the virtuous, patriotick, and enlightened citizens of Belfast, the first (let it never be forgotten) who came forward as a body to apply to parliament for our relief.”

From the confidence with which Mr. Keogh expressed himself, we may infer, that he knew that their ambassador in London had received secret assurances from high authority that they would succeed in their expectations; but it is to be lamented, that their attainment did not satisfy them, and prevent their body from proceeding afterwards to desperate excesses.

As a very large sum of money had been levied on the Roman catholicks, it is not improbable that their ambassador, who repaired to London in the year 1791, applied, with the assistance of Mr. Burke, a large portion of it to very good purposes; for otherwise how can we account for the extraordinary and sudden change which took place in the opinion of the administration of England? A change which has been fatal to the peace and prosperity of Ireland!

Mr. Keogh said in that debate, should we look to America, to France, to the Netherlands, to all Europe, and ask each other why it is that we, *as faithful subjects as any king in Europe can boast of, are reduced to slavery.*

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The invitation of the Roman catholicks to the protestants to fraternise with them, and to extend civil and religious liberty equally to both orders, reminds us of James II.'s reign; for that monarch announced, on his arrival in Ireland, that his chief care was to satisfy the minds of his protestant subjects; and that the defence of their religion, their privileges and property, concerned equally his care with the recovery of his own rights; and the popish parliament, which he assembled in 1689, passed a law for a general liberty of conscience; though it is well known, and the act of attainder against all protestant landholders unquestionably proved, that they secretly aimed at nothing less than a total extirpation of protestants.

## ORIGIN OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

A PERSON who had been many years a member of the Catholick committee, gave me the following account of this institution. I shall not take upon me to vouch its authenticity ; but shall leave the reader to judge of it from the views and designs which they afterwards displayed.

The Catholick committee very wisely enlisted in their service some protestant barristers of abilities, but desperate circumstances, and totally destitute of all religious principle. Though they were stipendiaries, and received pay, it was agreed that they should appear to have volunteered in their cause from generous and disinterested motives, for the purpose of lulling the suspicion of protestants in general, of decoying and attaching to the Catholick cause, by varnishing it over with the semblance of general and abstract liberty, such persons of that persuasion as had revolutionary designs, particularly the presbyterians.

The honourable Simon Butler, brother of the late lord Mountgarret, and Theobald Wolfe Tone, were the leaders of this band, and the first persons who engaged themselves in the service of the Catholick committee.

The last, who was the son of a mechanick, received a good education in the university of Dublin, and was afterwards called to the bar ; but having a wife and children, being unsuccessful in his profession, though he had distinguished abilities, and being indigent in his circumstances, he hoped, by promoting that innovating spirit which had shaken the foundations of many European states, to subvert our constitution, and to rise, during a season of anarchy and confusion, from poverty and obscurity to wealth and celebrity. Tone informed the Catholick committee, that they could not succeed in their extensive plan of emancipation, unless it had, at least, the semblance of being sanctioned and approved of by a considerable number of protestants ; and knowing that the inhabitants of Belfast, the mass of whom are Calvinists, had manifested during the American war, when volunteering flourished, an earnest desire of subverting the  
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the constitution, under the pretext of reforming it, proposed to some republican friends in that town, to institute the society of united Irishmen, round whose standard revolutionists of every religious persuasion were to rally.

Tone, their hired agent, knew, that if the repeal of the restrictive laws was proposed by a numerous body of protestants, it would have peculiar weight, as flowing apparently from a liberal and disinterested love of liberty.

Subsequent experience has proved, that assurances were at the same time given to the republicans of Belfast, that the Catholick committee and such of their persuasion as they could influence, should co-operate with them in subverting the constitution.

They embraced the proposal with alacrity, and the first society of united Irishmen sat at Belfast in the month of October, 1791; when Richard Simms was secretary.

But before I proceed further, it will be necessary to shew the designs of Tone and Jones, from their own publications. The former published a pamphlet, entitled, "The Northern Whig," in the year 1791, soon after he enlisted in the service of the Catholick committee. The whole of this publication, which he entitled, in the second edition, "An argument on behalf of the catholicks of Ireland," is entirely taken up in recommending a total repeal of the penal laws against them.

He endeavoured to put on the cloak of liberality, and the mask of disinterestedness, by making the following declaration, in the beginning of this pamphlet: "Before I proceed to the object of this book, I think it necessary to acquaint the reader, that I am a protestant of the church of Ireland,\* as by law established, and have again and again taken all the customary oaths, by which we secure and appropriate to ourselves all degrees and professions, save one, to the utter exclusion of our Catholick brethren. I am, therefore, no further *interested in the event*, than as a mere lover of *justice*, and a steady detester of *tyranny*, whether exercised by one man or a million."

This work was printed by the united Irishmen of Belfast in the year 1792, and six thousand copies of it were soon circulated, which shewed that

\* He was a protest deist.

that a close union, and an ardent desire of mutual co-operation, existed between them and the Catholick committee.

In it he censures and vilifies the constitution, represents it as a system of tyranny ; and asserts, that nothing but a total repeal of the restrictive laws against Roman catholicks can restore it to its original purity.

This turbulent adventurer, the founder of the society of united Irishmen, was one of the secretaries of the Catholick committee, and had the chief direction of both.

Mr. Todd Jones, having injured his fortune in electioneering, was led, by the hope of repairing it, to become their advocate, both in and out of parliament ; and I have not a doubt, but that some other members of that assembly were attached to their cause from the same sordid and sinister motives ; as they often panegyriced the Roman catholicks for their steady loyalty and unremitted respect for the laws, when they were in actual rebellion.

Mr. Jones wrote a pamphlet in the year 1792, entitled, “ A letter to the societies of united Irishmen of Belfast, on the restoration of the Catholick rights ;” and he gives the following reasons for publishing it :

“ In cherishing from my early years the august idea of the emancipation of the catholicks from a profligate, mistaken, passionate, and impolitic farrago of statutes of penalty and disqualification, I have frequently enquired into the motives of my own mind, why I should never experience apprehensions upon this subject, in common with many selfish and some innocent antagonists of such a glorious restoration to their country ; and it may be pardonably objected against me, that possessing, from my family decline, inconsiderable property to hazard, I could not be liable to that delicate sense of danger which must come home to the feelings of the great protestant proprietors ; but granting I have but little, comparatively at stake, that little is my all.”

He denies that the popish parliament, which sat in Dublin in the year 1689, passed a bill of attainder against all the protestant landholders of the kingdom, though James II. acknowledged in his diary, found in the Scotch college at Paris, that he gave his assent to it with reluctance, and merely to gratify his Irish Roman catholick subjects ; and Harris, in his life of King William, declares, that he found it in the Rolls office ; but all the acts passed by king James’s parliament, were afterwards burnt by  
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the hands of the common hangman ; and therefore Mr. Jones denies that it ever passed, and asserts, that it was fabricated by archbishop King, who gives a copy of it.\*

The first society of united Irishmen at Belfast published their plan or prospectus in the Northern Star in October, 1791, though it had been fabricated in Dublin.

We need no other proof of this, than that a paper, containing the original design of that association was circulated in Dublin in June, 1791, which may be seen in page 50 of the report of the secret committee.

We may fairly conclude, that the heads of the catholic committee in Dublin, and the turbulent leaders of the presbyterians at Belfast, resolved to unite their respective orders, for the purpose of subverting the constitution.

One of the most intelligent and efficient members of the catholic body, and whose writings served them materially, because he assumed, at least, the appearance of moderation on most occasions, made use of the following menace to the protestant state, in a pamphlet which he published in the year 1792 : “ Will the presbyterian yeomanry of the North take up arms for the courtiers who enjoy pensions, for the parsons who exact tithes, and for the landlords who exact rack rents? They too are complainants ; and if they unsheath the sword against their brethren, (meaning the protestants of the established church,) will they be likely to return it to the scabbard, until they have procured very ample redress, and removed the cause of their complaints? Should that people ever be embodied, tithes, boroughs, and all the arts and practices of monopoly will inevitably fall before them.”

We may infer from this, that the Roman catholics hoped for the co-operation of the presbyterians in their revolutionary designs ; but the prophecy was not fulfilled ; for the presbyterian yeomen of the North continued loyal during the rebellion, though numbers of their persuasion were seduced. This odious picture of the constitution in church and state, the hope with which this writer endeavours to inspire the members of his sect, that they would be joined by the presbyterians, and the lure

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\* Though I condemn Mr. Jones for hiring out his talents to the Roman catholics, yet I would not be understood to include him in the strictures which I make on his coadjutors, as I know and esteem him, and believe him to be a gentleman of principle in other respects.



which he holds out to the latter, indicate the dangerous designs which were at that time brooding.

The Roman catholicks succeeded so easily at Belfast, that at a town-meeting held there the twenty-eighth of January, 1792, in a presbyterian conventicle, the reverend Sinclare Kelburn, one of their ministers and a noted demagogue, in the chair, they resolved \* to petition parliament to repeal the whole of the popery laws; but two hundred and fifty-five of the most respectable inhabitants of that town protested against it.

In a short time after the commencement of the society at Belfast, there were no less than *four* grand ones established there, who resolved to set on foot similar ones in every part of the kingdom.

On the ninth of November, 1791, the united Irishmen of Dublin began their session, and published their declaration, which was exactly similar to that at Belfast; but with this difference, that a test was annexed to it.† The honourable Simon Butler was in the chair, and James Napper Tandy was secretary. I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. VII. for their constitution and their mode of election. Revolutionary designs are very evident in their declaration.

On the thirtieth of December, 1791, they held a session and adopted a circular letter, and resolved to have it printed and dispersed through every part of the kingdom, to encourage the formation of similar societies; and they annexed to it a declaration of their political principles, and the test which they had taken, “as a social and sacred compact to bind them more closely together.” See Appendix, No. VIII.

On the fourteenth of September, 1792, they addressed the Irish nation, and declared their indignation at the insidious means employed to stifle the catholick voice. The whole of this address was on the grievances of the Roman catholicks; and it strongly recommends a total repeal of the restrictive laws. They say in it, “popery is no longer to be met with but in the statute book.”

It must seem extraordinary, that a set of men, who were destitute of principle and property, should be so anxious about the interest of that sect from whom they differed in religion; but Tone and Butler, the leaders of the society, were their agents, and received pay from them.

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\* About the same time a revolutionary club at Belfast, called a reading society, entered into resolutions in favour of the Roman catholicks.

† See Appendix, No. VI.

In their address of the fourteenth of September, 1792, to the Irish nation, they severely condemned the county meetings and the grand juries, who thanked the majority of the house of commons for rejecting the petition of the Roman catholicks, and for passing resolutions against granting the elective franchise to them, and for censuring Edward Byrne's circular letter for choosing delegates. They condemn also the address presented by lord Kenmare on the twenty-seventh of December, 1791, with as much acrimony as the demagogues in the Catholick committee did; and because it was humble and respectful, they called it an eleemosynary address. In short, the whole of it is taken up with the claims of the Romanists.

On the twenty-third of November, 1792, William Drennan, chairman, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, secretary, they addressed the delegates for promoting a reform in Scotland; and on December the fourteenth, the volunteers of Ireland, to whom their address is a direct invocation to rebellion. It directs that parochial meetings should be held, and that each should elect and return delegates to form a national convention; and they say in it, that the civil assembly should be attended by military associations.

October twenty-sixth, they addressed the friends of the people at London; November twenty-fifth, the delegates for reform in Scotland; and introduce catholick emancipation into it.

November thirtieth, they addressed a circular letter to all the societies of united Irishmen in the kingdom; and resolved to effect a better organization, and a more intimate union with the different societies, than had before subsisted; and to communicate all their publications to the confederated societies.

On the twenty-fifth of January, 1793, they addressed the Irish nation.

November twenty-fifth, they addressed the British convention who had affiliated with them, and proposed universal suffrage and annual parliaments, which the united Irishmen assented to, and resolved to adopt.

By a report made the fourteenth of August, 1797, by a provincial meeting of delegates of Ulster, it appears that there was a number of societies of united Irishmen in North America, whose professed object was to assist Ireland.\*

\* See report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. 115.

All these addressees, which are very inflammatory, are to be found in the Appendix, No. V. of the last report of the secret committee of 1798.

It is observable, that the main purport of them is the repeal of the penal laws against the Roman catholics.

They had a committee of constitution, of finance, of correspondence, of accommodation, a treasurer, a secretary, and a seal of office.

Their law agent was Matthew Dowling, a fellow of a most infamous character, who has been transported to Scotland with a numerous gang of traitors, who probably would have been hanged, but that they obtained the royal mercy on condition of going into banishment.

A writer in America, who assumes the name of Peter Porcupine, describes the institution there, and gives an account of their declaration and constitution. It complains much of the tyranny of England over Ireland, and enforces the necessity of emancipation, and the establishment of a republic there.

On the twenty-first of January, 1792, they made a report of the popery laws in force in the kingdom, by their chairman, the honourable Simon Butler. In fact, he was in the utmost indigence, and was paid by them for making it, though it was in the name of the society. It contained many gross falsehoods and exaggerated misstatements, tending to inflame the popish multitude, and to deceive the government of England and Ireland.

In the debate of the Roman catholics, assembled in Dublin on the twenty-third of March, 1792, Mr. Keogh said of it, "For a late publication, the digest of the popery laws, the united Irishmen, and their respectable chairman, the honourable Simon Butler, demand our warmest gratitude."

It is stated in the report of the secret committee of the house of lords, made in 1797, "That the leaders and directors of the united Irishmen are now, and have been for some time past, anxiously engaged in uniting with them a class of men who had formerly disturbed the peace of this country by acts of outrage, robbery and murder, under the appellation of defenders; and that the committee had reason to apprehend, that in a certain degree they had succeeded."

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The following observation is to be found in the report of the house of commons made in 1798, page 9; and, in the course of my enquiries, I have found it to be strictly true :

“ That the counties in which defenderism had prevailed, easily became converts to their new doctrines; and, in the summer of 1797, the usual concomitants of the treason, namely, the plundering houses of arms, the fabrication of pikes, and the murder of those who did not join the party, began to appear in the midland counties.”

William Paulet Carey, who was admitted a member of the society, became their printer. He published a newspaper, called the National Evening Star, which he called the organ, and himself the printer, of the people. It was very inflammatory.

He was prosecuted by the attorney-general for having printed in his paper some seditious publications, at the instance of the united Irishmen, who resolved, in the most solemn manner, to defend him at their own expence; but they afterwards abandoned him to the vengeance of the law, and he was ruined.

In revenge, he wrote a pamphlet, in which he abused and exposed them with some ability, and not without wit.

He bestows the following encomium on Mr. John Keogh. In speaking of one Matthew, a chandler, he says, “ In the Catholick committee he appeared for nine years the colleague of Keogh, whose courage and talents first gave the impulse of freedom to three millions of Irishmen, and who originated the bold measure of overturning the aristocracy of the Catholick committee.”\*

He speaks of Napper Tandy and E. Crookshank Keane, in the highest strain of panegyrick.

He is extravagant in his praise of Edward Byrne, and of William T. Jones, the first protestant senator, he says, who brought forward the question of Catholick emancipation.

Among the list of worthies whom he panegyricizes, we find Matthew Dowling.

Carey says, in his pamphlet, “ That as the united Irishmen came forward in the presence of God, and pledged themselves to labour for a re-

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\* This alludes to the secession of sixty-eight members.

form of every species of corrupt influence, and had eloquently declaimed against the profusion of the publick money, he could not have expected that they would have abandoned the press and the printer, for the wine cask, the cook and the vintner."

They, in excuse, complained of the apathy of the people; that their funds were exhausted; that money came in slowly; and that they must discharge, in the first place, 200*l.* which sum was yet due for wine drunk in Newgate. This alludes to the imprisonment of Bond and Butler, which I shall explain hereafter.

Though they sacrificed this unfortunate man, they defended, at their own expence, Messrs. Drennan, Rowan, Tandy, Bond and Butler, who were prosecuted for seditious practices.

Carey makes the following just remark in his pamphlet: "The history of political parties is but too often a picture of knaves betraying, and of knaves betrayed; of ambitious and indigent profligates, labouring to get into affluence and power; and of honest men contributing by their own degradation to lift them into affluence and power."

The idea of uniting the presbyterians and Roman catholicks, to subvert the constitution, had existed for some years.

I mentioned before, that the bishop of Cloyne wrote a pamphlet in the year 1787, on the persecution of his clergy; and that it drew on him the vengeance of some presbyterian ministers and popish priests, whose sectaries seemed to rejoice at this apparent juncture of the two orders. On that occasion, Carey, who had been bred at the Dublin society as an engraver, published a print, representing doctor Campbell, a dissenting minister, and father O'Leary, a friar, shaking hands. They were the most virulent antagonists of the bishop.

In the beginning of the year 1793, the house of lords instituted a secret committee, to enquire into the nature and origin of the disturbances made in different counties by the defenders, and summoned some persons to give evidence concerning them.

The society of united Irishmen in Dublin, the honourable Simon Butler in the chair, Oliver Bond, secretary, published some severe animadversions on the powers which they assumed; and in doing so, they were guilty of a gross libel on that assembly, and a violation of its privileges;  
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for which they were committed to Newgate by the house of lords, and fined 500*l.* each.

While in prison, they were maintained in the following manner, by the members of the society: They made four hundred tickets, of which a certain number were blanks, the remainder were marked with the dates of the days that the prisoners were to remain in confinement; and any person who drew one of the latter, was obliged to provide a dinner, with twelve covers, on the day specified in his ticket. Four persons were invited by each of the prisoners, and three by the person who procured the repast, who, with himself, made twelve.\*

There is not a doubt, but that there was a close connection between the Catholick committee and the society of united Irishmen, for some of the former were members of the latter; but it is very remarkable, that none of the Romanists ever took an open and active part in it, such as chairman or secretary; but remaining behind the curtain, they left the obnoxious and ostensible proceedings to be conducted by a few men who were totally void of all religious principle, though they assumed the mask and the name of protestants.

The united Irishmen, who were bold and enterprising, assaulted the constitution as it were with a battering ram; the Catholick committee silently, and by sap, inciting the people to insurrection and outrage, while they made publick declarations of their unshaken loyalty and unremitting respect for the laws.

The latter had this advantage, that none but Romanists could be members of the committee; and persons of their persuasion were admitted into the society of united Irishmen, and were actually associated in it.

We find, that when persons were sent to different parts of the country from Dublin, to persuade the people to unite and fraternize, they often consisted of persons delegated from each body, which shewed their intimate connection.

As the lower class of presbyterians bore an inveterate hatred against the Roman catholicks, and as they on all occasions successfully opposed the defenders, who were encouraged and protected by the Catholick committee,

\* The heavy expence attending this scheme contributed to damp the ardour of the society, and induced some members to secede from it.



mittee, we find that the latter, and the united Irishmen, used the utmost exertions to unite the two orders, as their co-operation was necessary to promote their revolutionary designs.

In the month of July, 1792, Theobald Wolfe Tone, John Keogh, and Richard Mc. Cormick were sent by the Catholick committee on a mission to some of the northern counties, which were disturbed by the peep-of-day boys and defenders, to effect a reconciliation between them.\* In their way they were joined by Samuel Neilson, an active and artful demagogue, who was professedly a presbyterian, but who, as well as Tone, a reputed protestant, was destitute of all religious principle. They pretended to be actuated by motives of the purest patriotism and benevolence; but as Tone, Neilson, and Mc. Cormick, appeared afterwards to be notorious traitors, we cannot be at a loss to know their real views.

At Rathfriland, in the county of Down, Tone mounted the rostrum, and haranguing the populace, recommended peace and unanimity to them, on the grounds of christian charity and brotherly love. He threw out many invectives against government, whom he represented as desirous of dividing the people, for the purpose of governing them corruptly and despotically; and he advised that all orders should unite to oppose their base and sinister designs. A magistrate, who happened to be present, silenced the orator, by reminding him that there were stocks in town; on which he and his associates precipitately left it, and proceeded on their mission.

Soon after, Mr. John Keogh, accompanied by one O'Hanlon, a grocer of Newry, and his son, both papists, made a second attempt to reconcile these two orders, at Rathfriland; but the dissenters shewed so strong an aversion to it, that the missionaries were forced out of town, and were refused accommodation at the principal inn.

It required some time and unabated exertion to overcome the strong antipathy which existed between the papists and the lower class of presbyterians; and it probably could not have been accomplished, if the leaders of the conspiracy had not attached to their cause the clergy of both.

From the men who composed this mission, it is evident, that the Catholick committee, and the united Irishmen were closely connected,  
and

\* Many missions of this kind were undertaken in 1792 and 1793.

and labouring in the same vineyard: Tone was at the same time the secretary of the former, and the original framer and the chief leader of the latter in Dublin; Neilson in Belfast; Keogh and Mc. Cormick were the most active members of the former. At a general meeting of the Roman catholic committee in July, 1792, an address was voted to the defenders, and circulated in every parish, where they had made their appearance, exhorting them to a peaceable deportment, a respect for the laws, and to abstain from every measure that might give offence to their protestant brethren. For their laudable endeavours in this instance, as well as by their missionaries, to restore peace and social order, they received many flattering encomiums from their republican friends in Belfast, published in the Northern Star.

The following anecdote will shew the reader what a strong antipathy existed between the presbyterians and papists of the North:

On Monday, May sixth, 1792, the funeral of a Roman catholic, attended by great numbers decorated with ribands, carrying a flag and forming a kind of martial procession, proceeded from the village of Hilltown in the county of Down, through the town of Rathfriland to the grave-yard of the parish of Ballyroney. In passing through Rathfriland, they were hooted, insulted and pelted with dirt, by the presbyterians; but when they arrived at the grave-yard, and the priests began to chaunt the requiem of the deceased, they were attacked by the presbyterians with stones and clubs, and compelled to fly, leaving the corpse unburied. They were then hunted across the country, and pursued to a considerable distance by their assailants.

There appeared in the year 1792, in the Northern Star, a newspaper published at Belfast, which was a vehicle of treason and sedition, many exhortations to the Roman catholics and presbyterians to unite in the common cause; an address to them for that purpose, penned with peculiar energy, was published in that print on the seventeenth of January, 1792. It is certain that the presbyterians of Belfast were as warm in this courtship as the Roman catholics. In the year 1792, when the former paid the most servile adulation to the latter, they built a chapel for them at Belfast; and Waddell Cunningham, a merchant of great wealth in that town, and a noted republican, attended the celebration of mass in a popish chapel there, at the head of a company of volunteers,

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who,

who, as well as their leader, were presbyterians; and a similar scene was exhibited at Lisburn by doctor Crawford, a physician and captain of a company of presbyterian volunteers. As religionists they hated each other; but both having one grand object, the subversion of the constitution, politicks became the instrument of their union; like two fluids that are heterogeneous and immiscible, but which can be made to unite and amalgamate by what the chymists call an intermede or a tertium quid.

About that time, a priest of Belfast, who was sensible and loyal, happened to be invited by two principal merchants of that town to take share of a bottle of wine with them. Politicks, and the sincere regard which the presbyterians of Belfast entertained for their catholic brethren, became the subject of conversation, when one of the merchants proposed that a marriage should take place between the two orders. The priest wittily replied, with all my heart, I can have no objection to it; though when a similar proposal was lately made to me by a member of the established church, I absolutely opposed it. Why so? said one of the presbyterians; that appears very extraordinary: Not at all, replied the priest; for I consider an union with the established church as a kind of incest, as we are too nearly related; but the presbyterians may marry with us whenever they choose, for we are not the least akin.

It is most certain, that the first leaders in the North, though regarded as presbyterians, were in fact infidels, who endeavoured to extinguish all religious principle by the dissemination of French doctrines, the circulation of Paine's Age of Reason, and publications of that stamp; and well knowing that even the religious part of their order were inimical to monarchy, and particularly to our hierarchy, they endeavoured to avail themselves of that propensity in them to overturn the government; knowing also, that the Roman catholics had dispositions strongly hostile to a protestant state, they endeavoured to form a union with them for the above purpose.

The presbyterians engaged in the conspiracy were chiefly confined to the counties of Down and Antrim; and even there none of the respectable members of that order were concerned in it. Some of the most profligate dissenting ministers \* in those counties, who became partizans  
of

\* See in Appendix, No. IX. a list of the presbyterian ministers of the counties of Down and Antrim concerned in the rebellion, and the punishments which they suffered.



of the united Irishmen, prevailed on the rabble of their persuasion, and such of them as were devoid of principle and property, to join in the plot ; but very few, if any, of the really religious presbyterians entered into it.

Some of the most intelligent persons of the North have assured me, that the infidel leaders thought they had gone rather too far, even before the rebellion broke out, in raising the hopes of a popish establishment in the mass of the Roman catholics ; having discovered too late that religious bigotry formed the principal, if not the sole spring of action among them, which evidently appeared on the explosion of the conspiracy.

It is a positive fact, that John Sheares \* promised a complete extinction of his religion in consideration of Catholick co-operation, without reflecting that it was an act of spontaneity in them ; by this he meant the subversion of the protestant hierarchy, for he was as destitute of religious principle as the few conspirators of that persuasion who confederated with him. The only bounds of separation between the presbyterians and papists was the established church, which suspended and suppressed their mutual enmity ; and the subversion of it, like the removal of a peninsula between two raging seas, would have produced collision and discord.—While some of the unprincipled presbyterian ministers of the counties of Down and Antrim were decrying religious bigotry, under the pretext of liberality, they almost prostrated religion itself, in order to prepare the minds of their flock for the reception of rebellious doctrines ; but the popish priests, fearing that the light of the new philosophy would dispel the illusions of purgatory, holy oil, holy water, and absolution, which gave them a complete ascendancy over their superstitious sectaries, and which, like true alchymists, they could turn into gold, infused into them a more than ordinary degree of fanaticism, well knowing that it would augment the sacerdotal power over them, and encrease their hatred to the protestant state ; for these reasons, the popish multitude appeared more sanguinary against the members of the established church, and more devoted to their clergy wherever the rebellion broke out, than they had been for many years before ; though they universally pretended that their influence was entirely done away.

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Thus

\* A Cork gentleman, who was a most efficient member of the union, having studied the theory of insurrection at Paris.

Thus the dissenting ministers and popish priests endeavoured to attain the same end by different means. Joined to the malignant efforts of the united Irishmen, there is not a doubt, but that the active interference of some French democrats among the disaffected part of the Irish nation, their extravagant admiration of the French revolution, and their correspondence with some of the clubs in France, contributed materially to diffuse the intoxicating poison of republicanism.

In the years 1791 and 1792, Rabaud de St. Etienne, the bosom friend of Brissot, the famous leader of the Girondine party in the French national assembly, passed some time between Dublin and Belfast, sowing the seeds of future combustion.

The society of the friends of the constitution, assembled at Clermont in France in the month of October, 1791, resolved, that, on perusing the different publications addressed from various parts of Ireland to the national assembly and the people of France, an address, then agreed to, should be forwarded to the volunteers of Ireland, at Dublin, and which address was published in the publick prints; and an answer to said address was agreed to by the volunteers of Dublin, and forwarded to France in January, 1792. It was signed by James Napper Tandy, Thomas Bacon a tailor, Edward Newenham, William T. Smith, A. H. Rowan, and J. T. Ashenhurst; and contained the most extravagant encomiums on the French constitution, and condemned the Irish as imperfect, and as founded in tyranny.

In a society of united Irishmen assembled at Temple Patrick, in the county of Down, on the nineteenth of December, 1791, which was soon after the formation of the institution, and shews how rapidly it spread, they resolved to promote Catholick emancipation, and a reform of parliament; and assert, that whilst an extra-national government retains the power of the national purse; and whilst religious animosities, under the direction of insidious administrations, continue to disunite Irishmen, it is vain to expect emancipation, or the blessings of a free constitution.

The celebration of the anniversary of the French revolution, which took place at Belfast on the fourteenth of July, 1792, opened a wide and extensive theatre for traitors and disaffected persons of every rank, character, and religious persuasion, to fraternize and spread the infection of their noxious principles.

Some

Some months before, it was announced in the publick prints, and all the volunteers of the province of Ulster were invited to assist there. Mr. Tone, thinking that this would afford him a good opportunity of attaching to his system a great number of the Northern presbyterians, well trained to arms, sent to a republican friend at Belfast the resolutions and declarations of the united Irishmen, and desired him to propound them to the volunteers, when they were intoxicated with the admiration of French liberty.

The main object of the resolutions is, “a complete internal union of all the people of Ireland, to resist the weight of English influence.” He says in his letter, “with a reformed parliament every thing is easy; without it nothing can be done. The foregoing contain my true and sincere opinion of the state of this country, so far as in the present juncture it may be advisable to publish them. They certainly fall short of the truth; but truth itself must sometimes condescend to temporize. My unalterable opinion is, that the bane of Irish prosperity is in the influence of England.\* I believe that influence will be extended while the connection between the two countries continues; nevertheless, as I know that that opinion is for the present too hardy, though a little time may establish it universally, I have not made it a part of the resolutions. I have not said one word that looks like a wish for separation; though I give it to you as a most decided opinion, that such an event would be regeneration to this country.”

“I think the best time for publishing them will be on the fourteenth of July: I learn there is to be a commemoration of the French revolution; that morning star of liberty to Ireland!”

“The volunteers, if they approve of the plan, may adopt it, and I have worded it so as to leave them an opportunity. I have left, as you see, a blank for the name. As to the Roman catholicks, I have alluded to them, but so remotely, as I hope not to alarm the most cautious protestant. It is wicked nonsense to talk of a reform in Ireland, in which they shall not have their due share.”

This shews how anxious he was about the Roman catholicks, whose hired agent and secretary he was at that time; and how artfully he endeavours

\* In the reign of James II. the Irish Roman catholicks made a great outcry against English interest, as may be seen in lord Clarendon's state letters.



deavours to allure the protestants to promote their interest, though their own destruction was involved in it.

The anniversary of the French revolution\* was celebrated with great pomp and splendour by a procession of many volunteer corps, in which some pageants and large emblematick figures, with mottos fuitable to the occasion, were drawn by horses. On one of them, drawn by four horses, there was the following inscription: "The releasement of the prisoners from the Bastile." On the reverse, there was a figure of Hibernia, with one hand and foot in shackles, and a volunteer presenting to her a figure of Liberty. The following motto was inscribed on another: "Our Gallic brethren were born July fourteenth, 1789: Alas! we are still in embryo." On the reverse, "Superstitious jealousy, the cause of the Irish Bastile: Let us unite and destroy it." Among them appeared the portrait of doctor Franklin, with this motto, "Where liberty is, there is my country."

I have been informed by many gentlemen well acquainted with the real sentiments of the presbyterians of the North, that they harbour a most inveterate hatred towards the Roman catholicks; that they never sincerely wished that they should obtain the elective franchise; and that they endeavoured to raise their expectations very high, from a malignant hope, that a disappointment, arising from not having them fulfilled, would exasperate them against the state, and make them more sanguine in their desires to overturn it.

On the other hand, the Romanists had different designs; for the late rebellion proves that they meant to make use of that sect of protestants, merely as an engine to overturn the constitution, and to have extirpated the whole order of protestants when they had succeeded. As there are many good and loyal subjects among both these religionists, I think it right to apologize to them; and to assure them, that I allude only to the ignorant, the unprincipled, and uneducated ranks of both.

The Catholick committee, hoping that they might conciliate and gain over to their cause the volunteers of Ulster, assembled at Belfast, when the flame of liberty excited in their breasts the most tender emotions of fraternity and benevolence, and extinguished all mean and selfish affections, sent fourteen delegates there, of whom one was a priest, some days before the civick feast began.

A Frenchman,

\* It lasted some days.

A Frenchman, who had been very busy intriguing in Dublin, attended there also.

When the procession was over, the volunteers and many of the inhabitants of the town assembled in the linen-hall, and entered on the discussion of politics. Parliamentary reform, and an universal restoration of all the privileges of the Roman catholics were resolved on.

They then voted an address to the national assembly of France, and another to the people of Ireland.

The leading orators, and the chief friends of the Romanists on this occasion, were Messrs. Sampson and Neilson, notorious rebels, presbyterians by profession, but decided deists; the reverend T. Birch, the reverend doctor Dickson, and the reverend S. Kelburne,\* presbyterian ministers, and doctor Caldwell, a noted republican.

These active citizens, and the delegates from the Roman catholic committee, whose hatred towards each other could be equalled by nothing but their zeal to overturn the constitution, which was their only bond of union, were like two bands of robbers in Arabia, whose competition for plunder was an unceasing source of enmity; but meeting with a rich caravan, so well guarded, that they despair singly of conquering it, they therefore unite for that purpose.

The Roman catholic delegates having completely succeeded in their negotiation for fraternizing with the presbyterians, and for attaching them to their cause, gave way to immoderate joy, and poured out many a libation to Bacchus, on the night of the day that the civic feast was held.

On the fourteenth of July, the volunteers of Dublin assembled and fired three volleys on the quay, in commemoration of the French revolution; and on that day, and on the sixteenth of July, many political clubs dined together, to celebrate that event.

On the twenty-third of May, 1792, the Polish revolution was celebrated at Belfast; that day being its anniversary. A numerous company who dined at the Donegal arms, drank the following among other toasts: The rights of man and Tom Paine: The sovereignty of the people: May philosophy enlighten all nations, and form the whole into one family: The revolution society of London: James Napper Tandy, and a speedy check to unconstitutional and undefined privileges.

May

\* Birch and Dickson have been transported; Kelburne was imprisoned a considerable time.

May eighteenth, 1792, the Belfast second society of united Irishmen resolved on contributing their share of money to assist the people of France in the present war.

At this time there existed a Northern whig club, which frequently published resolutions of a revolutionary tendency.

On the twenty-eighth of October, 1792, they celebrated, with great pomp, at Belfast, the retreat of the duke of Brunswick's army from France. Lisburn, and many other towns of the North, followed their example.

December thirty-first, 1792, the union society at Newry, consisting mostly of Romanists, Patrick O'Hanlon,\* secretary, resolved, "That their object was to remove religious prejudices, and to promote unanimity and brotherly love among Irishmen of every sect and persuasion."

The Roman catholics of Dublin, duly convened by publick summons the thirty-first of October, 1792, Thomas Braughall in the chair, voted their thanks to the different volunteer corps reviewed in Ulster; to the societies of united Irishmen of Dublin and Belfast; to the protestant freeholders of Cork;† and the gentlemen on grand juries, and at county meetings, and to all others among their protestant brethren‡ who manifested a wish for their emancipation.

Lest the lower class of the Romanists should not feel that enthusiasm in the cause of emancipation which the Catholick committee did, numbers of the popish multitude under the denomination of householders of Dublin, were convened in their respective parishes, the latter end of the year 1792, when they entered into a discussion of their claims.

At an assembly of them the thirty-first of October, one of the leading members of the Catholick committee, to animate them, said, "Look to the protestant part of Ireland, the North; look to Belfast; look to the four societies of united Irishmen there; to the declaration of the volunteers in every part of Ireland, *rising once more from their lethargy, to raise their degraded country.*"

Two volunteer corps, assembled under arms at Belfast on the seventh of September, 1792, expressed their joy at seeing that the spirit of volunteering

\* He attended John Keogh on his mission to Rathfriland.

† This was a mob consisting mostly of papists, convened by a few discontented gentlemen soured by disappointed ambition.

‡ On the contrary, the real protestants this very year were loud and vehement against granting the Roman catholics the elective franchise.



lunteering was reviving throughout the province of Ulster, being confident, that the rights of the people are most secure, when they are able to assert them; and that they are persuaded the country owes whatever commerce and constitution it possesses to the spirit and wisdom of the volunteers; and they re-adopt the resolutions of those assembled at Dunganon the fifteenth of February, 1782, and the eighth of September, 1783, in which a total repeal of the popery laws, and an union of persons of every religious persuasion, is recommended.

A revolutionary club, who called themselves the Irish jacobins of Belfast, published a most seditious address to the publick on the fifteenth of December, 1792, in the Northern Star, in which they say there is no national government, and that there must be a complete representation of the people; and they inculcate the necessity of parliamentary reform and Catholick emancipation.

Different revolutionary societies in the North, raised by subscription, in the year 1792, considerable sums of money for the republicans of France.

At Coleraine they subscribed 600*l*. The inhabitants of Drumacoe, in the parish of Newtownlimavady, and its vicinity, set one on foot the tenth of July, and invited persons of every religious persuasion to contribute to it.

In July, 1792, monsieur François read a letter in the French convention, written by a society of friends to the French constitution in Ireland, who praised it very much, and offered eight hundred livres towards the expences of the state.

In the year 1792, there existed the following political clubs in Dublin: The Whig club: The Whigs of the capital, who circulated twenty thousand copies of Tom Paine's Rights of Man, at 1*d*. each, but many of them *gratis*, to enlighten the people: The friends of the constitution, liberty, and peace:\* The Catholick committee: The Catholick society: The united Irishmen, who were very numerous: The defenders, who multiplied to a very extraordinary degree, were much influenced by the united Irishmen, and with whom they began to affiliate in the year 1792: Many reading clubs: The Shamrock, Telegraphick, and Philanthropick societies,

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which

\* Many men of principle and good fortune, who wished for nothing but a simple reform of parliament, were members of it, but did not know the latent designs of the rebels.

which were ramifications of defenderism, consisted of the lowest classes of the people, and furnished the united Irishmen with assassins. The Philanthropick passed sentence of death on captain Giffard in the year 1794, when high sheriff of the city; but the assassin appointed to execute it, being touched with remorse, informed him of it, and put him on his guard.

On Monday the twenty-seventh of February, 1792, an event happened which filled all loyal subjects with alarming apprehensions, and with ominous conjectures, lest the malignant designs of the traitors, who were numerous at that time in the metropolis, might terminate in its destruction. About the hour of four o'clock on that day, when the house of commons were in a committee, a member, conceiving that he perceived the smell of fire, sent some of the servants to the dome of the edifice, and they immediately announced that it was on fire. The members, having instantly retired to the opposite side of the street, saw the flames bursting from it in several places, and in opposite directions, and the whole was instantly in a blaze. The utmost exertion, with all the buckets and engines of the city, were used to extinguish it, but in vain.

It occasioned universal consternation; the guards at the castle, and the magazine in the park, were doubled; and the artillery approached the city.

A committee of the house, who sat to determine on the cause of it, reported, that it happened by accident; though the ablest members of that committee were convinced that it was done by design; but they feared that the admission of it would be injurious to the trade and credit of the nation. An idea was universally disseminated, that one of the metal flues, constructed for the purpose of warming the house, had communicated fire to the dome; but for the following reasons that will appear to have been utterly impossible: They were made of cast iron; they were placed outside the house, so as to have no communication with the dome, which was sheathed with a thick coat of copper; and there was no timber employed in the construction of the flues.

Mr. Penrose, an able architect,\* and well versed in many other sciences, was decidedly of opinion, that it was not possible for the flues, or any accident,

\* He was architect of the houses of parliament, and had been at that time daily inspecting the roof of the house of commons, as he was repairing it.

accident, to have occasioned the fire; that it was done by deliberate design, and must have been effected by some chemical process.

The dome was formed of an immense body of solid timber, which in the ordinary progress of fire, would require some hours to consume; and yet it soon formed a circular body of fixed inextinguishable flame, and was completely burnt in about an hour and a half.

As there were at that time in the city two desperate factions, who, we have learned by fatal experience, meditated the subversion of the constitution, and the destruction of the government, it is not unlikely that it was perpetrated by one or either of them, or by both in conjunction; as it will appear in the sequel that they often co-operated.

Napper Tandy had narrowly escaped the vengeance of the house of commons, for having offered a gross insult to one of its members; and a proclamation for his apprehension appeared at that time in the newspapers.

About the same time, all the efforts of Richard Burke, agent to the Catholick committee, were completely baffled; and he with difficulty escaped the resentment of the house of commons. He had prevailed on one of its members to present a petition on the part of his employers, and he had the folly and presumption to enter into the body of the house, to prompt the gentleman who had undertaken that task, which excited the indignation of that assembly; and nothing but his precipitate retreat saved him from being arrested by the serjeant at arms.

The overweening and insolent petition of that body had been recently dismissed with indignant contempt; and the new popery bill, which, though it gave them considerable privileges, blasted their future expectations, had just passed through the house of commons. The leading catholicks of Dublin gave various proofs of the indignation which they felt at these disappointments, particularly in their debate on the twenty-third of March in Fishamble-street.

From the many traitors and incendiaries who appeared in these two bodies in the year 1798, we may fairly conclude that they would not hesitate to form a scheme for destroying the house of commons, when they had meditated a plot for overturning the state, and the extirpation of numbers of the most valuable members of society.

Supposing, therefore, that it was an accident, it must be acknowledged that it happened at a very critical moment.\*

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\* Some of the wretches arrested on the explosion of the rebellion, acknowledged that they knew



It is observable, that a few days before the perpetration of this horrid crime, the following printed paper was distributed through the streets in the form of a hand bill, and posted on the city walls, and even on the house of commons, under the proclamation issued for apprehending Napper Tandy :

“ The members of a certain great house, not far from the college, are hereby cautioned how they persecute to ruin a virtuous citizen, for defending his character, and asserting the liberties of Ireland ; if they do not, let them beware of the awl of the cobbler of Messina.” \*

Early in the year 1792, a military body who styled themselves national guards, because they endeavoured to assimilate to those at Paris, were arrayed and disciplined in Dublin. Subscriptions were set on foot to purchase uniforms, pikes and accoutrements for them, and of which they bespoke large quantities. †

They wore green uniforms, with buttons, having a harp, and a cap of liberty instead of a crown. ‡ Their leaders were A. H. Rowan and James Napper Tandy, who addressed each other, and the members of their rebellious corps, by the appellation of citizen, in imitation of the French.

The multitude in Dublin were so much disaffected at this time, that they used to wish success to these traitors, openly and without reserve, as they passed by them in the street, or saw them on parade.

The mass of the people were so much infected with treason, and so prone to rise the latter end of the year 1792, and the beginning of the year 1793, that a general insurrection was apprehended ; and even particular nights were fixed for that purpose, of which government had certain

knew of, and were privy to, the burning of the house, previous to its perpetration ; and one person swore an information of it.

\* A gentleman now living, informed a member of the privy council, that he was acquainted with circumstances which would lead to a discovery of the burning of the house of commons ; but he afterwards informed him, that the council did not wish to enter into an investigation of it.

† This band of traitors sprung from the volunteers ; as stated in the report of the secret committee.

‡ Carey, the printer of the united Irishmen, boasted in his pamphlet, “ that he was Mr. Rowan’s companion in arms, in the first national battalion ; and that he opposed and finally procured the abolition of the mischievous button and cockade, which afforded a pretext to the enemies of our glorious volunteer institution to prevent its suspension.”

tain information. In short, the city was like a great shell, fraught with various combustibles, and ready to explode on the application of a match.

Five nights out of seven alderman Fleming, by the orders of government, patrolled the streets with a body of horse.

Lord Westmorland desired him to attend particularly to the custom-house, the post-office, and the gaol, as his excellency had undoubted information that they were the first places to be attacked ; and that the signal for rising was to have been the pulling down of the statue of king William in College-green, with ropes.

One night lord Westmorland was so much afraid that the insurrection would take place, that, though he had given orders in the morning to the alderman to patrol that night, he sent an aid-de-camp in the evening to see that he was in readiness to do so.

It was discovered at that time, that there was a conspiracy to assassinate the right honourable John Beresford. One of the persons privy to it confessed it to alderman James.

The national guards, and all the volunteer corps of Dublin, were summoned by Matthew Dowling, to assemble on Sunday the ninth of December, 1792, to celebrate the victory of the French, and the triumph of universal liberty. The summons began with the appellation of " citizen foldier."

Government, having received undoubted information that a general insurrection was meditated, issued a proclamation on the eighth of December against their assembling, which struck such terror into them, that the national guards did not assemble ; and the only persons who appeared on parade were A. H. Rowan, J. N. Tandy, and Carey the printer. For this measure of precaution, which saved the city from plunder and conflagration, and its most valuable inhabitants from assassination, we are indebted to the earl of Clare, the present lord chancellor, whose wisdom, sagacity, and unabated fortitude, notwithstanding many plots which were formed to murder him, have preserved the kingdom of Ireland, on various occasions, from utter destruction. The exalted sphere to which he has been raised, and the honours conferred on him by our gracious sovereign, prove the superior excellence of a mixed government like ours, where the monarch selects men, like him, distinguished for wisdom, abilities, and virtue, to fill the principal departments of the state ; but in a republick, where demagogues can turn the giddy multitude like a torrent,

to overwhelm every thing that is great and good, a Tone, a Tandy, or a Sheares, would fill the department over which this noble lord so worthily presides.

On the thirty-first of January, 1793, an address of thanks to lord Westmorland was moved and carried in the house of commons, for having issued this proclamation. In the debate on it, lord Edward Fitzgerald arose, and said aloud, in an angry tone, "I give my most hearty disapprobation to this; for I do think, that the lord lieutenant, and the majority of this house, are the worst men in the kingdom." The house had serious thoughts of expelling him; but with singular pusillanimity, pardoned him on making a slight excuse."

There was as much treason in the city of Dublin in the year 1792 as in the year 1798; but with this difference, that it was not organized into system; and yet lord Westmorland's administration was mild and conciliating.

An ingenious writer, in a letter addressed to a friend in England, and published in the year 1792, makes the following observations on this period: "On your side the water, philosophy, I suppose, is defined after the good old manner: the love or study of wisdom, moral or natural. With us it is a word of a very different import; for in Ireland, no man is allowed to possess either wisdom or learning, who does not believe in the new American gospel; who is not in politics a republican; and in religion a presbyterian, a papist, or an infidel. Out of these, there is no saving wisdom: Such are the signs by which Irish philosophy is known. Sometimes, indeed, it displays itself in libels on the king and the revolution; and he who discharges the greatest portion of filth is the deepest philosopher."

The political horizon of Ireland was so much darkened at this time by black threatening clouds, that trade and publick credit were materially injured. Bank stock which had been so high as 171l. fell to 158l. and the other funds in proportion. Lottery tickets shared the same fate.

As the Roman catholics were chiefly instrumental in bringing the country into this alarming state, doctor Mc. Kenna, a member of that order, stepped forward with a seasonable and judicious address, in which he told them, "that they lived under a wise and fortunate organization of society; that, violence in asserting what they call their rights, ought  
not



not to be employed ; for few political benefits are of sufficient value to be purchased by commotion.”

When the disaffected clubs found that they could not elude the vigilance of the magistrates, who often dispersed or arrested them, they used to assemble in the environs of the capital, particularly at Harold's-cross, under a pretext of boxing or playing at foot-ball.

Notwithstanding the proclamation of the eighth of December, the goldsmiths' corps, commanded by major Bacon the tailor, and that noted traitor Dowling, paraded in Ship-street, on Sunday the twenty-seventh of January, but were dispersed by alderman Warren ; however, before their dispersion, they entered into strong resolutions in favour of Catholick emancipation \* and reform of parliament.

In defiance of the proclamation of the eighth of December, to prevent the association and assembling of disaffected persons in arms, under a pretence of obtaining a redress of grievances, the Dublin rangers paraded in Ship-street, on Sunday the twenty-fourth of February, 1793. Alderman James, unattended by any civil or military force, desired them to disperse ; but, on their refusal, Mr. Oliver Carleton, an active and intelligent magistrate, pursued and overtook them on Effex-bridge, where he attempted to seize the adjutant ; telling him, at the same time, that he was his prisoner ; but he was rescued. Mr. Carleton received some blows, and was pelted with stones by the mob, who were warm partisans of these armed traitors. Alderman James pursued them to Drumcondra, with a party of the army, but they dispersed before he could approach them.

On the sixteenth of January, the inhabitants of Belfast assembled, and voted an address of thanks to his majesty, for having recommended the Roman catholicks to the consideration of parliament.

On the fourteenth of January, 1793, a motion was made in the house of commons for a parliamentary reform, which was the grand desideratum of the united Irishmen, and one of the engines by which they hoped to overturn and prostrate the constitution.†

Many

\* These words were adopted to make the people of England believe that the Irish papists were slaves, though they enjoyed more civil liberty than the most favoured subjects of any European state, except England.

† It is remarkable, that the opposition in the parliaments of England and Ireland fed the hopes and promoted the wishes of the disaffected by inflammatory speeches.

Many attempts were made at Belfast, so early as the year 1792, to seduce the military. Joseph Cuthbert, a master tailor there, was condemned to stand in the pillory for that offence.

In the month of April, 1793, the disaffected people of that town would not suffer the loyal inhabitants to illuminate their houses, for the success of our allies on the continent. Some of the dissenting ministers of that town offered up prayers for the success of the French republicans against the powers who opposed them. It generally happens that the moral and political principles of men, in a great measure, emanate from and are modified by their religion. As the presbyterian church was formed in a republic, and as its ecclesiastical establishment was assimilated to the civil polity of the state, its members in every country in Europe have shewn a dislike to every form of government but a democratick. For this reason, the calvinistical ministers in France, justified the rebellion against Charles I. and prayed publicly for its success; and, left from their zeal they might have been considered as entertaining views and wishes hostile to their own government, one of their ablest professors at Saumur published the following absurd apology for them: That the kings of France were absolute by prescription; but that those of England were subordinate to the parliament. Nothing shews so much the excellence of our constitution, as having the king at the head of the ecclesiastical state.

I before observed, page 8, that while this policy was adhered to by the emperors of Rome and Constantinople, peace and tranquillity reigned in their dominions; but when the bishop of Rome assumed a right to regulate religious matters in them, it produced incessant strife and discord.

It was a standing law of an early date at Rome, that no one should separately have new gods, or worship privately foreign gods, unless admitted by the commonwealth,\* and Isocrates tells us, that the same law existed at Athens.†

Mæcenæ, in his advice to Augustus, said to him, "Perform divine worship, in all things, exactly according to the custom of your ancestors, and suffer no innovations in religion; because those who create such,  
are

\* Cicero de Legibus, lib. 11.

† Isocrates Areopagus.

are apt to make changes in civil affairs; hence conspiracies, seditions, and riots; things very dangerous to government.”\* This observation applies strongly to the state of Ireland at present, and that of England in the reign of Elizabeth and James I. before the blessings of the Reformation were fully experienced in it.

James Napper Tandy was indicted at the spring assizes of 1793, held at Dundalk, in the county of Louth, for having distributed seditious handbills the preceding summer, to encourage the people of that country, much infested by the defenders, to rise; but having, through his attorney Matthew Dowling, discovered that there were strong charges for high treason against him, he fled, forfeited his recognisance, and never since appeared, till he was brought a prisoner from Hamburgh, except when he landed in the North in 1798, an account of which is given in Appendix XXI. 10.

On the seventh of March, 1793, alderman James found and seized some pikes in Suffolk-street, and lodged them in the king's stores; † so early did the disaffected begin to procure these weapons.

In the month of January, 1793, the Roman catholic inhabitants of many parishes in Dublin assembled, debated on their claims and pretensions, and voted addresses to their delegates in the general committee; in which some of them recommended the expulsion of lord Kenmare, and applauded the conduct of messieurs Braughall, Ryan, and Sutton.

The reader may easily conceive for what purpose the mass of the papists were thus assembled, and how much it must have inflamed their passions, and prepared their minds for the reception of sedition and treason.

As the Roman catholics of some counties and districts had assembled with their protestant fellow-subjects, to join in an address to testify their allegiance, the sub-committee of the Roman catholics dissuaded them from doing so, “since,” as they said, “that end was answered in a more dignified, solemn, and authorized manner, by their delegates.”

As large quantities of gun-powder and arms had been sent from the metropolis to the defenders, concealed in packages, and it was universally believed that much of both had been imported into the kingdom, the attorney general introduced a bill into the house of commons, to prevent any person from keeping, importing, or removing, any more than a certain quantity, without a license, under a penalty of 500l.

R

This

\* Dion Cassius, lib. iii.

† They were the first of those weapons discovered in Dublin.



This very salutary law, to which the salvation of the kingdom may in some degree be imputed, was violently opposed by the minority in parliament, and severely condemned by the united Irishmen, who seemed to concur in censuring every measure of prevention and precaution which government adopted to defeat the designs of the conspirators.

In the year 1793, when republican principles were disseminated by all the revolutionary societies in many public prints, and various inflammatory publications, doctor Troy, titular archbishop of Dublin, published a pamphlet, entitled a Pastoral Letter, in which, after departing from the main design which he professed, he said, that the antient republics of Florence, Sicna, and Pisa, were established and governed by Roman catholics, who still continue to support those of Poland, Venice, Genoa, Ragusa, Lucca and Marino; and he makes the same remark in respect to the popish cantons of the Helvetic union, and observes that the calvinistical ones prefer an aristocratical government.

As popery has been generally congenial to monarchy, and rather favourable to despotism, it was believed that the doctor did this to attach more firmly the presbyterians to their cause, by proving that the popish persuasion was well suited to a republick.

The reader may deduce from subsequent events, whether this conjecture was well founded.

It struck me, and many persons of sagacity observed, that the horrors which people in general felt at the cruelties and barbarities committed by the French republicans, began to abate in the minds of the Roman catholics in the beginning of the year 1793, and that they continued to wear away gradually, till the rebellion broke out.

Doctor Hufsey, in a pastoral letter, published in the year 1797, endeavoured to prove how well suited popery was to a republican form of government. This was a most inflammatory publication, which the reader will find in Appendix XXI. 11.

We may form some opinion of the alarming state of the North, from the report of the secret committee of the lords, made in 1793; and from a proclamation which issued the eleventh of March, of that year, which alludes chiefly to Belfast. It states, "that certain seditious and ill-affected persons, in several parts of the North, particularly in the town of Belfast, have endeavoured to foment and encourage discontent, and to defame the government and the parliament, by seditious publications, circulated

circulated among the people ; and that several bodies of men have been collected in armed associations, and have been levied, and arrayed in the said town of Belfast ; and that arms and gun-powder to a very large amount have been sent thither ; and that bodies of men have been drilled and exercised by day and night, under the pretext of obtaining a redress of grievances, though the obvious intention appears to be, to overawe the parliament and the government, and to dictate to both."

It then charges all persons, under their allegiance, to abstain from committing such offences respectively.

This salutary and vigorous measure gave a vital blow to volunteering ; and the pressure of the times called for it, as the Belfast volunteer company, assembled the seventeenth of December, 1792, resolved on an address to the volunteers of Ireland ; in which they encouraged them to assemble as usual, and severely condemned the proclamation which issued on the eighth of December.

When the proclamation of the eleventh of March issued, the lord lieutenant's secretary wrote to the sovereign of Belfast, desiring him to prevent all illegal meetings of persons in arms ; and informing him, that he and the other magistrates would be aided by the military, should they meet with any opposition in dispersing them.

In the month of January, 1793, there was a meeting held at Ballynahinch, to which all the parishes in the county of Down sent delegates regularly chosen, and recommended to them to promote Parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation ; and at a town meeting held in February following at Carrickfergus, in the county of Antrim, besides discussing these subjects, the policy of holding a national convention was strongly enforced.

In the beginning of the year 1793, meetings of the people were held in different towns and districts in the counties of Down and Antrim ; when they inculcated the necessity of Parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation, condemned the establishment of the militia, as tending to enslave the nation, and recommended the volunteers to assemble as usual.

On the fifteenth of February, 1793, a provincial meeting was held at Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone, to which most of the parishes in Ulster sent delegates.

Their debates were highly inflammatory. Every thing that could tend to depreciate the constitution, and debase and vilify the members of the government in the opinion of the people, was said there. They inveighed strongly against the war, and entered into resolutions against it.

Doctor Dickson, a presbyterian minister, and a noted demagogue, was the leading orator there. He inveighed bitterly against fencibles;\* said that the militia were but substitutes for them, and that the object of both was to enslave and not to defend the nation. He said, that Catholick emancipation was but a shadow, as the gunpowder act, which he severely condemned, deprived not only the Roman catholicks, but the protestants, of the use of arms. He reprobated the proclamation issued the eleventh of March against the illegal association of men in arms, and strongly exhorted the volunteers to assemble as usual. He declared, that he had three sermons ready for the press, which were calculated to enlighten the people; and he recommended to the delegates to circulate them in their respective districts. The publication of them was to be announced in the Northern Star, and Samuel Neilson was one of the persons appointed to receive subscriptions. He said, that the militia establishment was merely to promote venality and patronage, for the infamous train who fatten on the spoils of the people. He condemned the war in severe terms.

At the request of the herd of republicans assembled at Dungannon, he preached a sermon, or rather a political discourse, fraught with phlogistick principles, in a meeting-house, and was attended by persons of every religious persuasion. His text was Joseph's advice to his brethren, "See that ye fall not out by the way."

He recommended in his sermon Catholick emancipation, and reform of parliament, on the basis of christianity.

In the summer of 1797, he, after the manner of Thelwall, used to read political discourses, which he called evening lectures, to his congregation at Portaferry, for the purpose, as he said, of enlightening them.

At Dungannon, they framed fifteen resolutions, which reflected upon government, and were very inflammatory; and before their prorogation, they

\* Four regiments of them were raised in the year 1782, on advantageous terms to the state; because the officers were not to receive half-pay on being disbanded. They were hateful to the factious demagogues of that day, who hoped, through the volunteers, to subvert the constitution, as there were but few troops in the kingdom.



they appointed a standing committee, who were to concert measures for assembling a national convention.

Soon after, most of the volunteers and many town and district meetings of the people in Ulster, assembled, and expressed their approbation of these resolutions.

Nothing can afford a stronger argument in favour of an union with Great Britain, than such meetings of the people, assembled for the purpose of overawing the parliament; particularly as they were constantly encouraged and made use of as engines to distress government, by the discontented members of the house of commons, at the expence of publick morals, peace, and industry.

In defiance of the proclamation of the eleventh of March, the True Blue and Cork union volunteers adopted the following resolution, the thirty-first of May, 1793: "We proclaim aloud that we will never part with our arms, but with our lives;" and many other volunteer corps entered into similar resolutions.

Though the Roman catholics had been recently put exactly on a footing with protestants, except that they were precluded from sitting in parliament, and from about thirty offices in the executive department, the defenders began in the month of June to commit the most dreadful outrages in many parts of the kingdom, but particularly in the counties of Kerry, Cork, Wexford, Limerick, Queen's county, Meath, Westmeath, Dublin, Cavan, Monaghan, Louth, and in the liberties of Drogheda, Leitrim, Longford, Roscommon, Mayo, Sligo, Armagh, Down, Donegal, and Derry.

Treason and disaffection were universally disseminated at this time. The united Irishmen used to send emissaries to different parts of the kingdom, who made it a practice of dispersing seditious hand-bills, in every county through which they passed, from carriages.\*

As the united Irishmen of Dublin and the provincial meeting at Dunganon proposed the convoking a national assembly, which was to have assembled in the month of September following, the earl of Clare, ever vigilant and attentive to the publick good, whose sagacity and political

\* Left it should be said, that what I have asserted as to the disturbed state of the kingdom this year is not founded, I give in Appendix, No. IX. a statement of some of the outrages committed in different parts of the kingdom.

tical wisdom could be equalled by nothing but his firmness, presented a bill, "To prevent the election or other appointment, of conventions, or other unlawful assemblies, under pretence of preparing or presenting publick petitions or other addressees to his majesty, or the parliament."

This salutary measure averted a storm, which would probably have produced general anarchy and desolation, as there were but few troops in the kingdom; and the volunteers, at that time numerous, and well armed and appointed, were very much inflamed against government, by the speeches of factious demagogues.

Nothing can evince more strongly the policy and utility of this law, than that Samuel Neilson declared upon oath, before the house of lords, "That the convention bill was calculated to meet every part of the system of united Irishmen." When he read it, he said, "he supposed the framer of it had their constitution before him whilst he was framing it." Neilson was one of the most active and intelligent members of the Irish union, except Tone.

In the month of October, 1793, the reverend and amiable Mr. Butler, chaplain to the bishop of Meath, was murdered near his lordship's house at Ardrackan. It appeared afterwards, that he had been previously tried and sentenced to die by a committee of assassination.

During the whole of the year 1794, the defenders became terrifick, committing nocturnal robbery and assassination, in the counties of Cork, Dublin, Meath, Leitrim, Longford, Armagh, Louth, Cavan, and part of Down, in consequence of which, the protestant inhabitants of most of them assembled, formed associations for their defence, and offered rewards for bringing the defenders to justice.

They were so daring and destructive in the county of Longford, that the nobility, clergy and freeholders united, resolved to levy money by subscription, for raising and maintaining a body of horse for their defence; and having addressed the viceroy for permission to do so, obtained it.

In the month of February, 1794, a numerous body of insurgents assembled between Dunmanway and Bandon, in the county of Cork, and swore several persons not to pay tithes, taxes, or hearth-money, and to obey no laws but those of captain Right; and even threatened to attack the town of Bandon, whose inhabitants being almost exclusively protestants of the established church, are noted for their loyalty. They were incited to this by seditious hand-bills, some of which were sent by post from Dublin.

They

They assembled again in the month of March, assumed the function of legislators, and dispersed a body of police attended by a magistrate. They had the boldness to attack a party of the Carlow militia, and wounded a magistrate, while reading the riot act.

In that month they assembled often in different parts of that county.

The sheriffs of the city of Dublin, in the year 1794, and the other magistrates there, assured me, that the defenders were constantly forming plots and conspiracies in it, and that they were very numerous.

On the fourth of March, a bill was presented to the house of commons, for a reform of parliament.

In the month of March, 1794, the united Irishmen dispersed seditious hand-bills in the university of Dublin, in order to seduce the students from their allegiance.

In the month of January of this year, Mr. Pentland, a revenue officer, was barbarously murdered at Drogheda in the night.

On the twenty-eighth of April, 1794, the reverend Mr. Jackson, a protestant clergyman, was committed to Newgate on a charge of high treason.

He came to Ireland as a missionary from the French government, to lay a plan for invading it; and was convicted of that crime in the year 1795, but died of poison in the dock, before the sentence could be pronounced. This man was formerly the confidential friend and private secretary of the famous dukes of Kingston, who was better known by the name of Miss Chudleigh.\*

A. H. Rowan, who was concerned in the plot with him, made his escape from Newgate, where he was under sentence of imprisonment, for having dispersed some seditious papers.

On the night of the twenty-third of May, 1794, alderman Warren, sheriffs Giffard and Jenkin, attended by some constables, repaired to Tailors-hall in Back-lane and dispersed the united Irishmen, whom they found sitting in consultation, and seized their papers; but they continued afterwards to sit, and to carry on their nefarious machinations with secrecy, but with equal effect. It appeared afterwards, that many of the  
leaders

\* There is not a doubt but that this man was invited by the Irish republicans to undertake this mission.



leaders of the Catholick committee were members of the society of united Irishmen, though they artfully concealed themselves while that body openly avowed its existence, and published its proceedings; having left the obnoxious and dangerous part to the protestants, who, though few in number, served as scape-goats to draw on them the vengeance of the law, and the detestation of all good men and loyal subjects; and this gave a colour to the romanists to say, that the plot was originally framed by protestants.

I give the reader the names of some of the protestant leaders, with the fate which befel them.

Theobald Wolfe Tone convicted,  
but cut his throat.

Honourable Simon Butler, died in  
extreme poverty in Wales.

James Napper Tandy, fled.

Archibald H. Rowan.†

Oliver Bond, convicted of high  
treason, but died in prison.

Beauchamp B. Harvey. \*

Thomas Ruffel.†

Arthur O'Connor.†

Roger O'Connor.†

Samuel Neilson.†

John Chambers.†

Henry Sheares.\*

John Sheares.\*

Joseph Levins.†

William Levingston Webb.†

Henry Jackson.†

Matthew Dowling.†

James Reynolds.†

Thomas A. Emmett.†

John Burke.†

Hugh Wilson.†

Robert Simms,† proprietor of  
the Northern Star.

Edward Hudson.†

† Exiles.

\* Were hanged.

## CIVIL ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

I SHALL now endeavour to give the reader an idea of the organization of their clubs, which, to impose on the people, were said to be formed merely for civil purposes ; and the better to induce the populace to enter into them, it was falsely and wickedly suggested, that it would produce an abolition of tythes, and an equal distribution of property. The inferior societies at their first institution consisted of thirty-six members ; they were afterwards, however, reduced to twelve. Whenever they exceeded that number, the excess was dismissed, with orders to make proselytes for the foundation of a new society. The twelve chose a secretary and treasurer ; and the secretaries of five societies formed what was called a lower baronial committee, which had the immediate direction and superintendence of the five societies, who thus contributed to its institution.

From each lower baronial committee thus constituted, one member was delegated to an upper baronial committee, which in like manner assumed and exercised the superintendence and direction of all the lower baronial committees in the several counties. The next superior committees were, in populous towns, distinguished by the name of district committees, and in counties by the name of county committees, and were composed of members delegated by the upper baronials. Each upper baronial committee delegated one of its members to the district, or county committee, and these district or county committees had the superintendence and direction of all the upper baronials, who contributed to their institution.

Having thus organized the several counties and populous towns, a subordinate directory was erected in each of the four provinces, composed of two or three members, according to the extent and population of the districts which they represented, who were delegated to a provincial committee, and had the immediate direction and superintendence of the several county and district committees in each of the four provinces ; and a general executive directory, composed of five persons, was elected

by the provincial directories ; but the election was so managed, that none but the secretaries of the provincial knew on whom the election fell. It was made by ballot, but not reported to the electors, the appointment being notified only to those on whom the election devolved ; and the executive directory, thus composed, assumed and exercised the supreme and uncontrolled command of the whole body of the union.

The manner of communicating the orders issued by the executive directory was peculiarly calculated to baffle detection. One member alone of the executive communicated with the secretary of each provincial committee or directory ; the order was transmitted by him to the secretary of each county or district committee in his province ; the secretaries of the county and district committees communicated with the upper baronials in each county ; they communicated with the secretaries of the lower baronial committees, who gave the order to the secretaries of each subordinate committee, by whom it was given to the several inferior members of the union.

In the month of March, 1794, many persons were convicted at Dundalk of appearing in arms in the night as defenders, and of administering unlawful oaths ; thirteen of them were capitally convicted.

In the month of May, 1794, the defenders were guilty of insurrections and outrages, little short of open rebellion in the counties of Meath and Cavan. At Kilnaleek in the latter, and in the neighbouring country, they were three days under arms. They laid waste a large tract of the bishop of Meath's estate, having plundered and burned the houses of many of his protestant tenants. The royal Dublin militia, assisted by a number of presbyterians, pursued them to Ballynaugh, which town they took possession of, and fired on the king's troops from the windows. At last the militia were obliged to burn the town to dislodge them.

About the same time, at Drumsna in the county of Leitrim, nine police men fled into a house from a mob of insurgents, who set fire to the house, and murdered all the police men as they endeavoured to escape from the flames.

In the province of Connaught, particularly in the county of Roscommon, the defenders were terrifick in the years 1794 and 1795. The mass of the people were furnished with pikes, and the houses of protestants were constantly plundered of arms. At last, many of the nobility and

gentry



gentry assembled at Roscommon in the month of May, and resolved to lower rents, and to raise the wages of labourers, in hopes of allaying the dreadful spirit of outrage which actuated the people.

They adjourned their meeting for a week; but they soon discovered the folly of compromising with a mob in a state of insurrection, little short of open rebellion.

When they were approaching the town, on the day to which they adjourned, they saw numbers of people armed with pikes in all the adjacent fields, who pursued some of their philanthropick benefactors so closely, that they narrowly escaped into Roscommon.

While they were sitting in the town-hall, ashamed of their folly and pusillanimity, Mr. Mills of Fairymount, about six miles off, arrived with an account that a numerous body of pikemen had set fire to his house, after having plundered it.

The reverend Mr. Carey, a magistrate, having gone there with a party of dragoons, and found the house in flames, attacked a large body of the insurgents, who were armed with pikes, and killed about thirty of them.

In the year 1794, many houses were plundered of arms in the counties of Meath and Westmeath.

At the spring assizes for the county of Sligo, much disturbed by the defenders, many of them were convicted of robbing houses of arms, and administering unlawful oaths.

Early in the year 1795, one Cunny, a schoolmaster, was detected near Letterkenny, in the county of Donegal, in the act of administering the defenders oath. He acknowledged his crime, and convicted some of his accomplices. The purport of the oath was, to emancipate the Roman catholics; to assist the French, and to extirpate the protestants; and it inculcated sobriety, secrecy and obedience to their committees in all things. It contained an oath of allegiance to the king, as long as he lives. Some such mental reservation appeared in all oaths administered by the defenders; which was construed thus (by Weldon, a defender, executed in the year 1796,) to such persons as he swore: "If the king's head were off to-morrow, there would be an end of your oath." This mental reservation was couched in the following words in the oaths administered in other places: "As long as I live subject to the same government;" which appeared in the oath found upon Sharky, at Drumbanagher,

nagher, in the county of Armagh, in the year 1789; but they meant to get rid of their oath by renouncing and overturning the government, which appeared afterwards to have been the object of all the defenders.

At the foot of the oath found upon Cunny, there was a tree of liberty, and a cross marked thus, R. + C. meaning Roman catholic.

Defenderisin was introduced into the county of Donegal from Connaught, by Leitrim and Roscommon; and the doctrines of the united Irishmen from Belfast, in the year 1796, by men who appeared in the guise of pedlars.\*

In 1795 the defenders became more furious and formidable than ever, in many parts of the kingdom, which arose from the following cause:

Lord Fitzwilliam, appointed to succeed lord Westmorland in the government of Ireland, landed at Dublin on the fourth day of January.

Some time before his arrival, the leading Romanists having received assurances that the whole of the popery laws would be repealed during his administration, the sub-committee prepared a petition to parliament, praying that a law might pass for that purpose; and they recommended to persons of their persuasion, in all counties, towns and boroughs, to prepare similar petitions. Their orders were obeyed, and the petitions were presented to parliament on its meeting.

It was universally said and believed, that Mr. Grattan, who came to Dublin sometime before earl Fitzwilliam left London, gave undoubted assurances to the leading Romanists there, that they were to be gratified in their wishes in the fullest manner.

It was said in the Northern Star, on the eighth of September, 1794, that there was good authority for saying, that lord Fitzwilliam was to be viceroy; and that the first measure of his administration was to be the emancipation of the Roman catholics.

On Monday the second of February, 1795, the petition of the town of Belfast, (the mass of whose inhabitants are presbyterians,) in favour of Catholick emancipation, was presented to the house of commons by the members of the county of Antrim.

About

\* This strongly marked the discriminating features of the conspiracy. Belfast was the centre of motion in the north, and its inhabitants, who were mostly presbyterians, meditated the establishment of a republic as their main object, and considered assassination merely as the means of promoting it; but the mass of the conspirators in Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, being papists, aimed at the extirpation of protestants in the first instance, and as their primary object, of which the reader will be convinced in the sequel.

About the same time, there appeared in the Northern Star, some inflammatory addresses to the volunteers, invoking them to resume their arms and save their country.

On the twelfth of February, 1795, Mr. Grattan moved for leave to bring in a bill for further relief of the Roman catholicks.

Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled suddenly from the government of Ireland, and returned to England on the twenty-fifth of March.

The reasons assigned for it were, that his lordship exceeded the powers granted to him by the administration of England, in attempting to repeal the whole of the popery laws, and to remove most of the old officers of the crown, who had served his majesty the greater part of their lives with the utmost fidelity; and this by the advice of his excellency's cabinet ministers in Ireland, of whom Mr. Grattan was the chief.

It is not to be doubted, but that the Romanists were buoyed up with the hope of being admitted to equal privileges with the protestants, though the English cabinet never empowered lord Fitzwilliam to make them such concessions; but on the contrary, desired him to prevent the Catholick claims from being discussed. Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt publicly defied his lordship to prove that he had received such powers.

On the second of March, 1795, a debate took place on the recall of lord Fitzwilliam, in the course of which sir Laurence Parsons said, that, if the Roman catholicks were disappointed in the expectations with which they had been filled, every gentleman in Ireland would be under the necessity of keeping five or six dragoons in his house for his protection; and it turned out afterwards that he spoke prophetick truth.

It was universally believed, and the contrary has never been proved, that Mr. Grattan was the person who filled the Roman catholicks with these vain hopes, with a view of acquiring popularity, or from some other secret motive.

It was generally thought that he reasoned thus: If the Roman catholicks of Ireland, the majority of its inhabitants, who have been ready on all occasions to join any foreign foe against the interest of the protestant empire of Great Britain, shall come forward in a body, and ask for an equal participation of civil liberty and political power with the protestants, in a style of sturdy and menacing solicitation, at a time that both Great Britain and Ireland are threatened by a barbarous enemy, the English ministry



nistry must grant, from intimidation, what their policy and prudence might withhold.

At the same time Mr. Grattan, and the partisans of the Romanists, assured earl Fitzwilliam, that a separation of Ireland from England would most certainly take place, should they be disappointed in their expectations; and the very disturbed state of the kingdom, agitated at that time by the defenders and the united Irishmen, gave some credit to their assertions.

His excellency, relying on their veracity and integrity, persisted in promoting the wishes of the Romanists, I believe, from the best motives, and was therefore recalled.

From the respectability and amiableness of his character, no person could doubt of the rectitude of his intentions, or that he had any other object at heart than the interest of the empire; but it is believed that his lordship was unacquainted with the real state of the kingdom.

Notwithstanding the recall of earl Fitzwilliam, Mr. Grattan presented, on the twenty-fourth of April, a bill for further relief of the Roman catholicks, which contained a total repeal of the popery laws. It was read a second time, debated, and rejected the fourth of May; the numbers having been 155 to 84.

It must be universally allowed, that Mr. Grattan was very imprudent in bringing this measure forward, because he could not entertain the most distant hope of its success; and he must have known that the discussion of it would excite much discontent among the mass of the Romanists, who had manifested a strong spirit of disaffection during the three preceding years.

The Roman catholicks of Dublin voted an address of thanks to Mr. Grattan for his exertions in their favour; and his answer to them was very intemperate and inflammatory.\*

The disappointment of the Romanists was such, as to fill them with the most implacable hatred against the government and their protestant fellow-subjects, which manifested itself in various ways, but particularly in the destructive rage of the defenders, who desolated many parts of the kingdom; and particularly the counties of Dublin, Meath, Westmeath,

\* See Mr. Grattan's address, Appendix, No. X.

meath, Kildare, King's and Queen's county, Louth, Armagh, Monaghan, Cavan, Derry, Donegal, Roscommon, Leitrim, Longford, Sligo, and part of the county of Down.

They plundered protestants houses of arms, often burned them, and killed such of their inmates as made any resistance: They houghed their cattle, wrote threatening letters to compel persons to comply with their unreasonable requisitions; and frequently massacred those who dared to prosecute them, or to assist the civil magistrate in enforcing the execution of the laws. The loyal subjects deserted their houses in the disturbed countries, and fled to their respective county towns, or to the metropolis for protection.

Lord Camden, who succeeded lord Fitzwilliam as viceroy of Ireland, landed in Dublin on the second of April, 1795; a nobleman universally revered there, for his good sense and firmness, the mildness of his disposition, and the amiableness of his manners.

The chief officers of state, and many of the nobility and gentry repaired to the castle, to pay their respects to his excellency. The lord chancellor at his return was attacked by a gang of assassins, who, by repeated volleys of stones, broke the pannels of his coach, gave his lordship a severe contusion in the forehead, and would have murdered him, but that the skill of his coachman, and the agility of his horses, enabled him to escape.

The primate was also attacked at his return from the castle, but received no other injury than that his coach was in some degree damaged.

The same party repaired immediately to the house of Mr. John Claudius Beresford, nephew of the marquis of Waterford, and assaulted it with many showers of stones; but one of them having been killed by a shot from it, the remainder fled.

It was afterwards proved, that this mob was entirely composed of defenders, who had been selected by their leaders, to raise an insurrection; and lord Clare and Mr. Beresford's family were particularly the object of their vengeance; because they had given the most decided opposition to Catholic emancipation, and reform of parliament, the two engines by which the disaffected hoped to subvert the constitution.

The

The Romanists in Dublin were so much incensed at lord Fitzwilliam's recall, that a combination was formed in Francis-street chapel, that no papists should hold any dealings or any friendly intercourse with protestants; and their example was followed in all the other chapels.

There was to have been a charity sermon in James's-street chapel, but it was suddenly put off, for the purpose of entering into this combination; by which many of the poorer class of protestants in Thomas, Francis, and James's-streets, principally inhabited by papists, were ruined.

An eminent flour-factor assured me, that all the popish bakers, who had dealt with him, suddenly left him; and that to make up for the loss which he sustained by it, he was under a necessity of giving credit to persons whose solvency was doubtful. Papists also withdrew their custom from protestant bakers.

Should the protestants pursue the same vindictive and uncharitable system, the Roman catholics would be by far the greatest sufferers; as the former possess at least nineteen parts out of twenty of the property of the kingdom.

The mass of the popish rabble were universally infected with defenderism in the metropolis and its environs, in which outrages were perpetrated every night, and committees were frequently detected and seized with their papers, in the act of forming treasonable plots. The police commissioners were in possession of a muster-roll of 4000 persons associated in these clubs; but the popish multitude in the metropolis were at this time enrolled in them.

The united Irishmen and defenders were then very active, and in many instances successful in seducing the military from their allegiance, and in attaching them to their cause. They occasioned a mutiny in the 104th and 111th regiments quartered in Dublin, and endeavoured to procure their co-operation and assistance in an insurrection and massacre, which they meditated on the twenty-fourth of August, 1795. Many of the foldiers deserted from their regiments to join the rebels; and on that day a mob of traitors, who met the castle guard on Essex-bridge, were so confident of being joined by them, that one of their leaders attempted to wrench the colours from the officer who bore them, as a signal for a general insurrection; and another of them mounted on the bridge, and began to exhort the populace to rise, in an inflammatory harangue;



harangue ; but he was soon silenced by a dragoon, who drew his sword, and gave him a desperate wound.

Another dragoon, who was sent with intelligence of this event to the lord lieutenant, who resided in the park, was seized by the rebels, cruelly beaten, and narrowly escaped assassination.

It was very fortunate that the intemperate zeal of the rebels got the better of their prudence ; for, if they had postponed the execution of their plot till night, it is very probable that the city would have been in flames ; but the arrival of a large body of troops from Lehaunstown camp completely put an end to the hopes of the disaffected. The joy of the ill-disposed to government, and to the constitution, on the arrival of the earl Fitzwilliam, could be equalled by nothing but the rage and discontent which they displayed at his departure ; for they were led to hope, that the measures of his administration would have enabled them to succeed in their grand object of forming a republick.

A general mourning was observed at Belfast the twenty-fifth of March, the day of his departure ; and the congregations of two meeting houses there resolved not to address lord Camden.

Some of the dissenting congregations in Dublin, following their example, resolved, on the sixth of April, " that it is the unanimous opinion of the undersigned, that this congregation should not, as a religious society, wait on any lord lieutenant, on his arrival in this kingdom, with a congratulatory address."

On the twenty-fifth of March, 1795, the following paragraph appeared in the Northern Star, printed at Belfast : " It cannot but be matter of proud exultation to the societies of united Irishmen, that the whole people of Ireland, with exceptions scarcely worth mentioning, are now of those very opinions which they broached three years ago, and which were then considered by the wise, the constitutional, the moderate and the cautious, as symptoms not only of madness, but even of wickedness in the extreme ;" so convinced were the republicans of Belfast, that the departure of lord Fitzwilliam had poisoned the minds of the people, and had infected them with the contagious doctrines of the united Irishmen.

The Romish committee in Dublin, disappointed and incensed at the recal of lord Fitzwilliam, sent three delegates to St. James's, John Keogh,

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Edward

Edward Byrne, and Mr. Hussey, commonly called baron Hussey, with a petition, which they presented to his majesty at the levee, praying that his excellency might continue in the government of Ireland; but they received no other answer, than that the secretary of state informed them, that the lord lieutenant of Ireland had received orders to communicate to them his majesty's wishes on the subject of their application.

On the ninth of April, a meeting of the Roman catholick gentlemen and tradesmen of Dublin was convened by publick notice at Francis-street chapel, to receive the report of their delegates, who had presented their petition at St. James's.

Mr. John Keogh, stated, "that the only answer they could get from the duke of Portland was, that his majesty had communicated his wishes on this head to the lord lieutenant of Ireland."

He said "he was not sorry however that the effort had been made, though defeated; for it pointed out one fact at least, in which the feelings of every Irishman were interested, and by which the Irish legislature would be roused to a sense of its own dignity. It shewed, that the internal regulations of Ireland, to which alone an Irish parliament was competent, were to be previously adjusted by a British cabinet.\* The present, he hoped, was the last time the catholicks would assemble in a distinct body, their cause being no longer a distinct cause, but adopted by their protestant brethren."†

He stated, "that revolutions had taken place in America, in France, Brabant, Holland, and Poland, which arose from the oppression of the people, and which roused them to resistance: That in endeavouring to subdue America, England had incurred a debt of one hundred millions, which she must bear till the day of judgment, *if her government lasts so long.*" In short, he gave a broad hint, of what was to be apprehended from the discontent of his brethren in Ireland.

In the course of the debate, the orators severely denounced the measure of an union with England, which they abused as vicious, venal, ambitious, and bankrupt.

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\* This doctrine, which was universally entertained by the disaffected, led to a separation, and evinced the necessity of an union.

† This was by no means true; for the protestants of the church of Ireland, with a very few exceptions, were averse to conceding their claims; and the corporation of Dublin petitioned the throne against them.

They anxiously endeavoured to impress the protestants in the country parts of Ireland with a belief, that those of Dublin earnestly desired to promote the wishes of the Romanists; which was by no means the case, as they had frequently given unequivocal proofs of the contrary in the years 1792 and 1795.

I shall give the reader a concise account of the trial of James Weldon, a trooper, who was tried for high treason in Dublin, on the twenty-fifth day of December, 1795; as it will give him a perfect idea of the malignant designs of the miscreants, called defenders, who were very numerous at that time in the metropolis.

Two men of the names of Kennedy and Brady having prevailed on one Lawler, a carver and gilder, to become a defender, conducted him to the lodgings of Weldon, near the barrack of Dublin, where he was quartered, and where he was sworn a member of that order.

At different meetings afterwards, it was said, that there would be a rising, to carry into effect the purposes of the defenders; and at one held in Plunket-street, where eighteen or nineteen persons were assembled, a proposition was made for buying gunpowder and arms, for the purpose of seizing the castle of Dublin; and it was also proposed to seduce the army.

They knew each other by certain signs, which Weldon communicated to Lawler, and the pass-word was Elphismatis, which has been variously explained.

Weldon administered the following oath to Lawler: "I William Lawler, of my good will and consent, do swear to be true to his majesty king George the third." This paragraph, which is not only unexceptionable but laudable, served as a lure to inveigle such persons as were loyal, and to varnish over the subsequent part of it, which is treasonable. The next paragraph is: "I will be true while under the same government:"\* Obliquely importing, that they would be faithful no longer than during the existence of the government, which they meant to subvert. "I swear to be true, aiding and abetting, to every true brother;" which was a name for a defender known among themselves. "And in every form and article, from the first foundation in 1790, and every amendment hitherto; and I will be obedient to my committees, superior commanders,

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manders,

\* This appeared in the oath found upon Sharky in 1789. See Appendix II. page 9.



manders, and officers, in all lawful proceedings." This meant their own bye-laws. It then imports, "that he will not quarrel with a brother, but live friendly and lovingly with him."

In a subsequent conversation, Weldon observed on the first paragraph of the oath, "That if the king's head were off to-morrow morning, we should be no longer under his government."

Hart, one of the conspirators, told a young man, whom he introduced to Weldon to be sworn, that the object was to get arms, and to assist the French when they should come.

Lawler said he passed for a Roman catholick among the defenders, because Brady desired him to do so; and Hart declared he would not sit with Dry and Coffey, two defenders, because they were protestants.

At last, Hart having informed Lawler, who was a protestant, that all persons of that religion were to be massacred, he, on the twenty-third of August, disclosed the whole of the plot to Mr. Cowen of Grafton-street, who employed him.

The substance of what he related to Mr. Cowen, was this: That Hart informed him on Sunday the twenty-third of August, that there was to have been a general insurrection, and a massacre of all the protestants, on Saturday the twenty-second; but it was postponed till the harvest was over, lest a famine might ensue, should it take place before. Mr. Cowen took him to Mr. Hamilton, the lord lieutenant's secretary; and while they were at the castle, the mutiny, which I already described, occurred on Essex-bridge. Another meeting took place next day, when Lawler informed them, that there was to be a numerous assembly of the defenders at the Coombe, in the Liberty, on that night; that they were to surprise the Coombe guard; to take their clothes and their arms; to repair to the castle, where, having the guise of soldiers, they would be admitted; and then to distribute among their friends all the arms in the arsenal.\* As the two regiments in garrison at this time were disaffected, it is probable that they would not have been opposed. Mr. Hamilton sent for alderman James, and desired him to repair to the Coombe with a body of cavalry, which he accordingly did, attended by Mr. Cowen and Lawler; and they found there a mob of three or four thousand ruffians, who gave them  
three

\* Trial of Weldon, taken by counsellor Ridgeway, and published by alderman Exshaw.

three cheers on their arrival, but hissed them at their departure. Lawler, who mixed with his brother defenders, recommended to alderman James not to suffer a shot to be fired, because, should a conflict ensue, it was to be feared that the Coombe guard would join them; however, on being threatened by alderman James to be fired on, they dispersed. Lawler swore, on the trial of Brady, Kennedy, and Hart, that, at a meeting of the defenders held at Stoneybatter, they spoke of attacking the chancellor in the course of the winter, as he returned from the house of lords, and of hanging him on a tree in Stephen's-green.

Every collateral circumstance in this business corroborated the testimony of Lawler. He swore, that Weldon always carried the oath in his fob; and when he was arrested it was found there. The same thing occurred on the apprehension of Kennedy.

Weldon, on whom the defenders oath was found when arrested, was convicted of high treason, and hanged on the second of March, 1796. Previous to his execution, he confessed to one of his officers, that Hanlon (a noted defender) told him, there was to be a general insurrection; that none but defenders would be safe, and that they were all Roman catholics.

It is very remarkable, that the defenders oath, administered in the most remote counties from the capital, was much of the same tenor with that which Weldon exhibited to Lawler; and that it contained the condition, "as long as I live under the same government," or, "as long as the king lives."

It appeared on the trials of Brady, Kennedy and Hart, for the same crime, on the twenty-second of February, 1796, that one Burke, who had been expelled from the university for having endeavoured to propagate treason and atheism among the students, informed Lawler, that the plan was this: That he was to find ten select men, each of whom was to procure ten more; that each of them was to find five, and that they, united, would be sufficient to take the castle.

One hundred of them were to get scarlet uniforms, to make the people believe that the soldiers had joined them.

Lawler made up his number in a fortnight. They met in a room in High-street, and were called the philanthropick society. Le Blanc, a Frenchman,

Frenchman, who fled, was a member, and was generally either chairman, or committee-man.

I give the reader a concise account of the trial of some assassins, who conspired to murder one Hanlon, a gunner in the artillery, as it will unquestionably evince the sanguinary and treasonable designs of the defenders.

Thomas Smith, a gunner in that corps, and a protestant of the established church, was sworn a defender in January, 1795, in the house of James Doyle, on George's-quay, and in the presence of said Doyle and Andrew Glennan, who were commanders of the regiment of defenders to which they belonged. It was then proposed to him, to form an intimacy with Hanlon, to conduct him to Doyle's house, with a promise of entertaining him there, that they might murder him, and throw his body into the river Liffey, as he was returning to his quarters at Chapelizod. Next morning Smith related the whole of what passed at Doyle's to Lane the serjeant-major, and said he would pretend to second their designs.

The next meeting was at the house of one Carmichael, in Thomas-street, on the twenty-fourth of January, 1795, when the assassination was planned in the presence of him, Glennan, and three men of the names of Kinsheila, Sleaven, and Shanaghan. The reason for wishing to assassinate Hanlon was, that he, on behalf of the crown, was to prosecute some defenders who were then confined in the gaol of Naas.

Smith communicated every thing that passed to his serjeant-major and to Hanlon, who agreed to accompany him to Carmichael's house, on being assured that some magistrates and constables would be ready near at hand, and would arrest the assassins; and accordingly aldermen Alexander and Tweedy, and some peace-officers attended, and arrested the assassins, in number thirteen, who were afterwards convicted and punished.

In the course of the trial it appeared, that Smith, soon after he became a defender, discovered, that all the order of defenders had the most inveterate hatred and sanguinary designs against protestants of every description; in consequence of which he, from motives of self-preservation, concealed his bible and prayer-book, and denied that he was of that religion; and at last, he and his wife agreed that he had better go into the artillery, for the sake of protection, and that he might have an opportunity



nity of exercising his devotion with safety. He therefore enlisted in that corps on the fifteenth of April, 1795.

In a conversation with a body of defenders, at the house of one Connor in Dublin, they said, "That they daily expected a rebellion, and a massacre; that no protestant was to be left alive; that the oath was to serve France and Ireland, and under James Cole, sir Edward Bellew, Napper Tandy, and Hamilton Rowan; that they were to have no king; to recover their estates; sweep clean the protestants; to leave none alive; and to kill the lord lieutenant.\*"

In the month of April, 1795, they entered into a resolution to shoot the lord lieutenant as he passed through the park; to seize the magazine there; and to kill all the nobility in Dublin.\*

I give the reader in Appendix, No. XII. a list of some of the outrages committed in the year 1795.

In consequence of the dreadful outrages committed by the defenders in some northern counties, which I have already described, the earl of Carhampton, by order of government, visited those of Westmeath, Leitrim, Longford, Roscommon, Mayo and Sligo, in order to restore social order in them; as those miscreants had completely impeded the execution of the laws, by a system of terror, and had exercised despotick sway in them.

In most places his lordship found that a leader of banditti, under the feigned name of captain Stout, had intimidated the people of the neighbourhood so much, that such persons as had sustained any injury were afraid to prosecute, and the magistrates were deterred from enforcing justice.

Some informers had been murdered, and others, fearing the same fate, forfeited their recognisances sooner than give evidence against them. One said, that Larry, a farmer in his neighbourhood, another, that Thady would have his house burned, and himself murdered; for they had the hardened audacity to avow themselves in some places, where they had completely silenced the voice of justice.

A party of this banditti, in the county of Longford, after having plundered the house of a widow of various articles, and of her rent,  
which

\* Trial reported by counsellor Ridgeway in 1796.

which she had ready to pay her landlord, set fire to it, and threw her into the flames; in which she would have perished, but that her son, touched by filial piety, rescued her, and fought for her life at the risk of his own.

They were prevailed on to prosecute; but at the assizes they were so insulted and threatened, that, from motives of fear, they prevaricated in their evidence, and pretended not to know the prisoners, though they were their neighbours.

They were therefore indicted for perjury, and cast for transportation; but in consideration of the age and infirmity of the woman, her sentence was mitigated at the instance of lord Carhampton.

A farmer near Castlereagh, in the county of Roscommon, being alarmed at a report which prevailed, that he entertained hostile designs against captain Stout, and had spoken disrespectfully of him, repaired to a magistrate, swore an affidavit that he never had, and never would, malign, injure, or prosecute captain Stout; and posted it up in the most publick part of the town; and he also asked pardon of captain Stout, if he had ever uttered any expressions tending to disparage him. Lord Carhampton found this affidavit posted up in the town of Castlereagh.

A respectable protestant clergyman of the county of Roscommon informed me, that a body of pikemen rushed into his house in the night, and offered to swear him to be loyal; and on assuring them that he would be loyal to the king, they asked him, What king? and on his saying king George, they cried out, No, no, a Roman king, meaning a popish sovereign; and they added, that they must have a king of their own.

Mr. Bridgeham, an active and intelligent magistrate in the county of Sligo, who had the courage to do his duty in defiance of the menaces of these miscreants, informed me, that the priest of a certain parish advised him not to persevere in his exertions, but to remain a passive spectator of these outrages, for that otherwise he would be murdered. He also discovered, that the priests, at their respective chapels, collected money on Sundays and holidays, for the purpose, as they said, of defraying the expence of obtaining a right to sit in parliament for persons of their order; but he afterwards discovered that it was to purchase arms and ammunition.\*

A gentleman in the county of Roscommon informed me, that the defenders used frequently to send anonymous letters to persons, threatening them

\* I received much the same from Mr. Perceval, of Templehouse, in the county of Sligo.

them with destruction, unless they permitted them to cut trees and poles in their plantations, for the purpose of making pikes.

In the year 1795, so many protestant families fled to the town of Roscommon for protection, that they could scarce get accommodation there.

This year, the sum applied for to the grand jury by different persons who suffered in the county of Meath, from the enormities committed by the defenders, such as houghing cattle, and plundering and burning houses, amounted to 1700*l*.

Lord Carhampton, finding that the laws were silent and inoperative in the counties which he visited, and that they did not afford protection to the loyal and peaceable subjects, who in most places were obliged to fly from their habitations, resolved to restore them to their usual energy, by the following salutary system of severity :

In each county he assembled the most respectable gentlemen and landholders in it, and having, in concert with them, examined the charges against the leaders of this banditti, who were in prison, but defied justice, he, with the concurrence of these gentlemen, sent the most nefarious of them on board a tender, stationed at Sligo, to serve in the king's troops, and not in the navy, as has been falsely asserted.

By this bold measure, founded in obvious principles of political necessity, he completely restored peace in the disturbed counties.

The loyal inhabitants, and the grand juries in them, thanked lord Carhampton for his wise and salutary exertions ; but the disaffected in every part of the kingdom, exasperated that he had checked the progress of their revolutionary schemes, raised a great clamour in consequence of it ; and as they meditated many prosecutions and civil actions against him, a law was passed in the month of February, 1796, to indemnify such persons as had exceeded the limits of the law in restoring peace and good order ; which, as a matter of course, was violently opposed by the minority in the house of commons.

On the twenty-fifth of June, 1795, the reverend Mr. Birch, a presbyterian minister, preached a sermon to a numerous body of dissenters at Saintfield, in which he recommended the uniting persons of every religious persuasion in one family, or brotherhood, in the bonds of philanthropy. He denominated kings butchers and scourges of the human race, who revel on the spoils of thousands, whom they have made father-



less, widows, and orphans, until the judgment of the Almighty shall come down on those monsters, and cause them who use the sword to perish by the sword.

In the month of January, 1795, some soldiers of the Wexford regiment were poisoned at Cavan, while on guard at the goal.

The defenders became so furious in the metropolis, and its environs, in the spring and summer of 1795, committing robbery and assassination, that the inhabitants of Charlemont-street, Charlemont-place and Charlemont-row, Cullen's-wood and Cullen's-wood avenue, Mount-pleasant, Ranelagh, and Dunnville, combined for their mutual defence. The inhabitants of Baldoyle, and the adjacent country, followed their example.

A numerous association was also entered into in the district of the metropolis, on the eighth of October, for mutual defence, and the suppression and punishment of those miscreants; and it was signed by the lord mayor, many of the nobility and gentry, and a great number of respectable citizens.

As the earl of Carhampton was ever distinguished for his zeal and spirit in enforcing the execution of the laws, about three hundred loyal subjects, many of them gentlemen of landed property, assembled at his seat at Luttrell's-town, entered into resolutions, and subscribed a sum of money for the purpose of defending the lives and properties of all loyal subjects against these desperate bands of ruffians. After repeated meetings, their numbers increased very much; but no more than three or four Roman catholics offered themselves candidates, and they were admitted by ballot, though one of them was strongly suspected of disaffection; and, as this was known to be the case afterwards, it was believed that he joined the association for sinister purposes.

As a college was erected at Maynooth, in the county of Kildare, for the education of Romish priests in the year 1795, and, as it was amply endowed by government, I shall make a few observations on it. In the year 1794, and in the administration of lord Westmorland, doctor Troy made a representation to government, that, in consequence of the disturbances in France, four hundred Irish students, who were candidates for the priesthood, had been deprived of the means of education; and that there would be a difficulty

culty of obtaining priests to perform the necessary duties of religion, without the establishment of a seminary.

Mr. Burke, whose intemperate zeal for the advancement of popery I before mentioned, used his utmost exertions for the accomplishment of that object, and when lord Fitzwilliam was coming to Ireland, he recommended to his lordship the reverend doctor Hufsey, an Irish priest, who had been bred at Seville in Spain, as a person well qualified to superintend that institution.

After the departure of earl Fitzwilliam, and during the administration of lord Camden in the year 1795, this institution was established by an act of parliament, by which certain trustees were empowered to receive donations for establishing and endowing an academy for the education of persons professing the Roman catholic religion, and to acquire lands free from forfeiture by mortmain. Little short of 40,000*l.* was granted for its establishment at first; and in every subsequent session, a regular charge of 8000*l.* has been made to parliament for its annual support; but it is worthy of observation, that no donation has been made to it by the Roman catholic body, or by any individual of that order, except by lord Dunboyne, who died in the year 1800, and left an estate of 1000*l.* a year toward the endowment of that college; yet the Roman catholics raised immense sums of money in the years 1794 and 1795, for purposes not the most friendly to that protestant state, which laid the foundation of, and richly endowed their seminary.

Lord Dunboyne had been popish bishop of Cork, and on getting the title and an estate, he became a convert to the established church; and with singular dissimulation gave the strongest indications of sincere conversion for some years; but in his last moments he relapsed into popery; and, in consideration of having obtained absolution for the great crime of having been a heretick, he left an estate worth 1000*l.* or 1200*l.* a year, to promote the institution before mentioned. A striking proof of the strong and indelible impression which the popish superstition makes on the human mind, where it has been early imbued with it!

Two hundred students were to be maintained and educated in this college. Sixteen or seventeen were expelled on account of being concerned in the rebellion: Some of them were slain in fighting against the king's troops, and others fled to escape the punishment which their guilt merited.

I have been assured that between thirty and forty of them fought against the king's army.

It was observable that father Hussey frequently attended the camp at Lehaunstown, in the summer of 1795, saying mass and preaching to the soldiers; though there were many popish priests in its vicinity, who used to officiate to them. This busy interference of father Hussey among the soldiers, and some artful conduct which he displayed there, gave a very serious alarm to some of the Irish nobility and gentry who commanded regiments, or were field officers there.

Though a conspiracy for subverting the constitution had existed so early as the year 1792, the opposition in parliament, and all the disaffected persons in the kingdom, raised a great outcry against lord Camden, by falsely asserting, that the outrages and insurrections, so disgraceful to the kingdom, were occasioned by the rigorous and severe measures adopted by his excellency; yet every wise and good man condemned him for not having acted with more vigour and energy; but from the benevolence of his heart, and the mildness of his disposition, he was averse to severity, and hoped to gain the affections of the people by conciliation.\*

The attorney general introduced a bill into the house of commons in January, 1796, which passed into a law in March following; to its salutary coercion, we may justly impute the salvation of the kingdom.

It enacts, that the information of any prosecutors on behalf of the crown who may be assassinated, shall be admitted as evidence against delinquents.

Any person having arms is required by it to register them, his name, and place of abode; and a magistrate may search for arms the house of any person who shall not do so.

If a magistrate, or peace officer, be murdered while on duty, or in consequence of his exertions to serve the publick, the grand jury may levy a sum of money on the county for his representative.

If any county, or any parts thereof, be disturbed, the magistrates may notify it to the privy council, who are thereupon required to proclaim the disturbed part: On which the magistrates are required to hold petty sessions

\* Robbery and assassination became so frequent and universal from the year 1795 to the explosion of the rebellion, that it would exceed the compass of my design to enumerate the many instances of them which occurred.



rebellions as often as necessary, but never at a longer interval than fourteen days ; and to punish offenders in a summary way.

All persons are required by it, when the county or barony has been proclaimed, to keep within their houses between sun-set and sun-rise ; and are liable to be transported if found out of their houses in the night.

In such parts of Ireland, as this salutary law was enforced, it completely put an end to the nocturnal ravages of the united traitors.

Every person, acquainted with the ferocious and sanguinary disposition of the lower class of the people in Ireland, will agree with me, that this wise law should never be repealed. It is inoperative, and cannot be enforced, till the emergency of the times calls for it ; and of this the magistrates of the county, and the privy council, are proper judges.

The removal of the Irish parliament to England, in consequence of the union, makes it peculiarly necessary that this law should remain unrepealed ; for, from the spirit of insurrection and rapacity of the common people in Ireland, an entire province may be desolated, before proper laws could be enacted in the imperial parliament to check it.

The events which occurred in the late rebellion, demonstrate the truth of what I assert ; for though martial law was proclaimed, and there was an army of one hundred thousand men, including the yeomanry, in the kingdom, the principal part of the province of Leinster was desolated by the destructive spirit of fanaticism in the space of a week ; and the county of Wexford continued in the possession of the popish multitude, headed by their sacerdotal leaders, for the space of three weeks ; in which they destroyed almost every monument of human art and industry, and massacred such of its loyal and most useful inhabitants as could not make their escape. Those abstract principles of criminal law which have been laid down and generally assented to by the ablest writers on this subject, are by no means applicable to Ireland.

The severity of the penal code should depend on the compound ratio of the facility with which the laws may be infringed, the temptation to violate them, the degree of moral restraint imposed by religion on the passions of the multitude, and the possibility of eluding the execution of the laws.

The common Irish are doctrinally taught that they are bound by their religion to resist the laws and ordinances of a protestant state ; and that an oath of allegiance is null and void ; for which reason they uniformly oppose the administration of justice. A monster, stained with

the blood of his father, must be led to the gallows by a military guard; but in England, the mass of the people unite in enforcing the execution of the laws, because they know that the preservation of their lives and property depend on it.

The late rebellion, as well as all the former ones evince, that the lower class of the Irish do not consider it a crime to injure the person or property of a protestant fellow subject.

The judicious and humane marquis of Beccaria, in his ingenious essay on crimes and punishments, observes, "that the eloquence of the passions is greatly assisted by the ignorance and uncertainty of punishments." This observation applies strongly to Ireland, where the feeble and imperfect execution of the laws, arising from the following causes, never fails to inspire the multitude with the hopes of impunity: The mistaken lenity of government,\* often occasioned by the indecent and improper interference of individuals in favour of delinquents; the disregard of the common people to oaths;† and the certainty of enjoying eternal happiness hereafter, through the intervention of their priests. The following circumstances which have often occurred in the province of Munster, will convince the reader of the truth of what I assert upon this subject:

A few days before the assizes, a prosecutor for murder or robbery has said to a magistrate, "Sir, I am unable to defray the expence of my journey to the assizes town, and of remaining there till I am discharged; and in going thither I am afraid of being murdered by the relations of the delinquent." But suppose these difficulties surmounted; he is insulted and threatened with certain death at the assizes, if he prosecutes; and, as the last resource, they contrive to inveigle him into a dram shop, and intoxicate him. To my certain knowledge, burglars and felons have been frequently acquitted in consequence of the ebriety of a witness. In most cases the culprit has an attorney, and a bar of lawyers employed for him; but there is no fund appropriated, and no person to appear, for the prosecution.

The marquis of Beccaria ends his book thus: "I conclude with this reflection, that the severity of punishments ought to be in proportion to the

\* This remark cannot allude to any period since the breaking-out of the rebellion; because extermination must have taken place, if lenity had not been very generally extended.

† In all the combinations of the white boys, right boys, and defenders, they have spurned at an oath of allegiance; but considered their oath of confederacy as binding.

the state of the nation. Among a people hardly yet emerged from barbarity, they should be more severe, as strong impressions are required." However, the certain and prompt operation of mild laws will answer better to preserve social order, than the feeble and uncertain execution of severe ones.

The following rule of preventive justice, formerly prescribed by our statute law, was founded in great wisdom: That if the property of a protestant be injured in the night, the amount of the damage which he sustained should be levied on the popish inhabitants of the parish, the barony, or the county.

I am convinced that the reader, on taking a retrospect of the former rebellions in Ireland, and after perusing these pages, will agree with me, that the revival of this law is absolutely necessary to maintain the protestant religion and establishment in it; and unless they are encouraged and preserved better than they have been for some years past, the must in process of time be separated from England. I am warranted in this assertion by the opinion of some of the wisest men in Ireland.

Nothing can more strongly prove the barbarous state of the Irish, than that forcible entry and detainer of lands and houses have been constantly practised in Ireland, contrary to the solemn adjudication of the law, pronounced by the superior courts, and directed to the sheriff, who has been frequently opposed and repulsed.

Leaders of banditti, resembling the condottieri in Italy, in the middle ages, and noted for their prowess in resisting the laws of the land, were frequently kept in pay by persons who wished to do so.

The earl of Clare struck at the root of this mischief, by a very wise law,\* passed in the year 1787; and yet it has been frequently practised since that period.

In some parts of Ireland the king's writ does not run, and no legal process can be executed in them; and yet I will take upon me to say, that the gentlemen who represent such places in parliament, will assert, in order to gain popularity, that their inhabitants are loyal, peaceable, and amenable to the laws. The late rebellion could not have been so fatal to Ireland as it has been, but for the gross misrepresentations which had been made of the disaffected parts of it to government, by the nobility and gentry.

PREDIS-

\* Mentioned in page 45.



PREDISPOSING CAUSES TO REBELLION IN THE NORTH,  
 PARTICULARLY IN THE COUNTIES OF DOWN AND  
 ANTRIM, AND MEANS WHICH WERE MADE  
 USE OF TO FORWARD IT.

CONSTANT communication with the American states, whose system of civil polity they very much admired, and the success of the first Dungannon meeting in the year 1782, taught the presbyterians of the North, already disposed to republicanism, that an assembly of delegates from the volunteers, an armed body who overawed the existing government, might at any time dictate to parliament; and this inspired them with an extraordinary degree of boldness, which produced the celebration of the anniversary of the French revolution, the retreat of the duke of Brunswick, and the second meeting at Dungannon in the year 1793.

Some loyal and moderate men, having seen many instances of large bodies of men, self-associated for political purposes, meet, debate, and disband, without any bad consequence, were induced to approve and join with them; and afterwards they were lukewarm in opposing them, even when they were rather turbulent and alarming:

The jealousy of the linen drapers, who made immense fortunes, towards the nobility and gentry, seized of old hereditary estates, on account of their superior weight and respectability: The small division of farms in the North, where the business of farmer and manufacturer being united, makes the collection of tithes more vexatious and grievous than in the South, where they are distinct, and the farms are extensive: The virulence of opposition, in vilifying and degrading administration, and in asserting that the legislative power was more corrupt than the executive, made the people believe, that a reform of parliament was necessary, and gave the republicans a specious pretext for adopting it, as an engine to overturn the constitution; and the silly timidity of the members of administration, in complimenting their accusers, gave an incredible

dible weight to their assertions in the publick mind.\* Religious prejudices were asleep in the North, except in the county of Armagh; and the spark of fanaticism which existed there was soon blown into a flame by the Catholick committee, that intriguing body, which sat long brooding in grim repose, and unnoticed in Dublin; but came forward when the French revolution took place, and endeavoured to avail itself of the shock and fermentation of opinion, which that event produced, to advance the interest of its own order.

Some linen-drappers, from motives of envy which I have already stated, encouraged their workmen in imbibing the new revolutionary doctrines; and others, though loyal, were obliged, from the nature of their business, through motives of fear, to take the united oath; because their rebellious bleachers might easily, and secretly, have ruined them.

As the success of the great linen merchants in some measure depended on the skill of their bleachers, they were often obliged to conform to their wishes and prejudices, to retain them in their service; and there was such an emulation between them, that they often used sinister means to decoy each others workmen, which rendered the masters subservient to them.

Many gentlemen of large property in the North, who courted the popular interest, were, by electioneering prejudices, and the servile obedience which they paid to the people, prevented from trying to check the growth of treason and sedition.

This was very conspicuous in the election for the county of Antrim in the year 1792, when the successful efforts of the people, assembled in almost every parish, in dictating to the candidates, and their subserviency and willingness to take tests, inspired the populace with a passion for political power.

The workmen in some bleach-greens joined in subscribing for the Northern Star; in others, their masters, who were disloyal, treated them with it; and in some instances, the employers, though well affected, were impelled by fear to give it to them *gratis*.

## X

The

\* In this I must except lord Castlereagh, whose bold and manly eloquence, tempered with urbanity and good breeding, never failed to overturn the arguments of his adversaries, and to make their scurrilous and envenomed attacks recoil on themselves.

The propagandists of the revolutionary doctrines in the North often began by corrupting the lowest servants, both male and female; and, creeping up through all the gradations of a family, the master found himself suddenly insulated, and was obliged, through terror, to fraternize, and take the united Irishmen's oath.

The disaffected were so much enraged at earl Fitzwilliam's removal, that war and force were decided on: Songs, and various publications of an inflammatory tendency, were circulated: In some instances, jurors and witnesses were bribed, in others intimidated, from doing their duty: Committees of assassination were formed:\* Civil magistrates, constables, and others were intimidated from executing the law, and in short, no person was permitted to remain neuter.

In the years 1794 and 1795, immense sums of money were levied on the Roman catholics in every part of the kingdom.

The conductors in Dublin and Belfast endeavoured to infuse into the people an opinion, that the revolution would be incomplete, and would be succeeded by ruinous contests and struggles, unless all the loyalists were extirpated; and that they could expect certain and perpetuated tranquillity from nothing but a general massacre of them, and a confiscation of their property.

It appears by the report of the secret committee of the house of lords in 1797, that it was decided by the conspirators, "That all persons who, from their principles or situation, may be deemed inimical to the conspiracy, should be massacred; and the first proscribed list was calculated by one of their leaders at thirty thousand persons."†

Some leading members of the union, both in the North and the South, have assured me, that nothing tended so much to gain credit for their cause, and to promote the rapid dissemination of their doctrines, as the following paragraph in Mr. Erskine's plausible, but delusive pamphlet, which they procured to be printed and circulated universally: "That the spirit of reform is at present high in Ireland. The recent zeal of that *brave and virtuous* people has completely detected the false and pernicious calumnies  
on

\* In a county committee at Belfast, it is laid down, "that if there is any united Irishmen on the jury that will convict any of the prisoners that are confined for being united Irishmen, they ought to lose their existence." Report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. H. p. 27.

† See Appendix, No. III. p. 49.



on both countries. It has demonstrated, that a desire to reform abuses in government, is not at all connected with disloyalty to its establishment; and that the restoration of a free constitution, by the wisdom and spirit of a nation, has no alliance with, but on the contrary is abhorrent to, a submission to foreign force." This extravagant encomium on the rebels, by varnishing over the enormity of their crimes, and by giving a colour of moral and political rectitude to their cause, encreased the number of their sectaries in a very extraordinary degree.

That very wise law, the convention bill, having prevented the clubs from assembling publicly, the leaders of the conspiracy had recourse to another, and full as effectual, a mode of disseminating their doctrines of liberty and equality, by instituting reading societies, which the lowest classes of the people attended after the labour of their daily occupations was over. This institution was almost exclusively confined to the counties of Down and Antrim, where the mass of the people are presbyterians, can read and write, and are fond of speculating on religion and politics.

These meetings, formed after the model of the jacobin clubs in France, were usually held in barns and schoolhouses, and were liberally furnished with inflammatory publications, composed by the literati of the united Irishmen, or extracted from larger treatises of a similar tendency in both kingdoms, and published in the form of pamphlets for more general circulation.

The pretext of reading for mutual information and improvement was considered as a plausible motive for the lower class of people to assemble. Subjects of a delicate nature and dangerous tendency were frequently discussed in them, such as, "Under what circumstances are the people justifiable in resisting and uniting against the existing government? From what source is all just government derived, and what is its proper object? Is the majesty of the king, or the people, most to be respected?" On these, and similar topics, the rustick orators declaimed, with much vociferation and zeal, to the great edification of admiring audiences. The most fluent speakers went usually from one society to another, to display their talents, and make proselytes to the new philosophy. Every opportunity was embraced to represent the christian religion as a system of superstition, calculated to enslave mankind, and obstruct the progress and improvement of reason. The doctrines of a future state, of rewards and punishments,

ments, were openly ridiculed and discredited; and publick worship despised and discouraged, which materially promoted the designs of the conspirators, by extinguishing all moral principle.

Labourers, tradesmen, and even ragged apprentice boys, enlightened by attending the reading societies, were taught to decide dogmatically, concerning the fundamental principles of government and religion; to detect the supposed corruptions of the one, and the priestcraft of the other; to think themselves amply qualified to dethrone kings, and regulate states and empires.

Belfast was the centre of motion to the whole northern union; Dublin to the middle and southern; orders, directions and publications issued from the former with great regularity; and returns were made, at stated periods, to proper persons appointed there to receive them, of the state, progress, and dispositions of the several subordinate societies throughout the country.

A large impression of Paine's age of reason was struck off in Belfast, and distributed *gratis* among the united societies. Bundles of them were thrown into meetinghouse yards on Sundays, before the congregations assembled; and small parcels were left on the sides of publick roads, to contaminate the minds of those who found them.\*

The leaders of the union at Belfast succeeded so well in removing the obstacles which religion and conscience presented to their designs, that many assassinations were committed in that town, and its vicinity, in the year 1796, which established such a complete system of terror, that jurors were afraid to convict delinquents, though their guilt was substantiated by the most unequivocal evidence.

A friar of the name of Philips, went from Dublin to Belfast, and was introduced to the disaffected societies there. Soon after, having fallen under a suspicion of being an informer, he was consigned to the committee of assassination, who drowned him near the paper-mill; and to give a colour of suicide to that atrocious deed, they put a clock weight in his pocket.

It is worthy of notice, that one of the committee, concerned in the murder, was impanelled on the inquest jury which sat on the body when discovered,

\* The popish priests carefully guarded their flocks from the contagion of them, for reasons which I have given in page 107.

discovered, and the verdict was, of course, suicide. A soldier from Blaris camp was likewise drowned in a river near Holywood, by the same committee; and a man was shot on Peter's-hill, Belfast, at the early hour of seven o'clock in the evening. Many other persons were murdered in the same manner, on a bare suspicion of being informers.

It seems to have been a maxim with the united conspirators of Down and Antrim, adopted from the illuminati of Germany, and the philosophers of France, that the end justified the means; and that no motives, human or divine, should check them in the accomplishment of their main design. Hence the most unblushing calumnies were propagated against those who opposed them; and committees of assassination were constantly sitting to condemn such persons as were suspected of doing so, or of giving information against them.

Nothing forwarded the progress of the union so much as that vehicle of sedition, immorality and irreligion, the Northern Star, established by Robert Simms, the secretary of the first society of united Irishmen, which sat at Belfast in 1791. He was a wealthy merchant of that town, and has been transported to Fort George in Scotland, with a number of his confederates.

The conductors of that infamous print, which goaded the people to madness, had the flagitiousness and audacity to recommend in it, in the year 1794, the perusal of Paine's Age of Reason.

It is worthy of observation, that Simms, in the name of his society, wrote letters in the years 1792 and 1793, to some of the most considerable members of the Roman catholic committee and Roman catholic society in Dublin, inviting them to be enrolled in his corps; and they, proud of the honour, embraced it with alacrity; and some of them published the letters of invitation and their answers.

Some of the infidel leaders of the North were so successful in rousing the people to a state of frenzy, by copious infusions of their intoxicating doctrines, that partial insurrections, earlier than they wished or expected, were on the point of baffling their designs, and involving them in ruin; like a chymist, whose experiment is defeated, and whose person runs a risk of being injured by a premature and unexpected explosion of his retort, in consequence of having furcharged it with gas. On some occasions,



sions, the conductors were under a necessity of endeavouring to check the intemperate ardour of their adherents.

An attempt was made near Rathfriland in September, 1796, to begin hostilities, but it was overruled. About a thousand united Irishmen assembled in that retired and mountainous part of the county of Down, to discuss the expediency of a general rising; and the question was agitated a considerable time. At length it was proposed to decide it by votes, and a division took place, when upwards of three hundred declared themselves averse to open hostility at that time. Though the majority were for it, the schism was so considerable, that it was thought prudent to postpone it to a more favourable opportunity.

A Mr. John Magennis, who had married a sister of the famous Bartholomew Teeling, took the principal lead in urging an immediate resistance. The decision of that important question was hastened by an account, that a party of the antient Britons were approaching to disperse the assembly; and they actually pursued Magennis ten miles, but were not fortunate enough to apprehend him.

It may be proper to observe, that the majority, on that occasion, consisted chiefly of Roman catholics; and the minority of presbyterians, and a few protestants of the established church, who were not then sufficiently enlightened to countenance a general massacre.

I think it right to observe, that the exertions of the united Irishmen, and Catholick committee of Dublin, to encourage union and fraternity among the presbyterians and papists of the North, were confined to those parts of Down, Armagh and Antrim, where the former shewed a decided hostility against the defenders, which was done merely to lull them into a state of indolent and fatal security; as they knew that their spirit, their knowledge of the use of arms, and their antipathy to the papists, would form a material obstacle to the progress of the union; but the determination which the Roman catholics shewed, on the explosion of the rebellion, to extirpate protestants of every denomination, proved that they were not sincere in their invitations to the presbyterians to fraternize with them.

## ORIGIN OF THE YEOMANRY.

IN the autumn of the year 1796, government having proposed to all loyal subjects to embody themselves as yeomen corps, similar to those in England, and subject to the control of government, the proposal was embraced with alacrity in many parts of the kingdom.

On the seventh of October, the lord mayor, the sheriffs, and the churchwardens of the different parishes in Dublin, assembled at the mansion house, and resolved that a regiment of infantry, and a troop of horse, should be raised in each of the four wards of the city.

This wise and salutary measure, which proved the salvation of the kingdom, was opposed by many of the leading Romanists of Dublin, and by all the active members of the Catholick committee; for when the churchwardens and magistrates attended at the different vestry rooms, for the purpose of carrying this excellent system into execution, one or other of these leaders, attended by a mob of the popish rabble, attempted to overpower them by vociferation and numbers.

When their malignant efforts to prevent this salutary institution failed, they waited on Mr. Pelham the lord lieutenant's secretary, and asked leave to raise a corps of their own sect exclusively; but received for answer, that they might join their protestant fellow subjects, if they wished to serve their king and country.

They then entered into resolutions against it, and published them in the jacobin prints, which teemed with invectives against government for having instituted it. \*

On the fourteenth of October, the corporation of Dublin, duly assembled, entered into strong resolutions, and expressed their abhorrence of the vile calumnies, and resolutions, published by certain pretended parish meetings against the yeomen corps, and against government, and the seditious means used to prevent the loyal subjects from forming themselves into such.

Notwithstanding

\* For the same reason the orange clubs were maligned and calumniated.

Notwithstanding the decided opposition which the Romanists gave to this very excellent institution, which saved the kingdom from impending destruction, the first estimate laid before parliament for twenty thousand men was filled up immediately. In the course of six months it rose to thirty-seven thousand; and, during the rebellion, the yeomanry force exceeded fifty thousand, and they were all to be depended on; \* for as very great disaffection appeared among the popish yeomen, the different corps were quickly purged of such of them as were known to be disloyal.

In order to encourage the disaffected to persist in their treasonable practices, it was boasted at this time, in the Northern Star, that the populace, in and about Belfast, had saved the harvest of all such persons as had been committed to the gaols of Dublin or Carrickfergus, on charges of high treason; and that seven thousand persons often assembled for that purpose.

In the month of October, the reverend Philip Johnson was fired at and wounded, in the night, at Lisburn.

November the first, a party of traitors broke open the king's stores at Belfast, and stole thereout a large quantity of gunpowder.

The rebellious inhabitants of Belfast, who were presbyterians, opposed the establishment of the yeomanry, with as much vehemence as the Romanists in Dublin had done; and a few gentlemen in that town, who had courage to enter into it, were reviled and hissed, as they passed through the streets.

On the twenty-ninth of October, a ruffian fired a pistol in the town of Newtownards at the reverend Mr. Cleland.

About this time, the Hazard sloop of war took, and searched, a vessel off the harbour of Belfast, and found in her a large quantity of arms and ammunition.

On the sixth of November a proclamation issued, stating, that, on the first, a number of armed men tumultuously entered Stewartstown, in the county of Tyrone, and cut and maimed several persons who had refused to join in their treasonable associations, and had enrolled themselves in the yeomanry. The system of terror became so great, and so general at this time, in the North, that numbers of loyal persons submitted to be sworn, and assumed at least the semblance of being sincerely attached to the

\* Report of the secret committee of 1798, page 5.



the union, to save their lives and property from the vengeance of the rebels ; and outrages became so frequent in the county of Down, that some districts in it were proclaimed on the fourteenth of November, 1795, the first time that the insurrection law was put in execution.

The leaders of the conspiracy, having completed their revolutionary system in the province of Ulster so early as the tenth of May, 1795, and having made a considerable progress in introducing it into the province of Leinster in the autumn and winter of 1796, proceeded at that period to convert it into a military shape and form, for the undisguised project of rebellion, which was distinctly and unequivocally acknowledged by Arthur O'Connor, William James Mc. Nevin, Thomas Addis Emmett, and Oliver Bond, leading and active members of the conspiracy, in their evidence upon oath before the secret committee of the house of lords in the year 1798.

## THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION.

THE military organization engrafted on the civil was constituted in the following manner: The secretary of each subordinate society, composed of twelve, was appointed their petty or non-commissioned officer: The delegate of five societies to a lower baronial committee was commonly appointed captain of a company, consisting of the five societies who had delegated him, and who made the number of sixty privates; and then the delegate of ten lower baronials to the upper or district committee was commonly appointed colonel of a battalion, which was thus composed of six hundred: The colonels of battalions in each county sent in the names of three persons to the executive directory of the union, one of whom was appointed by them adjutant general of the county, whose duty it was to receive and communicate military orders from the executive to the colonels of battalions, and in general to act as officer of the revolutionary staff. They were required to inform themselves of, and report the state of the rebel regiments within their respective districts, of the number of mills, the roads, rivers, bridges, and fords, the military positions, the capacity of the towns and villages to receive troops, to communicate to the executive every movement of the enemy (meaning the king's troops) to announce the first appearance of their allies (meaning the French) and immediately to collect their force. A military committee was also appointed by the executive directory, to prepare a regular plan for assisting a French army should it land, or to form a plan of insurrection, should it be ordered, even without their assistance. A regular and well-digested plan of insurrection was actually formed, and reduced to writing in April, 1797, which was given up only for the time, on the assurances of the executive directory of the union, that they would soon receive speedy and effectual assistance from France. The directory gave orders that every person, who had the means, should furnish himself with fire arms and ammunition, and that such persons as could not afford it, should supply themselves with pikes; which

which orders were obeyed very generally through the provinces of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster. In the province of Connaught they proceeded no farther in this system of treason, than in administering oaths to the people, having been obstructed by the vigorous exertions of government, till the rebellion broke out in open acts of hostility.\*

In the month of December, 1796, a French fleet with fifteen thousand troops for the invasion of Ireland arrived in Bantry-bay; but having been dispersed by a storm, and having lost about one-fourth of their ships, their intention was defeated. It is generally believed, that this plan was first suggested to the French government by Mr. Tone, then residing in France, but at the instance of the Irish directory, who accepted the proposal of the French directory. This negotiation, which took place between the month of June, 1795, and the month of January, 1796, was transacted by Edward John Lewins, the accredited agent and resident ambassador of the Irish rebellious union to the French republick, and who was sent to Paris as such in the summer of 1795.†

The plan of the invasion which the French attempted at Bantry was settled at an interview which took place in Switzerland, in the summer of 1796, between lord Edward Fitzgerald, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and general Hoche.

From the disaffection of the lower class of people during the insurrection of the white boys and right boys in Munster, it was a matter of general astonishment, that they remained tranquil and apparently loyal, while the French hovered on the coast; but the acknowledgment of one of the Irish directory before the secret committee of the house of lords fully accounts for it.

He declared upon oath, that, in the month of October or November, 1796, the French republick announced, by a special messenger to the Irish union, that the hostile armament was in a state of preparation; but in a few days after the departure of the messenger from Paris with this intelligence, the Irish directory received a letter from France, which was considered by them as authentick, stating, that the projected descent

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was

\* Report of the secret committee of the lords in 1798.

† Ibid. page 9.



was postponed till spring, when England and Ireland would be invaded at the same time.

This threw the Irish directory off their guard ; in consequence of which no measures were taken to prepare the people of Munster for the reception of the French. It is, however, to be feared, that the popish multitude would have risen in many parts of Munster, if the French had made the projected descent ; for a strong spirit of disaffection appeared in different parts of the counties of Cork and Kerry, early in the years 1793 and 1794, particularly in the counties adjacent to Kinsale, Dunmanway, Bandon and Dingle, in which the people committed such shocking enormities, even in the day, that, on the eleventh of March, 1794, the lord lieutenant issued a proclamation against them, and offered rewards for the discovery and prosecution of them. In the county of Limerick also, alarming insurrections and dreadful outrages were committed in the year 1793 ; and great numbers of the lower class of people used often to assemble there, to form combinations and administer illegal oaths.

It should be recollected, that the white boys continued to commit outrages till the year 1790, in the county of Cork ; and as we know that the first object of their institution was to join the French, we cannot suppose that they would have remained loyal had they effected a descent. The popish multitude in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, took oaths of allegiance, and promised to be faithful and peaceable, a short time before the French landed ; but they joined them the instant they did so.

On the second of January, 1796, the house of Mr. Harman, member for the county of Longford, at Bawn in said county, was forcibly entered in the night by a party of ruffians, who barbarously murdered him.

In consequence of the military organization which took place in the autumn and winter of 1796, the province of Ulster became dreadfully disturbed by the eagerness of the disaffected to procure arms.

This will appear by a proclamation which issued the sixth of November, and which states, “ That divers ill-affected persons had entered into illegal and treasonable associations, in the counties of Down, Antrim, Tyrone, Londonderry and Armagh ; and for effecting their treasonable designs, had assassinated divers loyal subjects, and have endeavoured, and threaten to assassinate all others who should endeavour to detect their treason, or should enrol themselves under officers commissioned by his majesty,

majesty, for the defence of the kingdom, and have also procured arms and ammunition: That some evil-minded persons broke open the king's stores at Belfast, and took thereout ten barrels of gunpowder; and that many large bodies of men have embodied and arrayed themselves under a pretence of sowing corn and digging potatoes."

In the month of November, 1796, the counties of Down and Armagh were proclaimed: In the month of February, 1797, parts of the counties of Donegal, Derry and Tyrone.

The disaffected inhabitants of Belfast, who opposed the establishment of the yeomanry with as much zeal as the Romanists did in Dublin, resolved in the month of January, 1797, not to take up arms till the French landed on *their coast*, and then only to repel foreign and domestick enemies.

Thirty-seven gentlemen of that town and its vicinity, to their eternal honour, protested against that striking instance of disaffection.

On the fifth of February, 1797, Robert and William Simms, proprietors of the Northern Star, by whose inflammatory publications they never ceased to rouse the people to a state of rebellious frenzy, were arrested and committed to Newgate in Dublin; and the former has been since transported to Fort George in Scotland.

In the beginning of the year 1797, immense quantities of arms were seized in the province of Ulster by general Lake, and the general officers under his command; and in this he received material assistance from sir George Hill, who shewed uncommon zeal, and used the most unabated exertions, often at the risk of his life, in suppressing treason and sedition.

It appears that the following number of arms was seized by the different general officers in that year, in the provinces of Leinster and Ulster only:

Guns.	Bayonets.	Pistols.	Swords.	Blunderbuffes.	Musket-barrels.
48109	1756	4463	4183	248	119
Sword-blades.	Ordnance.	Pikes.			
106	22	70,630.	Total 129,583.		

It appeared from the letters of the generals, that many arms were seized or surrendered, which are not included in this return; as in many places they remained in the possession of the yeomen.\*

On

\* Report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. XXXIX. p. 298.

On the thirteenth of March, 1797, general Lake issued a proclamation by the advice of government, stating the atrocities committed, and recommending to the people to come in, surrender their arms, and return to their allegiance; he assured such persons of protection.\* He promised the most inviolable secrecy to informers, and the amount of any arms which might be seized in consequence of their secret information.

On the twenty-seventh of February, 1797, Mr. John Cummin of Castlebeg, in the county of Antrim, was barbarously murdered, and his house was robbed of arms, on account of his loyalty; though general Lake's proclamation, and his spirited exertions, were allowed to have materially contributed towards checking the progress of the conspiracy, and to have struck terror into the rebels.

On the seventeenth of March, the loyal inhabitants of the county of Donegal assembled at Raphoe, entered into strong resolutions for their mutual defence, and for defeating the machinations of the united Irishmen, and offered large rewards for their apprehension and prosecution.

On Monday the thirteenth of March, lord Camden sent a message to both houses of parliament, stating, "That an organized system of robbery and murder existed in the province of Ulster, which bid defiance to the exertions of the civil power; and that, by the firm and temperate conduct of the general of the district, a considerable quantity of arms had been taken; and that he hoped, by a continuance of vigorous measures, the constitutional authority of the civil power would be restored."

In the debate which took place on this message in the house of commons, the opposition in general, but Mr. Grattan in particular, condemned with much acrimony the salutary system of coercion which government had adopted, and imputed the disturbances to the provocation which his majesty's loyal and peaceable subjects had received from wanton and unnecessary acts of severity; and yet it has been universally allowed, that the feebleness of the insurrection in the North, on the general rising, was owing to those seasonable and vigorous exertions, and to the spirit displayed on that occasion by the yeomanry and the loyal inhabitants of Ulster; which is fully stated in the report of the secret committee† of the house of commons.

The

\* This shewed the benign and conciliating disposition of government, notwithstanding the vile calumnies uttered against them, by the disaffected both in and out of parliament.

† Page 8, of the year 1798.



The partizans of the united Irishmen propagated, with unabated industry, the most impudent falsehoods and calumnies, representing the measures which the government and the parliament were compelled to resort to, for the suppression of midnight robbery and assassination, as a gross and unnecessary violation of the constitution, and as the real source of these complicated evils.

The main object of the system of terror which they endeavoured to establish by their midnight attacks, was, to drive country gentlemen from their houses, or to enforce their connivance or support; a course which was pursued with fatal success in France.† Dreadful outrages still continued to be committed in all the northern counties.

In the month of April, 1797, a number of armed men entered the village of Glaslough, in the county of Monaghan, plundered many houses of arms, and committed other enormities there.

About the same time, one Mc. Dowell, at Gilhall, near Dromore, was assassinated, because he said he could make discoveries of the united Irishmen.

In the month of March, the reverend Mr. Hamilton, late a fellow of the college, and who had retired on a living in the county of Donegal, was murdered at Sharon, the house of the reverend doctor Waller, in that county, with horrid circumstances of barbarity, by a party of armed ruffians, who fired wantonly into the windows, by which they shot Mrs. Waller; and afterwards having compelled the servants of doctor Waller to force Mr. Hamilton out of the house, they mangled his body with wounds.

† Report of the committee of the house of lords of 1798.

FOREIGN NEGOTIATION OF THE CONSPIRATORS WITH  
THE FRENCH REPUBLICK FOR ASSISTANCE.

FROM the time of the failure of the French expedition to Bantry in December, 1796, the disaffected, to keep up the spirits of their party, circulated reports, that the enemy were soon to attempt another descent; and the executive directory of the Irish union thinking that they were rather dilatory in their preparations, sent Mr. Lewins, their confidential agent, to urge the necessity of being expeditious. In the summer of that year, fearing that a premature insurrection in the North, before the succours from France arrived, would defeat their projects, they sent a second agent, doctor Mc. Nevin, in June, 1797, to press the French to hasten the armament; but meeting with some difficulty in going to Paris, he gave the minister of the republick, resident at Hamburgh, a memoir, to be forwarded to the French directory.\* This memoir shewed the desperate designs of the Irish conspirators, and their great anxiety lest the vigorous measures pursued by government in the North would disconcert their projects. This agent was authorized to assure the French republick of being repaid all the expences attending any future armament she should send to Ireland, as well as of the last which miscarried; and that the resources for that purpose were to be raised by the confiscation of the lands of the church, and of the property of all those who should oppose them. He was also empowered to raise, either in France or Spain, 500,000 l. or at least 300,000 l. A larger supply of arms was solicited by the agent than the first, on account, as he stated, of the encreasing number of their adherents, and the disarming of the North, where above ten thousand stand of arms, and as many pikes, had been surrendered to the king's troops.

It appears also, that an attempt was made at the same time, to procure the assistance of such Irish officers as were then in foreign service,† as might

\* Report of the secret committee of the house of commons of 1798, p. 15.

† This was done in the civil war of 1641. See Borlase and Temple.

might be prevailed upon, by receiving high rank, to engage in the service of the union; but, from the over-caution of the agent, nothing was effected in that way.

A second memoir was presented by this confidential agent on his arrival at Paris, in which he endeavoured to shew the French directory the necessity of forwarding the invasion at that critical juncture, when the minds of the Irish were so favourably disposed to join the French, and to co-operate with them in separating the two kingdoms, and in establishing a republic in Ireland.

Though the Irish directory were desirous of obtaining assistance from France, they were unwilling to admit such a body of troops as would enable her to conquer and keep it in her own hands; but the French shewed a decided inclination to send so great an army there as would enable them to subdue and retain it as a conquest.\*

The demands of the first agent were, for any number not more than ten thousand, nor less than five thousand, with forty thousand stand of arms, and a proportionate supply of artillery, ammunition, engineers, and experienced officers.†

Previous to this last mission from Ireland, a confidential person was sent over by the French directory to collect information respecting the state of Ireland; but having failed to obtain the necessary passports in London to enable him to go there, he wrote over to request that one of the party might meet him in London; and accordingly a person repaired to him immediately with every necessary intelligence; and the secret committee of the house of commons have given it as their opinion, from various sources of information, that this person was the late lord Edward Fitzgerald.‡

The directory gave the agent, sent to Paris, the strongest assurances of assistance; and accordingly preparations of a very extensive nature were made, both at Brest and in the Texel, for the invasion of Ireland; and in the autumn, the executive of the Irish union received advice that the troops were actually embarked in the Texel, and only waited for a fair wind.

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\* Report of the secret committee of the house of commons of 1798, p. 16, 17, 18.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 18.



In consequence of this communication, great preparations were made by the Irish rebels, in the beginning of October, 1797, when it was announced to the different societies, that the fleet was on the point of sailing.\* The French troops had been actually on board, commanded by general Daendells, but were suddenly disembarked.

The Dutch fleet, contrary to the opinion of their own admiral, as is generally believed, was obliged to put to sea, at the instance of the French government; which led to the ever-memorable victory of the eleventh of October, 1797, obtained by lord Duncan.

Early in the year 1798, the Irish executive directory received advices from France, that succours would be sent to Ireland in the month of April; but notwithstanding the strong temptation presented by the rebellion, which broke out on the twenty-third of May following, the French government never fulfilled their promise.

I shall now return to the internal affairs of Ireland, and shew the reader the means which the conspirators pursued for forwarding the rebellion, having given him a brief account of their foreign negotiations.

On the eighth of April, 1797, a meeting was held in the Exchange of Dublin, supposed to consist of the freemen and freeholders of the city, convened by the sheriffs, pursuant to publick notice, for the purpose of petitioning his majesty to remove his ministers for ever; but the majority of that gregarious herd consisted of traitors, who wished to create disturbance and combustion.

The question of adjournment was moved; but as a numerous rabble, who were not freemen or freeholders, suddenly rushed into the hall, the sheriffs refused to put the question.

The mob and their leaders nevertheless agreed to the petition, and it was presented by messieurs Grattan and Curran to the viceroy; who said, that he would forward it, agreeable to their wishes, but accompanied with a statement of the circumstances which took place at the meeting.

The freemen and freeholders, on leaving the Exchange, protested against any proceedings which should be held there afterwards.

This meeting was brought about by the minority in the Irish house of commons, and the disaffected citizens of Dublin, at the instance of the  
opposition

\* Report of the secret committee of the house of commons of 1798, p. 18.

opposition in the British parliament, for the purpose of promoting their own ambitious designs, at the expence of the peace and security of the kingdom.

On the twenty-second of April, Sinclair Kelburne, the noted demagogue of Belfast, a presbyterian minister, was committed to Newgate in Dublin, with seventeen other persons, on charges of a very serious nature.

On the first of May, between six and seven thousand persons attending a funeral, made a procession through a great part of the city. Having assembled in the earl of Meath's liberty, they went down Aungier-street and George's-lane, through Dame-street, and, passing by the castle, they proceeded to James's church, where the corpse was interred.

This device was made use of to inspire the lower class of rebels with confidence and courage, by shewing them what numbers of their brethren could be collected in a short space of time.

In consequence of it, the lord mayor issued a proclamation, prohibiting unlawful assemblies, under a pretext of attending funerals.

As the Belfast News-letter, a paper printed there, was moderate and loyal, and in some degree qualified and counteracted the seditious doctrines disseminated by the Northern Star, the disaffected frequently stopped the messengers who went about the country to circulate it, tied them hand and foot, and robbed them of such papers as they had.

In the beginning of the year 1797, the county of Kildare was dreadfully convulsed by the united Irishmen, who committed robbery and assassination on protestants almost every night.

In the month of March, a motion was made by a member of opposition for repealing the insurrection law, though the advantages derived from it in checking the progress of the conspiracy were universally acknowledged.

In the month of April, lord Caledon's house, in the county of Tyrone, was plundered of arms.

The county of Down was so much agitated, that the magistrates of it assembled at Hillsborough, on the twenty-eighth of March, entered into strong resolutions against the nefarious proceedings of the united Irishmen, and made a large subscription for suppressing them.

Ever since the introduction of defenderism into the county of Cork, in the year 1793, its contagion continued gradually and silently to diffuse itself, and to poison the minds of the lower class.

On the thirteenth of April, 1797, lord Bantry conveyed to the gaol of Cork, four of these culprits, one of whom was the steward of Roger O'Connor, in whose pocket his lordship found the defenders oath; the tenor of which was to be true to one another; not to pay rent, tithes, or taxes; and to assist the French who were soon expected.

At the assizes of Omagh, in the county of Tyrone, held in the month of April, John Kinkaid, an active united Irishman, was convicted of making a constant practice of going to Romish chapels on Sundays, and of swearing the congregations to stand by each other; to join the French when they should land; to cut down tithes and taxes; and to kill the orangemen and yeomen. At the assizes of this year, both in Leinster and Munster, great numbers were convicted of treasonable and seditious practices.

On the thirtieth of April, 1797, the reverend Mr. Knipe, a protestant clergyman, was murdered by a party of ruffians, who forcibly entered his house, near Clonard, in the county of Meath.

It had been the invariable policy of the leaders of the conspiracy to announce an effort as at hand, to keep up the spirits of the people, though it was not really intended: However, in spring 1797, a plan was seriously discussed by the leaders then assembled in Dublin, for commencing a general rising, without waiting for foreign assistance; but as this scheme did not meet with the approbation of the Dublin part of the committee, it was laid aside; and, in consequence of it, a coolness took place between the Ulster and Leinster delegates, which materially retarded the progress of the conspiracy.\*

May the thirteenth, the report of the secret committee having been presented to the house of commons, a violent debate ensued, in which a gentleman of the bar, connected with the opposition, declared, that it was merely an apology for the violent coercive measures adopted by government.

The seduction of the army became very common at this time. No less than seventy of the Monaghan militia were corrupted at Belfast. At last, the practice became so common, so general, and so fatal to the military, that the following, among other regiments, offered rewards for discovering and prosecuting any persons concerned in it: The 9th dragoons, the 1st fencible cavalry, the Angushire fencibles, the Kilkenny, Antrim, Longford, Tyrone, Wexford, and Waterford militia.

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\* Report of the secret committee of the house of commons, p. 19.



The disaffected rested the success of their cause very much on the attachment of the king's troops to it. At a provincial meeting held at Ballynahinch the twenty-third of November, 1797, orders were issued to every county delegate, to procure an exact account of the number of military, whether regular regiments, militia, or yeomen, whom they might consider as their friends.

At a provincial meeting held at Armagh, the fourteenth of November, the number of the king's troops with their respective quarters, and on how many in each they might depend, was presented. From the following returns, it appears that their hopes from the disaffection of the king's troops were very high: In the county of Antrim, four thousand, of which seven hundred were friends to the people: In Tyrone, two thousand seven hundred, and one thousand were attached to them: In Down, one thousand one hundred, of which one thousand were friends: In Armagh, four thousand two hundred, among whom they reckoned only two hundred friends: In Donegal, two thousand, and seven hundred of them were friends.

The different delegates were asked by the secretary, if they thought their counties could disarm the military within themselves? and they all said they could, except in Armagh,\* Down, Antrim, and part of Tyrone.

At a provincial meeting held at Randalstown, the fourteenth of December, 1797, it appeared, that they expected an invasion by the French. Orders were issued to every county delegate to procure an exact account of the number of military, whether regular regiments, militia, or yeomen, and the quarters where they lay, and to bring it to the next provincial meeting; as also how many of them they could reckon their friends. The county delegates were to procure this information from the baronial members, at the next county meeting.†

At a meeting of colonels held at Rathfriland, the twenty-eighth of March, 1798, they were asked individually, whether they were able to disarm the military within the bounds of their own counties? and they all agreed that they were.‡

At a provincial meeting held at Belfast the first of April, 1798, it was said that the national committee were determined to have a rising, though the French expedition should be frustrated. The Leinster dele-

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\* Report of the secret committee of the house of commons, Appendix XIV. p. 123.

† Ibid. p. 108.      ‡ Ibid. p. 120.

gate had received a letter from Bartholomew Teeling, who was one of their delegates in France, and he recommended a rising at all events; as the citizens of Dublin, with the assistance of the army, could at any time seize the castle of Dublin.\*

At a provincial meeting held at Armagh, the county delegates were asked, Whether they could disarm the military in their respective counties? and they said, they could in Derry, Donegal, and Louth; but not in Down, Antrim, and Armagh, and the upper half of the county of Tyrone.† The reason of this probably was, that in the three former the mass of the people are papists; but in the latter, the protestants and orangemen were numerous.

A very intelligent gentleman of the North assured me, that such of the linen merchants of the North as were members of the union, and wished for a revolution, imagined that it would be effected quietly, and without violence, as the army was attached to their cause. Their property being personal, lying mostly in their bleach greens, they were averse to any measures that might end in rapine and plunder.

In the county of Tyrone there were five thousand yeomen, of which above four thousand were orangemen; and in that large body there were not more than two hundred Roman catholics, and four-fifths of the body were presbyterians, who were steady in their loyalty.

There were regular returns made by the baronial members to the county delegates, by them to the provincial, and by the provincial to the executive, of the number of men organized and armed in their respective districts, and of the money collected, and in the hands of the treasurers of each.

Thus lord Edward Fitzgerald gave a paper in his own hand writing to Mr. Reynolds, which was a return to a national committee held the twenty-sixth of February, 1798. It stated the number of armed men in Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, to be two hundred and seventy-nine thousand eight hundred and ninety-six; and the sum of money in the hands of the treasurers to be 1485l. 4s. 9d. ‡

It is not surprising that the conspirators should be confident of success, when they were persuaded that a great portion of the military were warmly

\* Report of the secret committee of the house of commons, Appendix XIV. page 121.

† Ibid. p. 124. ‡ Ibid. p. 141.

warmly attached to their cause; and that they could disarm those who continued loyal.

The above return, delivered to Mr. Reynolds by lord Edward, was confined merely to the men who were armed; for in the popish counties, all the farmers, peasants, and mechanics to a man, were sworn, organized, and warmly attached to the union.

It appeared that the county of Kerry regiment required one hundred constitutions in the year 1796.\* This shewed that they must have been very much disaffected.

They did not begin to organize Munster till the spring of 1797;† and as popish fanaticism gave wings to treason, it was reported to be in a good state of organization the fourteenth of September following.‡

Neillson says, in his evidence before the committee of the lords, that the affiliated system of organization began in 1792; and that Ulster was completely organized the tenth of May, 1795. It appears that there were four executives in November, 1797, § one for each province.

To shew how far popish fanaticism was concerned in the rebellion, what an impulse it gave to the mind, and how much it extinguished all moral principle, I will relate a few circumstances of a conspiracy formed by James Dunn and Patrick Carty, with others, to assassinate the earl of Carhampton, on the twenty-fifth of May, 1797; because he had always evinced the most unabated zeal and activity, both as a magistrate and an officer, to maintain social order in his neighbourhood, and in checking the progress of rebellion.

The former was a blacksmith and farrier, who lived on his lordship's demesne, and in his service for many years, and had constantly experienced the most striking instances of kindness from him.

Notwithstanding these obligations, James Dunn repaired to the house of Maurice Dunn, a relation in Dublin, who kept a cabaret, on Sunday the seventh of May, and offered to a committee of sixteen united Irishmen who were then sitting there, to *do out* his friend and benefactor, the earl of Carhampton. This was a common cant expression among the united Irishmen, for murdering a person.

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\* Report of the secret committee, Appendix II. p. 46.

† Report of the secret committee, p. 272. ‡ Ibid. p. 104. § Ibid. p. 106.



When he made the proposal, one person said it was great news; another, glorious news; another, the best news he had heard a long time.

Lest a concurrence of so many people should excite suspicion, they appointed seven persons as a committee of assassination to concert measures with Dunn.

As money would be necessary to procure weapons and horses, application was made to one Burke, the secretary of finance, who was clerk to Myles Duigenan, a grocer in Grafton-street; but he postponed granting their request, till Mr. O'Callaghan, at the head of the finance, should recover, being confined with sickness. It was at last agreed, that Dunn and Carthy, a labourer on his lordship's demesne, and seven more persons, should assassinate him on the succeeding Sunday, the fourteenth of May.

Three of them on horseback, having loose coats with blunderbusses under them, and six mounted as yeomen cavalry with pistols, were to fire into his lordship's carriage, as it passed through a narrow road near Luttrellstown; and at the same time to murder his servants, and any persons who might be with him. Ferris, who was at the head of the committee of sixteen, and the only protestant member of it, struck with horror at the atrocity of the plot, discovered it, and Dunn and Carthy were hanged.

While Dunn was in prison, lord Carhampton went to see him, and said, Considering the kindness I shewed you, I did not imagine you would have been concerned in an attempt on my life. To his lordship's utter astonishment, he replied, without hesitation, that he thought it a good act. On asking him, whether he himself had proposed to murder him? he answered, that he never had; but that he was sworn to execute it; and if he were out again, he would perpetrate it if he could. His lordship said, though you might think it a good act to murder me, why should you shoot a poor innocent postillion? Why! said he; to do the thing completely. He afterwards gave much the same answers to the same questions, to lord Carhampton in the presence of the earl of Enniskillen.

On May the thirteenth, there was an engagement between the North Britons and defenders near Forkhill in the county of Armagh, where thirteen of the former were killed, and eighteen desperately wounded.

On the seventeenth of May, a proclamation issued against the commission of atrocities and disturbances in general, and offering pardon to all persons

persons who had been seduced, or entered into illegal associations ; provided they, before the twenty-fourth of June, appeared before a magistrate, surrendered themselves, took oaths of allegiance, acknowledged their errors, and entered into a recognisance to keep the peace, and be of good behaviour.

On the twenty-second of June, the time for taking advantage of this proclamation was extended to the twenty-fourth of July.

This wise measure was attended with the most salutary effects ; for it induced those who had become united Irishmen, from motives of terror, to renounce the connection ; it confirmed in their allegiance those who were wavering ; and it inspired the rebels with fear, lest those who repented, and took the benefit of the proclamation, would betray them.

Notwithstanding this measure of mercy and warning to the disaffected, in the latter end of the same month a general insurrection in Ulster was decided on, and the plan of attack for each county was arranged.\* At the same time the inconsistency of the disaffected could be equalled by nothing but their effrontery and malignity, in accusing government of wanton and unnecessary severity, by which the people were stimulated to commit acts of outrage and licentiousness.

The practice of seducing the military still continued so much, that in the space of one month, the following soldiers were shot for treasonable plots : Four of the Monaghan, at Blaris camp ; two of the Wexford regiment, at Cork ; two of the Kildare, in the Phoenix park, near Dublin ; and two of the Louth, near Limerick.

It was discovered, that houses of entertainment were kept open in Dublin, Cork and Athlone, at a considerable expence, for the seduction of the soldiers. They were regaled there *gratis*, with the most delicious fare ; and even prostitutes were kept to work on their affections.

In the month of May, several committees were surpris'd in the act of forming treasonable plots in Dublin ; and it was discovered that the blacksmiths there were busily employed in making pikes.

In the month of June, the pay of the military was encreased, which at this critical time was a very politick measure, as the united Irishmen were endeavouring to seduce them with unceasing sedulity.

One Murtagh Mc. Canwell, sent from the North to the South for that purpose, was known to be so expert, and had done so much mischief in

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\* Report of the secret committee of the house of commons, Appendix XIV. p. 123.

that way, that a general court-martial, sitting at Limerick, offered one hundred and twenty-five guineas for discovering and apprehending him. The defenders were so formidable at this time, in the counties of Meath, Westmeath, Kildare and Longford, that many of the protestants were obliged to fly to the metropolis for protection.

It was discovered, that there was to have been an insurrection of the defenders on the night of the twenty-fourth of May, in the counties of Meath, Cavan, Longford and Monaghan, for the purpose of murdering the army, the yeomanry, and all the loyal subjects in them. It appeared that one of their emissaries circulated four or five hundred letters, to apprize them of the precise time of rising.

On the seventh of June, Mr. Barber, a presbyterian minister of Rathfriland, noted for turbulent and seditious principles, was committed to the gaol of Belfast.

On the fourteenth of October, William Orr, a noted propagator of the doctrines of the united Irishmen, was hanged at Carrickfergus; and as he was one of the most active agents of the Irish union, great efforts were made to save his life; but when they failed, the judge who tried him was reviled, the jury and the witnesses were calumniated, and the government was universally vilified by the disaffected, for having, as they said, sacrificed the life of this honest and innocent man to the vengeance and acrimony of party.

As there was a considerable space of time between his sentence and execution, father Quigley, and two presbyterian ministers, attended him constantly, dreading that he would make discoveries, as he had intimated an intention of doing so; and they persuaded him that he was not guilty of any crime, and that they could re-animate him. After being hanged, they carried his body to a presbyterian meeting-house, where two medical men endeavoured to restore him to life, by transfusing the blood of a calf into his veins. Not succeeding, his body was laid out in great state, and he was honoured with a most splendid funeral, which was attended by a numerous body of united Irishmen, who lamented in doleful accents the fate of this martyr to republican liberty, and bedewed his hearse with tears of sympathetick civism. The cap which he wore was cut into small shreds, and distributed among his disciples, who cherished it as a most precious relic: and they, in every part of the kingdom, wore, in memory of him, some kind of emblem, in rings, lockets, or bracelets.

WHAT



WHAT PROGRESS THE LEADERS OF THE CONSPIRACY  
MADE TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1797, IN UNITING  
THE PRESBYTERIANS AND PAPISTS.

IT is observable, that the defenders existed as an organized and armed body, at least three years before the united Irishmen; for their plan, or prospectus, found on captain Sharky, in the county of Armagh, was dated the twenty-fourth of April, 1789; and as there were similar societies in the county of Louth, affiliated with them, we may presume that it required some time to bring them to a perfect state of organization; and reference is made in that prospectus to oaths which they had taken formerly.

It appeared also, that they existed at the same time in the counties of Antrim, Down and Monaghan; as general Eustace was sent there to suppress them.

The united Irishmen held their first session at Belfast, in the month of October, 1791; in Dublin, in the month of December.

The defenders, who were exclusively papists, never appeared in any county except where popery predominated. They never existed in any part of the county of Down or Antrim, except in the barony of Iveagh in the former, and in Carey and Glenarm in the latter, in which Roman catholics are numerous. The only spring of action with them was a hatred to protestants. The main object of the united Irishmen was, to unite the presbyterians, and, if possible, the members of the established church with the Roman catholics, for the purpose of overturning the constitution. Their oaths were quite different. The Catholick committee shewed much zeal in promoting this junction; but the exterminating spirit which their sectaries shewed during the rebellion, in the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, Wicklow, Wexford, Mayo and Sligo, proved that they were not sincere, and that they meant to establish exclusively their own religion on the abolition of every other. We may fairly conclude then, that they meant merely to lull the fears and suspicions of the presbyterians, and not to unite with them.

Samuel Neilson, the most active member of the union, declared, that the affiliated system began in spring 1792, and that it was not completed in Ulster till the tenth of May, 1795.\* The slow progress of the organization in that province arose from the very great difficulty of uniting the presbyterians and papists, between whom there existed so great an antipathy, that it is more than probable it never could have been accomplished, if the leading conspirators had not prevailed on the clergy of both to forward the interest of the union; and yet, we have very good reason for saying, that the amalgamation of the two sects was so imperfect, that the united Irishmen and defenders in the northern counties continued as separate bodies, even so late as the end of the year 1797. For, at a meeting of the former, held at Belfast, it is stated, "that the provincial committee promised to give to the county committee, the number of defenders in the kingdom;"† and the zeal of the latter must have been very great, when it was said, "that a defender up the country promised to give four thousand guineas for the use of the united Irishmen; and all he asks is, three or four of the united Irishmen as security for that sum."‡

In the same provincial report, it is said, "the orangemen in the county of Tyrone are taking the arms from the defenders." This shews a laudable zeal in the orangemen in disarming this banditti, and the interest which the united Irishmen took in their concerns.

We find also, in a provincial report, at the same period, that it was considered as a matter of moment, "to make friends of catholicks and orangemen, as it is doing a great deal of good in Armagh."§ This was the grand object of the united Irishmen and Catholick committee, in the North. This meeting was held at Belfast the twenty-seventh of December, 1797.

In the same report it appears, that at a meeting of captains on the thirty-first of July, 1797, at Downpatrick, great fears were expressed, that the catholicks and dissenters would become two separate parties."||

In May, 1797, orders were issued by the executive directory, that all the captains in the different baronies should assemble to chuse field officers, and

\* Examination before the secret committee of the house of lords, Appendix, No. V.

† Report of the secret committee of the house of commons, No. II. p. 27.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid. p. 29.

|| Ibid. Appendix, No. XIV. p. 103.

and that office was performed by Joseph Leslie, in the barony of Loughinsholen, in the county of Derry; but having summoned protestants only, the Roman catholics remonstrated warmly, and he was obliged to change the day for assembling, and to summon indiscriminately persons of both persuasions. Though the two orders co-operated, they never were cordially united. The massacres in the province of Leinster evinced the secret designs of the Romanists, and, by opening the eyes of the northern presbyterians, completely disunited them.

The inhabitants of Glenarm, in the county of Antrim, who were papists, were organized according to the defenderism system. During the rebellion, they were advancing in a body to join a party of united Irishmen on Belair-hill, who were headed by one Acheson, a presbyterian minister; but when the Glenarm rebels discovered this, they disbanded and said, they never would submit to be commanded by a protestant.\* The same circumstance occurred in the rebel camp at Carrickbyrne, Vinegar-hill, and Gorey, in the county of Wexford, where the priests and the other popish leaders denounced protestants, and desired that they should not be admitted into their ranks; but we cannot have a stronger proof of the insincerity of the Romanists, and their determination to extirpate every order but their own, than the wanton and cold-blooded murders committed by them in the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Wicklow, Carlow and Wexford; and the earnest intention which they shewed to do so in Mayo and Sligo, and which they would have effected, but for the humane interference of the French.

By the following resolution, seized by Mr. Fox in a committee of united Irishmen at Belfast, and dated the eleventh of April, 1797, it appears, that they did not consider the defenders as united with them: "Resolved, that the provincial (meaning committee) form a plan for the support of poor families, that they get us the number of defenders in the kingdom, who are not united Irishmen, and if they will act with united Irishmen."†

Charles Mc. Fillin, a papist, declared upon oath, before sir George Hill, baronet, that he attended as a delegate at a provincial meeting at Garvagh,

\* To this the salvation of that part of the county of Antrim was imputed.

† Secret report of the house of commons, Appendix, No. II. p. 32.



Garvagh, in the county of Derry, in November, 1796; and that he was chosen a delegate, at four or five provincial meetings; and the reason he assigns for it is, to inspire the Roman catholicks with confidence, as the system was to unite all religious persuasions, to overturn the constitution. Mc. Fillin was the only papist at these provincial meetings, and there was considerable jealousy between the two orders.\*

In almost every instance where the presbyterians considerably exceeded the papists in point of number, the latter were apparently loyal, or at least did not enter into the union; and they frequently, when thus circumstanced, were the only persons who gave information against the conspirators, but more from motives of fear, hatred, or envy, than a pure and genuine spirit of loyalty. Mc. Fillin's evidence is to be accounted for on no other principle.

In the same manner, where the Roman catholicks very much predominated in point of numbers, the presbyterians were faithful. For this reason, small colonies of the latter in Meath, Cavan, Longford, Mayo, and Sligo, were not only loyal, but very active against the defenders.

In such parts of the counties of Down and Armagh, where there were many of both orders blended together, the antipathy which always existed between them, produced strife and bloodshed, in the shape of defenderism and peep-of-day boys: But it is observable, that while the county of Armagh was dreadfully disturbed by them, the town of Lurgan and its vicinity were perfectly tranquil, because it abounds with protestants of the church of Ireland, the only sect who have been steadily and uniformly attached to the king and constitution.

Both the defenders and united Irishmen in their turn attempted to organize the county of Fermanagh, and they made some progress, and formed some plots there; but perceiving the futility of their schemes, they desisted, because they knew that the protestants of the established church are so numerous, so loyal, and courageous, that they would have been cut to pieces, had they attempted to rise in rebellion, which was the ultimate object of their machinations. †

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\* Secret report of the house of commons, Appendix, No. VI. p. 77.

† They knew what achievements were performed in the year 1641, by the bravery and loyalty of the Enniskilleners.

In some parishes in the diocese of Dromore, where the majority of the inhabitants are of the established church, and in others where they form a large portion of them, the people are moral, sober, and industrious; because those who are inclined to be disaffected, know that the protestants would risk their lives and fortunes in support of the constitution, and in the preservation of peace and good order.

When the French were at Colooney, and shewed an intention of marching towards the metropolis, the Roman catholics in the vicinity of Belturbet, in the county of Cavan, shewed a disposition to rise, in order to join them; but as the protestants of the established church in that county are numerous, loyal, and well armed, and as they were mostly united in Orange lodges, they would have cut the insurgents to pieces, had they risen there; they retired then to the Ballinamore mountains, about seven miles distant, and assembled there. Though the county of Cavan was in general very much disturbed by the defenders, they, for the above reason, never dared to appear in the neighbourhood of Belturbet.

I mentioned before, the zeal of the presbyterian ministers and the popish priests, to unite both their orders in the conspiracy.

This appeared in a very striking manner in the year 1797, particularly in the disturbed parts of Armagh and Down, whose inhabitants were so hostile to each other, as peep-of-day boys and defenders, and to reconcile whom the united Irishmen and Catholick committee shewed so much earnestness.

In the summer of 1797, one M'Carry, an itinerant friar, continued to preach in these counties, at Portaferry, in the barony of Lecale, and thence to Newtownards, to the populace of both persuasions, in popish chapels, and in the fields; and to recommend to them union and fraternity, on grounds of christian benevolence.

His audience was always very numerous; but Mr. Savage of Portaferry, having been informed that he preached seditious doctrines, threatened to commit him to prison, unless he quitted the country immediately.

I mentioned before that doctor Dickson, a presbyterian minister, at Portaferry, gave evening lectures to his flock, in the year 1797, as he said, to enlighten them; but they were in fact political discourses, similar

similar to those delivered by Thelwal, and were calculated for no other purpose, but to disseminate republican principles. It turned out afterwards, that he was an adjutant-general in the rebel army, for which he has been transported.

Many northern gentlemen of sagacity have assured me, that they considered the presbyterians as sincere in fraternizing with the Roman catholics, for the purpose of forming a republick ; and for this reason, that if the government were subverted by their united strength, they could not hope to subjugate, and make them subservient to any sinister designs which they might have entertained from the great superiority of their numbers.

When Dickey, a rebel leader, and a dissenter, was on the point of being hanged at Belfast, he declared, that the eyes of the presbyterians had been opened too late ; and that they were convinced by the massacres perpetrated by the Romanists in the province of Leinster, that they must have had to contend with them, if they had succeeded in overturning the constitution.

A gentleman of great sagacity and judgment, who took a very active part in checking the progress of the conspiracy in the North, gave me this as his decided opinion : “ That the Catholick committee hoped to succeed in their ambitious schemes, by alarming the government through the defenders ; but finding that the presbyterians would oppose them with success, they endeavoured to gain them over to assist them in subverting the constitution, though in fact they only meant to lull them, till their object was accomplished, and then to have extirpated protestants of every denomination.”

The clerk of the crown informed me, that he asked the reverend doctor Porter, a presbyterian minister at Newtownards, a short time before he was put upon his trial, how a person of his education and connections came to be embarked in so dreadful a rebellion ? and he candidly acknowledged, that republican liberty was his object ; and that when he saw that the French were actuated by nothing but a desire of conquest and plunder, and not by the generous design of promoting universal liberty, which they evinced by their treatment of the American deputies, he resolved to renounce his connection with the conspirators ; but he found it too late, as his life would have fallen a sacrifice to any attempt to do so.

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He at the same time attempted to defend his conduct, on the ground that every person had a right to form his own opinion on the eligibility of what kind of government he would wish to live under. This absurd and dangerous doctrine has been inculcated by Price and Priestley. This man was hanged in the rear of his conventicle at Gray Abbey.

I stated before, that the slow progress of the organization of the North arose from the great difficulty of uniting the presbyterians and papists. The following anecdote will illustrate it :

A Romanist, who had been an active leader of the defenders, being in conversation, in the year 1794 with a presbyterian, who was much addicted to French republican principles, in a mountainous parish of the county of Tyrone, informed him, that the Romanists had received orders from their committee, to consider the presbyterians in future as brethren, and that they were both to fraternize. On which the latter, who had a gun in his hand, asked him to assist him in driving some cattle from the mountains : To which the Romanist replied, “ What ! trust myself alone with a presbyterian with a gun ! ” So rooted was the antipathy of the Romanists to the dissenters !

Samuel Neilson stated in his evidence before the secret committee of the house of lords, that the military organization began in Ulster in the autumn of 1796, and that the object of it was to carry measures by force ; and they must have collected arms with great celerity, for it appears, that before the close of that year, the conspirators had, in Belfast alone, five hundred and twenty-six guns, three hundred and ninety-nine bayonets, eighty-eight pistols, five hundred and sixty-seven pikes, twelve thousand one hundred and thirty ball-cartridges, fifteen thousand nine hundred and fifty-three balls, five hundred and sixty-six pounds of powder, six cannon and one mortar ; and in the county of Antrim, twenty-three thousand and fifty-nine men, two thousand six hundred and fifty-nine guns, nine hundred and eighty-two bayonets, two hundred and four pistols, two thousand three hundred and forty-eight pikes, eighty-five swords, eighteen thousand two hundred and fifty-three ball-cartridges, two thousand three hundred and fifty-eight balls, six hundred and twenty-eight pounds and an half of powder, eight cannon and one mortar.\*

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\* Report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. II. p. 23, 24.

The reader may conceive, to what extent the people were armed, when, in the county of Kildare alone, fourteen thousand **nine** hundred and seventy-three pikes were surrendered in the year 1797, in consequence of the pardon offered by government to the repentant, and of the salutary rigour and coercion exercised against those who were obstinate in guilt; and it was not doubted but that a much greater proportion was retained.

In other counties it was not doubted, but that the preparation for arms was as extensive as the organization itself, from the number seized in different parts of the kingdom, which amounted to no less than one hundred and twenty-nine thousand.\*

The adoption of the military organization produced such an encrease of robbery and assassination in the northern counties, as to induce a necessity of enforcing the insurrection law in them; and accordingly Down and Armagh were proclaimed in November, 1796, Derry and Donegal in February, 1797.

Regular returns were made by the baronial to the county, and by the county to the provincial committee, and by them to the executive, of the quantity of arms and ammunition in their possession; and of the sums of money in their treasurers' hands.

For this, and the manner of making the returns, I shall refer the reader to the report of the secret committee, beginning at Appendix, No. II. p. 21.

They had a regular chain or gradation of officers, from a general down to a serjeant; and about the latter end of the year 1797, or beginning of 1798, they instituted the office of adjutant-general, whose duty may be seen in the report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. XVII. p. 142.

They used unremitted endeavours, and spared no expence in defending the conspirators who were to be tried; for which purpose, a sub-committee attended regularly at every assizes to superintend the appropriation of the money collected for that purpose.

John Hughes was sent by Mr. James Mc. Guchin, an attorney, to Dublin, in order to get a license for counsellor Curran to be concerned for the prisoners, then in the several gaols, on the North-East circuit, in the Lent assizes of 1797, charged as united Irishmen; and he paid him 50l. as a retaining fee, and 200l. for different licenses to plead.†

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\* Report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. XXXIX.

† Ibid. Appendix, No. XV. p. 126.

The following report was made to a county of Down committee, of law expences on the trials of conspirators, June 8th, 1797:

Counsellors, Curran,	-	100 guineas.
Sampson,	-	50 do.
Ball,	-	40 do.
Dobbs,	-	40 do.
Attornies, Caddel,	-	100 do.
Glenny,	-	20 pounds.
Wallace,	-	100 guineas.
Frazer,	-	50 pounds.
Gaoler,	-	10 guineas.
Two assistants,	-	20 pounds each.
Sub-sheriff,	-	20 guineas.
Witneffes,	-	200 pounds.*

At a provincial meeting held at Randalstown, December the fourteenth, 1797, it appeared, that the executive committee "had advanced 137l. 8s. for conveying thirteen prisoners from Belfast to Dublin, for the benefit of the habeas corpus act." They had also advanced 185l. 4s. for the prisoners' trials in Armagh and Carrickfergus; and as they could not get money to defray the expence, they had thoughts of forming a lottery, the benefit of which was to be applied to said purposes; † but on the seventeenth of January, 1798, they rejected that plan, as it encouraged *immorality in the people*, and resolved to raise money by subscription.†

I mentioned before that they endeavoured to baffle justice by striking terror into all loyal subjects, and procuring such of them as had taken an active and conspicuous part in executing the laws, to be murdered. To render this system more certain, they published, in the summer of 1797, a paper, entitled, *The Union Star*, which appeared at irregular periods; and of which the object was, to point out for assassination such persons as had been eminently useful in developing the secrets, or in checking the machinations of the conspirators. Each number began with the following paragraphs:

"As the Union Star is an official paper, the managers promise the publick, that no characters shall be hazarded, but such as are denounced

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" by

\* Report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. XIV. p. 100.

† Ibid. p. 108.

‡ Ibid. p. 109.



“by authority, as being the partners and creatures of Pitt, and his fan-  
 “guinary journeyman Luttrell, (meaning the earl of Carhampton.) The  
 “Star offers to publick justice the following detestable traitors, as spies and  
 “perjured informers. Perhaps some arm more lucky than the rest, may  
 “reach his heart, and free the world from bondage.”\*

This paper was secretly, and in the night, dispersed in the city of Dublin, and in different parts of the country, but without any printer's name annexed to it; and it pointed the dagger of the assassin to the breast of many a loyal subject.

They also set on foot, in the winter of 1797, a newspaper, called *The Press*, for the purpose of vilifying the government, of reprobating its leading members, and of inciting persons to murder them; of condemning, as founded in tyranny, every salutary measure adopted for checking the progress of rebellion, and of traducing every loyal man who had courage enough to assist in doing so.

So sure were the leaders of the united Irishmen in Dublin that they had attained their grand object, that of uniting persons of different religious orders, that the following paragraph appeared in *The Press* of the twenty-sixth of December, 1797:

“The catholicks and presbyterians are united in indissoluble ties, like dying martyrs, in a common cause, priding themselves in mutual good offices, and for ever abjuring the barbarous fanaticism that made them hate each other. From the protestants of the establishment, every man of worth, of talent, or of honour, has ranged himself by their side; and nothing now remains, against Irish union, but twenty-five thousand, as near as may be, of bigots, hirelings, and dependents; just enough to furnish the lord lieutenant with addressees.”

One of the main designs of these infamous prints was, to paint England in the blackest colours; to vilify her constitution, as founded in despotism; and to represent her people as knavish, artful and tyrannical: An extraordinary return to that glorious nation, for having given to the savages of Ireland their constitution,† as far as a kingdom, in her subordinate state, could participate of it; for having attempted to reclaim her people from downright

\* Report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. XXVII. p. 217.

† The union has given it to them in the fullest extent: Without it, they were slaves, depending on the breath of a minister for the freedom they enjoyed.

downright savagery, and for having introduced among them every art that can adorn or improve civil life! These invectives against England were uttered to encourage a separation from her.

Much to the disgrace of government, this infamous paper, called *The Press*, was suffered to disseminate treason and sedition, from the beginning of October, 1797, till the sixth of March, 1798; when, in consequence of information received, that Mr. Arthur O'Connor, the sworn proprietor and owner of it, had been seized at Margate, in the actual attempt of taking his passage for France, with Quigley the priest of Dundalk, on whom treasonable papers were found, alderman Alexander, on Tuesday the sixth of March, seized the papers and printing materials of *The Press*.

The most inflammatory parts of this infamous print have been recently extracted, and published in Dublin in a thick octavo volume, to fan the seemingly-smothered flame of rebellion; and it is said, and believed, that this has been done by a printer and bookseller who was deeply concerned in the conspiracy and rebellion, and who owes his liberty at this moment to the royal mercy.

To injure public credit, they published printed notices, not to use exchangeable commodities; not to take bank notes; and not to purchase quit-rents, as government had proposed to sell them. In these they said, "In our opinion the issuer of these notes is a bankrupt, who in all likelihood must shortly shut up and run away. When the government goes down, these fine notes of theirs, with stamps of hundreds and thousands upon them, will not fetch a penny a pound in a snuff-shop."

I think it right to inform the reader, that there is a more equal intermixture of protestants of the established church, of presbyterians and papists, in the counties of Donegal, Derry, Tyrone and Armagh, than in any other part of the kingdom; for this reason the disaffected shewed more boldness of enterprize and vigour of exertion in them, than in most other parts of the kingdom, during the progress of the conspiracy; for the presbyterians engaged in it, were men of some education and improved intellect, and directed the operations; and the persons who executed them were of the lower class of Roman catholics, who were desperate and sanguinary;\* but the rebellion, had it broken out in them, could not have been very destructive or of long continuance, as the yeomen and orange-men were numerous, and were vigilant and active in detecting and baffling the

\* The reader will not be surprised at this from the massacres which took place in the province of Leinster.

the schemes of the traitors; besides, the massacres in the province of Leinster made such of the presbyterians, as were disaffected, unite with the loyalists.

A practice, which I before mentioned, of assembling the people to dig the potatoes, or reap the corn of their leaders, took place often in those counties. It answered two purposes, that of trying the sincerity of the people, and of convincing them of their strength, by the facility with which a number of them could be collected in a short time. No less than six thousand persons assembled to dig an acre and a half of potatoes, the property of one Mc. Clury, near Newtownlimavady in the county of Derry.

This body was regularly divided into companies, which were subdivided into ten, with officers appropriated to each division.

This Mc. Clury was tried for having, with a numerous gang of assassins, murdered one Mc. Clusky, and burnt his house, in the county of Derry, because he would not join in a combination against the rector of the parish.

The jury, from motives of fear or corruption, acquitted him, though his guilt was evident; on which the lord chief baron recommended to the next of kin to bring an appeal of murder. It often occurred that the witnesses and jurors were afraid to do their duty.

The executive directory formed the highest expectations of success in the beginning of the year 1797, from the number and zeal of their partizans, who were well armed and organized.

Robert Moore, of the city of Derry, ironmonger, who had been deputed from the county of Derry to the provincial meeting of Ulster as their delegate, attended the next county meeting in November, 1796, at Garvagh, in order to impart to them the orders of the provincial. He informed them, that the French were expected immediately; that they must array themselves in companies of one hundred men each, with a captain, two lieutenants and five serjeants; that they must exercise constantly, and procure arms by every means in their power; and he particularly recommended pikes.

They immediately began their nocturnal depredations in the counties of Tyrone, Derry, Donegal and Armagh, so that no night passed without some dreadful enormities committed by them. To compel people to join them by terror, they demolished or burnt houses and haggards, destroyed cattle,



cattle, dragged people from their beds, cropped off their ears, ducked, maimed, or murdered them.

In December, 1796, they destroyed the property and cut off the ears of one Lanaghan, in the barony of Loughinsholin, and county of Derry; at the spring assizes of 1797, he prosecuted three of them, but the jury acquitted them, it is supposed, from motives of terror.

In the month of December, 1796, a man unguardedly informed his family, that he saw a number of them exercising in the night; which being reported to them, the most moderate of them insisted on his leaving the country; but in attempting to do so, he was murdered at Magilligan, in the county of Derry.

In January, 1797, sir George Hill, with a party of the military, surprised a body of rebels in the night, after they had plundered many houses of arms near Derry, killed some of them, and took others prisoners. Of the latter, a young man of the name of Bordman became approver. At the assizes, sir George introduced him into a room, where the crown lawyers were, that he might relate to them the substance of his evidence. Seeing his examinations in the hands of sir George Hill, he rushed forward, snatched them from him, tore them in pieces, and afterwards denied every thing he had sworn. He knew that he and all his family, who were numerous and respectable, would have been assassinated if he had prosecuted.

Whenever the military assembled in the night, at Derry, to patrol the country in detachments, signals were made by lights, through whatever district they passed. In the winter of 1796, and the beginning of 1797, before those counties were proclaimed, thousands were obliged to compromise with the rebels, to deliver up their arms, and to take the oath of secrecy, to save their lives; and gentlemen of good landed property were among those who did so. At last the well-disposed called out for protection, which the introduction of the insurrection law, and the institution of Orange societies contributed materially to afford them. Anonymous letters were frequently written to loyal persons, threatening them with destruction, unless they became members of the union.

In the beginning of the year 1797, whole corps of yeomen were disarmed. At the spring assizes of that year, very few delinquents could be convicted, as the witnesses and jurors, some from terror, others from attachment

attachment to the cause, acquitted them. At Omagh, Lifford, and Derry,\* the acquittals were celebrated by bonfires in the night, for thirty miles round the country.

The day before the assizes at Derry, on the thirteen of April, 1797, the county delegates held a meeting, and paid in large subscriptions, which had been previously collected for the use and defence of the prisoners in gaol, and appointed a sub-committee to manage and appropriate it.

In the winter of 1797, they became so numerous and daring, that they used to patrol the country by night, in immense numbers, plunder houses of arms, and cut down great quantities of ash trees to make pike handles.

In a district called Fanet, in the county of Donegal, two thousand of them assembled, and laid a plan to murder the reverend Mr. Hamilton, of which he received information upon oath from one of the party. He could not get a messenger to convey a letter to Derry for a reinforcement of troops, and he had but a few soldiers in his house. He and a Mr. Smyth who commands a revenue cutter, disguised themselves in rags, as beggars, passed the picquet guard of the rebels, which they kept constantly, with the utmost regularity, arrived safe at Derry, and obtained an additional guard of one hundred men, which saved himself and his house for that time; but he was murdered in a fortnight after, within eight miles of Derry, by forty farmers who have since gone to America.

In such counties where the persons possessed of property were protestants of the church of Ireland, and of course were loyal, and the lower class of people were papists, the conspiracy was not so terrifick; because the latter, who were engaged in it, wanted leaders of improved intellects.

Large sums of money were sent from Belfast to Derry, to corrupt the military, and their schemes were attended with very great success, particularly in the Tipperary regiment.

A plot of a very extensive and dangerous nature for taking that town was discovered, and that some of the privates and non-commissioned officers of that regiment were deeply engaged in it. Three or four publicans were to have intoxicated such of the soldiers as were not sworn. A chosen band were to have murdered the earl of Cavan, colonel Bagwell, and sir George Hill, and to have seized the magazine.

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\* The county towns of Tyrone, Donegal and Derry.

The conspiracy was to have been carried into execution on a market day, when ten thousand of the country people were to have entered the town under the pretext of business. Different persons, both soldiers and peasants, concurred exactly in their relation of this plot.

The great linen bleachers were almost universally obliged to countenance the conversion of their overseers and workmen to the united cause, that they might continue their business; but some did so from pure attachment to it. Such of them as were steadfast in their loyalty, were under a necessity of discontinuing their bleaching for the season.

As the reverend John Hill, brother of Sir George Hill, had distinguished himself by great activity and courage in checking the progress of rebellion in the county of Tyrone, all the loyalists in his neighbourhood lodged their arms in his house, which was guarded by four of the Queen's county militia, and in which he had maintained his post for many months.

One night in the month of June, 1797, when he happened to be absent at Derry, five hundred rebels attacked his house, overpowered the guard, and carried off a large quantity of arms and ammunition, a considerable portion of which had belonged to the military and yeomen; but Mr. Hill, at his return, partly by menaces, and partly by severe and vigorous measures, against the rebellious inhabitants of the district, compelled them to restore the whole of what they had plundered.

In the barony of Enniskillen, in the county of Donegal, (noted for defenders in the year 1793) the rebels cut down, and carried off, forty full grown ash trees for pike handles, and soon after disarmed half a yeomanry corps and many small parties of soldiers, as they went to their out-quarters in the country; but the burning of three houses in that rebellious district struck such terror into its inhabitants, that they returned all the arms they had taken, and surrendered many pikes.

The proclamation which issued the seventeenth of May produced the best effects in these counties; as it induced thousands to repair to magistrates to renounce their errors, and to seek for protection.

In the month of January, 1797, the Ulster provincial meeting was held at Stewartstown in the county of Tyrone, and they were very much offended because a member of the executive did not attend. The famous father Quigley, afterwards hanged at Maidstone, being a member



of the provincial, said he knew where they sat at that time, and he conducted them to Dundalk, where they were then sitting. The provincial insisted on seeing them, which they refused, but sent one of their members to confer with them. One of the directory commonly attended each provincial meeting, to receive money, to issue out orders to the inferior societies, and to obtain reports from them ; but the whole of them were never known to any of the inferior societies. Quigley must have been very deep in their confidence, when he was entrusted with the time and place of their assembling.

Bartholomew Teeling was at that time a member of the directory.

In the counties of Fermanagh, Tyrone, Derry and Armagh, there were fourteen thousand yeomen, and most of them orangemen ; and they were so loyal, and so well disciplined, that general Knox who commanded at Dungannon reported in the summer of 1798, that he would rest the safety of these counties on their fidelity and bravery ; and, much to the honour of the presbyterians, three-fourths of them were of that order.

In Tyrone, there were about five thousand yeomen, the majority of whom were presbyterians ; and there were about four thousand two hundred orangemen among them. In so large a body there were not more than from two hundred to three hundred papists.

Though the presbyterians lay under a general imputation of being disloyal, it appears that a great portion of them were steadily attached to the constitution, and were ready to draw their swords in its defence against foreign and domestick foes. After many minute enquiries, I could not discover an instance of a presbyterian yeoman having violated his oath of allegiance ; but it will appear that many shameful instances of the kind occurred among the Romish yeomen in Leinster, Connaught and Munster. Though many dissenting ministers of the counties of Down and Antrim were disaffected, great numbers of them are distinguished for exalted piety and unimpeached loyalty.

I have been assured by many gentlemen of sagacity and sound judgment, who are well acquainted with the North, that most of the presbyterians separated from the papists in the year 1797, some from principle, some because they doubted the sincerity of persons of that order ; and others, foreseeing that the plot must fail and end in their destruction,  
took

took advantage of the proclamation of the seventeenth of May, and renounced their associates. Numbers withdrew, because they doubted of success without foreign assistance.

The presbyterians of the counties of Down and Antrim, where they are very numerous, and where they were warmly attached to the union from pure republican principles, thought they could succeed without the papists.

Many persons, desirous of palliating the treasonable designs of the union, have said, that the reason of their establishing a resident agent at Paris, was the rejection of a plan of reform which was proposed in the house of commons in 1797, which would have satisfied the people; but the palpable falshood of this assertion, is evident from the journals of the house of commons; for the leaders of the conspiracy have all agreed, that their agent was dispatched to Paris in April, 1797, with directions to negotiate a treaty with the directory of France; and the motion for parliamentary reform, to the rejection of which they ascribe the mission of Lewins, was not made till the fifteenth of May.\* They have also attempted to palliate the treasonable designs of the conspirators, and the enormities committed by them, by ascribing them to the severity of the insurrection law; but it did not pass into a law till the twenty-fourth of March, 1796, and was not enforced till the fourteenth of November following; and it was enacted, in consequence of a system of midnight murder, robbery and outrage, begun in the year 1792, and brought to maturity in the year 1796, under the influence of the Irish union, the leaders of which began a correspondence with the French directory, between the month of June, 1795, and the month of January, 1796;† which was long before either of the above events took place.

It should be recollected also, that some of the leading members of the union were deeply concerned in the conspiracy with the reverend Mr. Jackson, who came here from Paris in the year 1794, to lay a plan for invading the kingdom.

The leading principle of the conspirators in the provinces of Munster, Leinster and Connaught, was to join the French and extirpate protestants,

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which

\* Report of the secret committee of the house of lords of 1798, p. 13, 14.

† Ibid.

which the events that occurred in the course of the rebellion will prove in the two last ; and for a proof of this in the former, where the active and seasonable exertions of the magistrates and the military prevented it from exploding, I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XI. where he will find the state of the counties of Carlow, Clare, Tipperary, the county and city of Waterford, and the county and city of Cork.\*

In the year 1798, the most unqualified treason and sedition continued to be disseminated in all the jacobin prints, and had a very great effect in inciting the people to commit crimes of very great enormity. In the metropolis, and in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare and Wicklow, and in many parts of Munster, assassination and the robbery of arms were constantly perpetrated, and the disaffected continued to form traitorous combinations.

The speech of the viceroy set forth the woeful and alarming state of the kingdom ; and both houses of parliament, in their addresses, assured his excellency of their attachment to the king and constitution, and their determination to risk their lives and fortunes in support of them, and in maintaining the connection between the two kingdoms.

In the month of January, the King's county was so much disturbed, that the gentlemen and freeholders, assembled by the sheriff on the fifth of February, entered into strong resolutions, and subscribed large sums of money for suppressing insurrections and maintaining social order.

On the ninth of February, colonel St. George and a Mr. Jasper Uniacke were murdered by a popish banditti at Arraglyn, in the county of Cork, in the house of the latter.

This month, Mr. Doolin, a protestant, was barbarously murdered in his own house, in the King's county, while sitting in the evening with his family ; and it was discovered that some of his own domesticks were concerned in the horrid deed.

As the mass of the people in Dublin was at this time infected with treason, and as popish fanaticism seemed to be chiefly instrumental in forwarding the progress of it, the protestants formed Orange lodges, and united for their preservation in the month of January, 1798 ; and as the disaffected propagated malicious reports, that they had secretly entered  
into

\* Doctor Mc. Nevin, a member of the directory and a Romanist, accounts for that in his evidence before the house of lords, by saying, that the Catholick priests were well affected to the cause. Report of the secret committee of the house of lords of 1798, Appendix, No. III.



into combinations hostile to the Romanists, both the orangemen of Dublin and those of the province of Ulster, to vindicate themselves from such aspersions, published a declaration of their principles in the publick prints.\*

In the month of January, a foldier of the Tyrone militia, while standing as a centinel at Tralee, in the county of Kerry, was assassinated by a man disguised in woman's clothes.

On Thursday the twenty-fourth of January, a young man of the revenue corps of yeomanry was fired at near Blackrock, from behind a hedge, and was very badly wounded.

In the beginning of February, two ruffians of the names of Come and Carbery, were committed to Mullingar gaol for having conspired to murder George Clibborne, esquire, captain of the Moate cavalry; and four more to Philipstown gaol, for having combined to assassinate Richard Holmes, esquire, of Prospect; two gentlemen distinguished for their spirited exertions in enforcing the execution of the laws. These assassins were sent from Dublin by the united Irishmen, to commit these horrid crimes.

An attempt was made on the life of Mr. Darragh, of Eagle-hill, in the county of Kildare, an active magistrate, who was so obnoxious to the rebels on account of his zealous loyalty, that many plots were formed against his life; but in order to provoke the vengeance of the disaffected, a report was circulated that he had taken an oath not to desist in his exertions, till he had waded up to his ankles in the blood of Roman catholicks. This report was propagated while he was absent in England. At his return he made publickly an affidavit, that he had never harboured such a sentiment. But this would not do; for he was condemned to die by a committee of assassination that sat in the neighbourhood.

When walking in his lawn, in the month of March, a man in the guise of a suppliant, presented him a paper, under a pretext of seeking for justice; and when he was engaged in perusing it, he drew a pistol, and having fired it at him, the ball entered his groin; and while in a disabled state, and writhing with pain, he drew another pistol, and fired it into his back, with the muzzle so close, that both the ball and the wadding entered his body, and have never been extracted. Ever since this misfortune he has dragged on a miserable existence, having suffered a great distortion

\* See it in Appendix, No. V.

distortion of his limbs, and being subject to dreadful spasms, attended with excruciating pain.

At a provincial committee, held at Shanes-castle, the first of February, 1798, it was announced, “ That three delegates had arrived from France ; that the French expedition was going forward, and was soon expected ; that three delegates had been sent from the united Britons to the national committee ; and that from that moment they were to consider England, Scotland and Ireland, all as one people, acting for one common cause ; that there were legislators now chosen from the three kingdoms to act as an executive for the whole ; that they were now sure of obtaining liberty, though the French should never come ; that the delegates should cause the men to hold themselves in readiness, as the hour of action could not be far distant ; and that they should collect the names of all their enemies, and their places of residence.” \* This was done most effectually ; and the loyal persons were pointed out for assassination in *The Press* and *The Union Star*.

On Saturday the seventeenth of February, the following advertisement was found by a gentleman stuck against the wall of St. Mary’s church, in Dublin :

“ Liberty !———Erin go braugh !” §

“ You protestant hereticks ! Take notice, that mass will commence in this church by the first of May next ; your blood shall flow, and your souls shall be sent to the devil your grandfather.”

In the month of February, the earl of Moira came to Ireland, with a professed design of appeasing the disturbances which disgraced his native country, by recommending to government to discontinue the system of rigorous coercion which they had for some time adopted, and to which he attributed those evils ; and by advising them to relax the penal laws recently enacted, and to use mild and conciliatory measures, as the only means of restoring peace and social order ; and on the nineteenth of February, after having expatiated on, and enforced these subjects in the house of lords, and recommended Catholick emancipation and Parliamentary reform, which he represented as necessary to allay the discontents of the people, he moved, “ That an humble address be presented to his excellency

\* Report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. XIV. p. 111.

§ This is Irish, and signifies, Ireland for ever !

excellency the lord lieutenant, to state, that, as parliament had confided to his excellency extraordinary powers, in order to support the laws, and defeat traitorous combinations in this country, we feel it our duty, as these powers have not produced the desired effect, to recommend the adoption of such conciliatory measures as may allay apprehension and discontent." He was opposed by the earl of Clare, who, in a most eloquent speech,\* refuted his lordship's assertions, and traced the origin of the riots and insurrections of Ireland to their real source. His lordship's motion was negatived on a division of thirty-five to ten.

Experience has since evinced how much his lordship was mistaken; and the following incident proves how vain, how futile, and absurd it is, for any person of high birth and large fortune to expect to gain the affections of the populace by stooping to flatter their prejudices. His lordship had courted popularity in the county of Down, where he had resided and his estate lay; and nobody can doubt but that he really merited it, for his humane and beneficent disposition: And yet, at a county meeting of united Irishmen held at Saintfield on the fourth of February, 1798, the following paragraph appeared in the course of their proceedings on that day:

"Nothing particular was done, except that earl Moira's character was discussed at full length, to know, whether he was a man that could be depended on, or not, by the people? It was agreed, that he was as great a tyrant as the lord lieutenant, and a deeper designing one!"†

On the fifth of March, sir Laurence Parsons, in a long speech in the house of commons, recommended an enquiry to be made into the causes of disturbance, and into the demands of the people, that they may conciliate them by conceding those demands, if they were reasonable, or by convincing them of the contrary, if they were inadmissible. He recommended Parliamentary reform and Catholick emancipation as the most likely means to allay the distractions which then existed; and he imputed them to the severe and unnecessary system of coercive rigour which the government of Ireland had exercised for many years past. He ended his speech with the following motion: "That this house do forthwith resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider whence the dis-

contents

\* It is so full of information, that I would recommend it to the perusal of every friend of Ireland, and of the empire.

† Report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. XIV. p. 115.



contents in this country arise, and what are the most effectual means of allaying the same." Lord Castlereagh, in a long, an able, and an animated speech, contradicted his groundless assertions, and refuted his arguments, by taking a retrospect of the state of Ireland for many years preceding; and by deducing, from incontrovertible facts, that the only object of the traitorous combinations, unremittingly attended by nocturnal robbery and assassination, was the subversion of the constitution, and the separation of the two kingdoms. On a division there appeared but nineteen members in support of the motion, and one hundred and fifty-six against it.

We cannot sufficiently applaud the wisdom and firmness of parliament, in refusing their assent to such wild and fatal concessions, propounded by the earl of Moira and sir Laurence Parsons; and if any proof of this were necessary, it would be supplied by a resolution entered into by the rebel provincial committees of Ulster and Leinster on the same day, the nineteenth of February, 1798, and both in the same words, one at Armagh, the other at Dublin: "That we will give no attention whatever to any attempt made by either house of parliament, to divert the publick mind from the grand object we have in view; as nothing short of complete emancipation of our country will satisfy us."

This dreadful conspiracy, which aimed at the destruction of Ireland, its separation from England, and consequently the subversion of the British empire, was discovered and defeated in the following manner by the wisdom and mercy of Providence:

Mr. Thomas Reynolds, of the county of Kildare, where he had numerous and respectable connections, was bred to the business of a silk manufacturer, which he followed very extensively for many years in the city of Dublin; but having acquired a landed property at Kilkea castle, in his native county, he retired and resided there, some years previous to the rebellion, and had considerable influence among the Romanists.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Oliver Bond, two leaders in the conspiracy, having, for these reasons, considered him a proper person to assist in forwarding their treasonable designs, practised every art of seduction to attach him to their cause; and having at last succeeded, he was sworn an united Irishman at the house of Oliver Bond in Dublin, in the beginning of the year 1797, was induced to accept the commission of colonel,  
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the offices of treasurer and representative of the county of Kildare, and at last that of delegate for the province of Leinster.

Soon after he was raised to this elevated situation in the union, having discovered that the conspirators, instead of intending to reform the abuses of the state, and to abolish all religious distinctions, which was their professed object at first, meditated the subversion of the constitution, the massacre of the leading members of government, and of such persons as should oppose their designs, he resolved to defeat them, by embracing the first opportunity of communicating them to some person in whom he could confide.

He had very great friendship and respect for Mr. Cope, an eminent merchant of the city of Dublin, who, having lamented to him in the course of conversation, the crimes and atrocities which were constantly committed, and which were undoubted symptoms of an approaching rebellion, Mr. Reynolds, upon whom his conversation made a very deep impression, said, that he knew a person connected with the united Irishmen, who, he believed, would defeat their nefarious projects, by communicating them to government, in order to make an atonement for the crime he had committed, in joining them. Mr. Cope assured him, that such a person would obtain the highest honours and pecuniary rewards that the administration could confer; and that he would be admired and applauded by the most virtuous and valuable portion of society. But Mr. Reynolds said, that nothing could tempt him to come forward and avow himself. However, after the most earnest and pressing solicitations repeatedly made on the part of Mr. Cope, for whom he had filial reverence, he said, that his friend would appear in person, and disclose the particulars of the plot, on the following conditions: That he should not prosecute any united Irishmen; that the channel through which the information came should be kept a secret, at least for a time; that as his life would be in danger upon its being known, and he must leave the country and go to England till matters were settled, which would derange his affairs, and put him to considerable expence, he expected to receive some compensation. Mr. Cope then told him, that he might draw on him for any sum not exceeding five hundred guineas. On that, he told Mr. Cope, that the Leinster delegates were to meet at Oliver Bond's, on the twelfth of March, to concert measures for an insurrection, which

was shortly to take place; but did not at that time acknowledge that the information came directly from him; but insinuated that it was imparted by a third person.

In consequence of this, justice Swan, attended by twelve serjeants in coloured clothes, arrested the Leinster delegates, thirteen in number, while sitting in council in the house of Oliver Bond in Bridge-street, on the twelfth of March, 1798; and seized at the same time the papers in Appendix, No. IX. \* which led to the discovery of the plot, and the intended insurrection; and on the same day, Thomas A. Emmett, a barrister, William James Mc. Nevin, messieurs Bond, Sweetman, Henry Jackson and Hugh Jackson: And warrants were granted against lord Edward Fitzgerald, Richard Mc. Cormick and counsellor Sampson, who were all leaders in the conspiracy; but the three last made their escape.

It is certain that the leaders of the conspiracy did not intend to bring forward an insurrection till the French came to their assistance; and they meant in the mean time to continue to encrease their numbers, and to add to their stock of arms; but in the spring of 1798, the delusion of the people was so rapidly and so extensively yielding to the wise measures of government, who, while they treated with severity the obstinately guilty, in every instance held forth mercy to the repentant; that the chief conspirators both in Dublin and in the provinces began to perceive that their cause was losing ground, and that they had no alternative but to hazard a general rising, or to relinquish their hopes.

The arrest of the Leinster committee, and of many other leaders on the twelfth of March, tended so much to the disclosure of their fatal designs, and to break the links of their organization, that the conspirators found themselves under an absolute necessity of making a desperate effort. A plan was therefore digested by the military committee for a general rising, in which it was proposed to seize Dublin,† the camp at Laughlinstown, and Chapelizod, the station of the artillery, on the same night; and the counties of Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare, were to co-operate in this attack.‡ The insurrection being commenced in the metropolis and its vicinity, the signal for announcing it to the  
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\* Report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. XIX.

† Ibid. Appendix, No. XIV.

‡ Ibid.



North and South, which would also rise, was to be the detention of the mail coaches.\*

During the months of February, March and April, robbery and assassination continued to be perpetrated in different parts of the kingdom, and shocking outrages were committed in the metropolis, particularly in Francis, Thomas, and James's-streets; where the centinels on guard were frequently fired at.†

On the twenty-eighth of February, Arthur O'Connor and father Quigley, and three more traitors, were arrested at Margate, when they were on the point of embarking for France, whither they were going to accelerate an invasion of Ireland, which the French republick at that time meditated, at the instance of the Irish executive directory.

On the seventh of March, sir Henry Mannix, who had made himself obnoxious to the rebels by his activity as a magistrate, was fired at and wounded near the city of Cork; where the conspiracy was more extensive and terrifick than in Dublin.

Major Allen was served in the same manner in the county of Kildare.

On the thirteenth of March, Mr. Buckley, a protestant, and noted for his loyalty, was murdered near Rathcoole, in the county of Kildare, and butchered with ferocious barbarity; and it has been discovered, that some of the popish yeomen of that place were concerned in the perpetration of this horrid act. One of their bayonets was found sticking in his body. About the same time Mr. Burchell of Killeele in the same county was assassinated. This month a centinel was murdered on his post at Armagh.

It would exceed the extent of my design, and fill the reader with horror and disgust, if I were to enumerate the assassinations which took place at this time.

Every night great quantities of pikes were discovered in the metropolis by the magistrates; and so eager were the leaders of the conspiracy to encourage the fabrication of them, that blacksmiths were detected in the act of making them even in the day.

An affidavit was sworn in my presence, importing that some persons took the leaden gutters from their houses, for the purpose of making bullets; and that they substituted wooden ones in their stead.

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\* Report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. XIV.

† The reader may form some idea of the state of Dublin, from an affidavit in Appendix, No. XIII.

So prone to insurrection were the lower class of people in Dublin, that in the month of April, a numerous mob of rebels rose in the Liberty, and attempted to pull down the houses of some loyal persons there, but were prevented by the yeomen.

An active and intelligent magistrate of the city of Dublin informed me, that when he was granting licenses to some publicans in March, 1797, they boasted, with a stern and insolent air, that that was the last time they would apply for them; and that they made the same declaration in March, 1798. So sure was the mass of the people, that a complete subversion of the government would take place!

On the thirtieth of March, the lord lieutenant issued a proclamation, giving the most positive and direct orders to the officers commanding his majesty's forces, to employ them with the utmost vigour and decision for suppressing the traitorous conspiracy, for the destruction of the constitution, and the established government, which broke out into acts of open violence and rebellion.

On the sixth of May, Mr. Reynolds was arrested at Castledermot by a party of the military, and conveyed a prisoner to Dublin.

On the eighth of the same month, the united Irishmen, by some means or other, having discovered that he had revealed, and in a great measure defeated their machinations, formed many plots against his life. He therefore found it necessary to put himself under the protection of government, who provided him with apartments in the castle.

As the members of the union, during his residence there, circulated the most infamous calumnies against his character, he resolved, in its vindication, to bring those miscreants to condign punishment, and to disclose the whole of their plots, and to prosecute them.

Some time in the month of April, 1798, Matthew Dowling, messieurs Bird, Stoyte, O'Neil, Bacon the tailor, and others, held a conference at Harold's Cross, about carrying off the children of lord Camden, or lord Clare, as hostages; but they preferred those of the latter. One of the parties made a full confession of this to alderman James.

About the same time, major Sirr received a positive information, which I drew, of a conspiracy to shoot the lord chancellor, as he went to the courts.\*

On the twenty-second of April, Mr. Jenkin, surveyor at Rings-end arrested thirteen united Irishmen sitting in deliberation in a wherry in the port  
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\* It was planned by one of the traitors sent to Scotland.

of Dublin ; for they found it unsafe to hold their committee in the city, from the great vigilance and activity of the magistrates, who pursued and discovered them in their lurking holes and most secret recesses.

As it was discovered through various channels of information, that Lord Edward Fitzgerald was the principal leader of the conspiracy ; and as it appeared by papers found in his writing-desk, that his designs were of a most dangerous and malignant nature, a proclamation issued on the eleventh of May, offering a reward of 1000*l.* for apprehending him.

As great numbers of people, charged with seditious and treasonable practices, had fled from different parts of the kingdom to Dublin, for the purpose of secreting themselves, and eluding justice, the lord mayor, on the same day, issued a proclamation, requiring all housekeepers in the city or liberties thereof, to return a list of such strangers as should be lodged or entertained by them.

On Wednesday the ninth of May, sheriff Hone seized some pike heads in the house of Mr. Sweetman, who had been so long the secretary of the Catholick committee.

On the night of May the eleventh, justice Swan, major Sirr, and captain Ryan discovered and seized five pieces of cannon, two six-pounders, and three four-pounders, in a brewer's yard in North King-street ; and on Thursday preceding, major Sirr seized in Bridgefoot-street, five hundred pike handles, from nine to fourteen feet long.

It was observed that the conspirators kept the pike heads and the handles separate, at least in the metropolis, as they could mount them with the utmost celerity ; and the loss of one did not involve that of the other.

On the twelfth of May, seven delegates were sent by the united Irishmen from the metropolis to Chapelizod, to seduce the corps of artillery, and attempted to swear them to spike the guns ; but much to their honour, they disclosed the infernal scheme of these traitors, who were arrested and committed. On the same day a large quantity of arms was seized in a house on the Custom-house quay by justice Swan, an active and intrepid magistrate, by whose zealous exertions the most essential service was rendered at this alarming and critical juncture.

On the night of that day, a man of the name of Lynch was found murdered in Watling-street



On the night of the thirteenth of May, Mr. Sirr, the town major, and captain Ryan, two magistrates distinguished for their unabated zeal and undaunted courage, seized four pieces of cannon in a house in Townsend-street, and next day a swivel concealed at Ring's-end.

On the eighteenth of May, justice Drury seized a blacksmith in Thomas-street, at noon day, in the act of forging pikes; and he led him through the streets to the Castle, with his head and shoulders garnished with a number of them, and thence with two of his assistants to prison.

As lord Edward Fitzgerald had absconded ever since the twelfth of March; as government had the strongest reasons for thinking that he was unremittingly attentive in forwarding the conspiracy in which he was so deeply engaged; and as he had always displayed great courage, and considerable abilities as an officer, they were under apprehensions that he was doing very great mischief wherever he happened to be.

On the eighteenth of May, major Sirr having received positive information that he would pass through Watling-street that night; that he would be preceded by a chosen band of traitors, as an advanced guard; and that he would be accompanied by another, repaired thither, attended by captain Ryan, Mr. Emerson of the attorney's corps, and a few soldiers in coloured clothes. They met the party which preceded him, and had a skirmish with them on the quay at the end of Watling-street, in which some shots were exchanged; and they took prisoner, one of them who called himself at one time Jameson, at another time Brand.

The arrest of lord Edward Fitzgerald, which was effected next day, the nineteenth of May, in the following manner, tended very much to defeat the malignant designs of the conspirators, as he was the chief projector of the intended insurrection, and they entertained the highest opinion of his courage and military abilities:

Government, having received positive information that he had arrived in Dublin, and was lodged at the house of one Murphy, a featherman in Thomas-street, sent major Sirr to arrest him. He, attended by captain Swan of the Revenue corps, and captain Ryan of the Sepulchre's, and eight soldiers disguised, about five o'clock in the afternoon repaired in coaches to Murphy's house. While they were posting the soldiers in such a manner as to prevent the possibility of an escape, captain Swan, perceiv-  
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ing a woman run hastily up stairs, for the purpose, as he supposed, of alarming lord Edward, followed her with the utmost speed; and, on entering an apartment, found lord Edward lying on a bed, in his dressing jacket. He approached the bed, and informed his lordship that he had a warrant against him, and that resistance would be vain; and he assured him, at the same time, that he would treat him with the utmost respect.

On that, lord Edward sprang from the bed, and snapped a pistol, which missed fire, at captain Swan. He then closed with him, drew a dagger, gave him a wound in the hand, and different wounds in the body; one of them under the ribs was deep and dangerous, and bled most copiously.

At that moment captain Ryan entered, and missed fire at lord Edward with a pocket pistol; on which he made a lunge at him with a sword cane, which bent on his ribs; but affected him so much, that he threw himself on the bed, and captain Ryan having thrown himself on him, a violent scuffle ensued, during which lord Edward drew a dagger, and plunged it into his side. They then fell on the ground, where captain Ryan received many desperate wounds; one of which in the lower part of his belly was so large, that his bowels fell out on the floor. Major Sirr, having entered the room, saw captain Swan bleeding very much, and lord Edward advancing towards the door, while captain Ryan on the floor, and in the woeful state which I described, was holding him by one leg, and captain Swan by the other, he therefore fired at lord Edward with a pistol, and wounded him in the shoulder, on which he cried out for mercy, and surrendered himself. His lordship was then conveyed to the castle, but was on the point of being rescued before he left Thomas-street; for Edward Ratigan, a major of the rebels, assembled a great number of them, and gave them a considerable quantity of carbines and pikes, out of St. Catherine's watchhouse, of which he was a director, and called on them to rescue lord Edward; and which they would have effected, but that major Sirr received the assistance of the Rainsford-street guard, and the picquet guard of the castle, consisting mostly of cavalry, for which he had seasonably sent a messenger.

Samuel Neilson confessed afterwards, that he was in another quarter with five hundred pikemen, and that he would have attempted a rescue, had not the guards arrived in due time.

Edward

Edward Ratigan, and Patrick Gallagher, a rebel colonel, seized Mr. Cusack, a loyal subject of the Revenue corps, that evening, kept him a prisoner some time, and threatened his life if he gave information of what he had seen of their conduct.

In consequence of this, major Sirr, who had been some time convinced of the disaffection of Ratigan, searched his house on the Monday following, and having found there many stand of arms, a large quantity of ammunition, and some thousand printed oaths of the united Irishmen, demolished his house, and burnt a large quantity of timber which he found in his yard.

Captain Ryan received no less than fourteen wounds, of which he died a few days after, universally and deservedly lamented; as he was a man of great probity and firmness of mind, and a zealous loyalist.

The arrest of lord Edward visibly occasioned a strong sensation among the mass of the people in Dublin, as their hopes of getting possession of the metropolis on the approaching insurrection which they meditated, rested much on his valour and skill as an officer. Numbers of them were seen going from one part of the town to the other, with a quick pace and a serious countenance. Others were perceived in small parties, conversing with that seriousness of countenance and energy of gesticulation, which strongly indicated the agitation of their minds. A rising to effect a rescue was expected that night; the yeomen therefore, and the garrison, which it was to be lamented was very thin, remained on their arms all night, and were so judiciously disposed as to prevent the possibility of an insurrection.

By the papers found in lord Edward's writing-box, and on his person, the extent of the plot, and the malignant designs of the persons engaged in it, were discoverable.\*

Major Sirr found in his lodgings at Murphy's a green uniform, turned up with black, and a curious cap of the same colour, which he was to have worn when he headed the insurrection; and at the same time the official seal of the Irish union.

The plan for taking a city, found among lord Edward's papers, alludes to Dublin, shews the bold designs of the rebels, and how terrifick the insurrection.

\* See them in Appendix, No. XIV.



insurrection would have been, but that it was defeated by the vigilance of government.

Messieurs Henry and John Sheares, brothers, both barristers, and natives of Cork, and Patrick Byrne, a bookseller of Grafton-street, were arrested and committed on charges of high treason, on Monday the twenty-first of May. In the house of the former a magistrate found a proclamation,\* which shewed the sanguinary designs of the rebels. It was to have been published and circulated the morning after the intended insurrection and massacre had taken place.

On the morning of the twenty-first of May, lord Castlereagh, by the desire of the lord lieutenant, wrote to the lord mayor, to acquaint him, “ That his excellency had discovered that the disaffected in the city and neighbourhood of Dublin, had formed a plan of possessing themselves, in the course of the present week, of the metropolis, and of seizing the executive government, and those in authority within the city.”

The government and the loyal subjects still continued in an awful state of suspense, as the frequent discovery of the fabrication of pikes, even at noon-day, and of treasonable committees forming plans of insurrection, unquestionably evinced that the volcano was on the point of bursting.

On the twenty-second of May, 1798, lord Castlereagh presented a message to the house of commons, from his excellency the lord lieutenant, “ That his excellency had received information that the disaffected had been daring enough to form a plan, for the purpose of possessing themselves, in the course of the present week, of the metropolis, of seizing the seat of government, and those in authority within the city; that, in consequence of that information, he had directed every military precaution to be taken, which seemed expedient; that he had made full communication to the magistrates, for the direction of their efforts; and that he had not a doubt, by the measures which would be pursued, the designs of the rebellious would be effectually and entirely crushed.”

To this message, the house of commons voted an address, “ To assure his excellency that the intelligence which it communicated, filled them

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with

\* Appendix, No. XIII.

with horror and indignation, whilst it raised in them a spirit of determined resolution and energy; that they relied on the vigilance and vigour of his excellency's government, which they trusted would continue unabated, until the conspiracy, which so fatally existed, would be utterly dissolved."

The speaker and all the members immediately waited on his excellency with the address; and to shew their zeal, and to encrease the solemnity of the proceeding, they walked through the streets on foot, two and two, preceded by the speaker, the serjeant at arms, and all the officers of the house.

The government and the loyal subjects still continued in a woeful state of suspense and tribulation, not knowing on what night the insurrection would take place; and it is probable that they would have been surprised and murdered in their beds, but that it was fortuitously discovered a few hours before the rebels were to have risen.

THE

## THE BREAKING-OUT OF THE REBELLION.

THE earl of Ely commanded a corps of yeomen cavalry at Rathfarnham, a village about three miles distant from Dublin, of which a serjeant and twelve men mounted guard every night, and patroled through the adjacent country.

Lord Camden, having received information that the rebels meant to attack and cut off that small party, on the night of the twenty-third of May, 1798, recommended to the commanding officer that the whole troop should mount guard, which, eventually, was very fortunate; for soon after they were assembled, a man, about nine o'clock, went to lieutenant Latouche, who commanded on that night, and offered to conduct him to a place where two hundred rebels were assembled; but on arriving there, there was no appearance of them. It proved afterwards, that the design of this traitor was to have led the patrol, consisting of a serjeant and twelve men, into an ambush, by which they would have been cut off; but a numerous body of rebels, who meditated their destruction, intimidated by the unexpected arrival of the whole troop, concealed themselves in the adjacent hedges.

At their return to Rathfarnham, they were informed by a person, supposed to be connected with the rebels, that the village would be attacked, and that they would be disarmed by a numerous body of them, who were assembling on the mountains. Lieutenant Latouche having urged the necessity of communicating this intelligence to the viceroy, Samuel Bennet, a private in the corps, and son of Samuel Bennet, a coachmaker in Aungier-street, with laudable ardour, offered his service on the occasion, and carried a letter to the viceroy; who returned for answer, that no troops could be sent to them, as an insurrection in the metropolis was apprehended; and his excellency desired that an express should be sent to him, if the rebels should appear to move towards the city.

The corps, having heard two shots fired, proceeded to Harold's-cross, and were informed there, that the rebels, about five hundred in number,



and variously armed, had passed through Rathfarnham in their absence, and had proceeded towards Crumlin, headed by David Keely, a deserter from their troop.

Mr. Bennet returned to Rathfarnham in the absence of his troop, and having heard a great shouting at a place called the Ponds, he repaired thither, and saw a great concourse of rebels armed with muskets, pikes and pistols, and was on the point of being surrounded by them. They had two carts laden with pikes and ammunition, which they were to have distributed among such rebels as should join them in their progress. He therefore, with great fortitude, and with that zealous loyalty which would have procured wealth and fame for a person in a less humble situation, undertook the perilous service of communicating to the viceroy what he had seen; and it was really perilous, for the rebels in great numbers were risen, and were in the road and in the adjacent fields as he went to Dublin. In the city, particularly in the suburbs, he saw a great number of rebels with pikes, in the gate-ways, alleys and stable-lanes, waiting the beat of their drums, and the approach of rebel columns from the country, which they expected; and as he passed, they frequently cried out, animating each other, "Come, on boys! who's afraid?"

A lady, resident at Rathfarnham, informed me, that they passed close by her house, with two carts filled with pikes, which made a dreadful rumbling noise, and which, joined to their yells, filled her with horror. As they proceeded they cried out frequently, "Liberty, and no king!"

Besides the above Keely, they had as leaders two men of the names of Ledwich and Wade, Roman catholics, and deserters from lord Ely's corps, Edward Keogh and James Byrne, all of the same persuasion, and in very good circumstances. They proceeded to the Fox and Geese common near Clondalkin, where a numerous body of rebels were to have assembled, and to have proceeded thence to Dublin, for the purpose of co-operating with its disaffected inhabitants, in a general insurrection.

The corps of yeomanry, at their return to Rathfarnham, having discovered that the rebels had risen, immediately sent intelligence of it to the viceroy, who communicated it to the lord mayor, and to the principal civil and military officers in the metropolis, and ordered them to take the most decisive and vigorous measures to defeat the malignant designs of the insurgents.

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The yeomen, in number about three thousand five hundred, and the few military who were in garrison, repaired to their respective alarm-posts, with uncommon celerity; and as it was known, that a strong spirit of disaffection had existed among the troops quartered at Lehaunstown camp, seven miles from Dublin; and as it was suspected that they would come to the assistance of the insurgents in the metropolis, the lord mayor, alderman Thomas Fleming,\* posted the city of Cork regiment, noted for its loyalty, with their two battalion guns, at the North side of Stephen's-green, and remained all night at their head.

It very fortunately happened, that the two canals formed a complete fortification on the North and South sides of the city, being fifty feet broad, and twelve deep. The Royal canal, extending from the river Liffey to the Broad-stone on the North, and the Grand canal completely environed the South, from the river on the East side, to the Royal hospital. The bridges on it, which the troops occupied, were at such distances, that they could have flanked the intermediate space, and prevented an enemy from passing over the canal; and in a day or two after the rebellion broke out, pallisades and gates were erected on the bridges; however it was afterwards discovered that many rebels had passed over the bridges before the troops took post on them. The bridges on the river which bisected the city, were also occupied, and disconcerted the rebels by cutting off all communication between them on either side.

It has been since discovered and proved, that the rebel drums were to have beaten to arms, an hour after ours; and it is well known, that if they had preceded us by ever so small a space of time, the fate of the city and its loyal inhabitants would have been decided; for the mass of the people, armed with pikes and other weapons, were lurking in lanes, alleys and bye-places, ready to start forth on the first beat of their drums, and would have occupied all the streets, and assassinated the yeomen before they could have reached their respective stations; and the safety of the metropolis depended chiefly on them, as there were but few regular troops in it.

There were many alarming indications of the desperate designs of the rebels, even before the alarm was given by the viceroy. The doors of  
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\* I think it is a tribute due to this gentleman to say, that he displayed singular sagacity, good sense and firmness at this alarming period; and his attention and humanity to the suffering protestants, who fled to Dublin from the daggers of the assassins, after the loss of their property, should never be forgotten.



the loyal subjects, particularly the yeomen, were marked with chalk, to point the rebel vengeance against them; and knowing that darkness would be favourable to the accomplishment of their traitorous purposes, they prevailed on the lamp-lighters not to do their duty.

The lord mayor, being very much alarmed at perceiving that the lamps were not lighted, sent to the board that superintends that business, to know the reason of it; and they returned in answer, that the lamp-lighters were deeply concerned in the plot: the yeomen therefore compelled these traitors, at the point of the bayonet, to light the lamps.

The gate-ways and lanes in Church-street, and Mary's-lane, were crowded with pikemen. Numbers were seen in the way leading to the burial ground of St. Michan's, and pikes were found concealed there next morning.

As the rebels expected that the Rathfarnham corps of cavalry would come to the relief of the city, they planted a number of men with muskets behind a wall in New-street, to fire on them as they entered.

It was proved that two smiths, employed in the ordnance, had been seduced and bribed to spike all the cannon there.

In the watch-houses of St. Luke, St. Catharine, and Vicar-street, the carabines were left charged, that the rebels might seize them.

It is a positive fact, that near three thousand men entered the city on the North side of it, through one turnpike, on the evening and the night of the twenty-third of May, for the purpose of joining the insurgents.

Samuel Neilson meditated an attack upon Newgate, for the purpose of rescuing lord Edward Fitzgerald, and other state prisoners who were confined there; and he was to have been assisted by a numerous band of rebels, to whom he had assigned their different stations the preceding night.\*

Southwell Mc. Clune, a rebel colonel, who had surrendered himself to government, and obtained his pardon, declared upon oath, that Neilson had assembled at a house in Church-lane, a noted rendezvous for rebels, fifteen colonels; and having produced a map of Dublin, assigned to each the post which he and his regiment were to occupy that night.†

A numerous

\* John Sheares opposed his design, wishing that he would direct his attack against the government and the city in general, and not against the gaol. See his letter found in Neilson's pocket, Appendix XIII.

† The city of Dublin was divided into four divisions, with officers and detachments appropriated to each. Report of the secret committee, Appendix LVI.



A numerous party of his followers were about Clontarf, and in the demesne of sir William Newcomen ; another party in the fields contiguous to Eccles-street.

When Neilson went to reconnoitre Newgate, about ten o'clock at night, he formed a line of posts at certain intervals, in order to have them called speedily to his assistance.

It appeared afterwards by information upon oath, that the officers of the rebel corps, posted near Eccles-street, were one Kearney of Abbey-street, a member of the Merchants corps, who held the rank of colonel in the former ; one Byrne of the hotel in Earl-street, was lieutenant colonel, and one Whelan was major, all Roman catholicks.

Captain Medlicot of the Rotunda corps of yeomanry seeing a large body of people assembled in Eccles-street, desired them to disperse, on which one of them snapped a pistol at him.

A party of the Merchants corps of cavalry, who were ordered to patrol at Clontarf, hearing the drums beat to arms in Dublin, returned rapidly to it, thinking that the insurrection had begun. They fortunately went by the Strand-road ; for had they gone by the upper one, near sir William Newcomen's, they would have been cut off by a numerous party of rebels, who were on each side of the road.

Neilson, in his attack upon Newgate, was to have been seconded by a large body of rebels, headed by one Seagrave, who was to have taken possession of Mr. Halpin's distillery, at the corner of Pettycoat-lane, the windows of which flanked it, and they were to have kept up a constant fire on the front of the prison, while another party scaled its walls in a different quarter.

Mr. Gregg, the gaoler of Newgate, perceiving a person reconnoitring it between nine and ten o'clock, approached him ; but on doing so, he turned away, and endeavoured to conceal his face. Gregg, on closing him, recognised Neilson ; and having seized him, a scuffle ensued, in the course of which he prostrated him on the ground, and threw himself on him. After struggling some time, Neilson drew a pistol from his bosom, and endeavoured to fire it ; but Mr. Gregg was so fortunate as to let the powder out of the pan.

While this conflict lasted, he expected to be perforated by the daggers of the assassins, which probably would have been the case, but that

that two yeomen came up, drew their swords, and desired Mr. Gregg to do his duty. At last, with their assistance, he overpowered and committed him. On this fortunate event, some thousand rebels, who were to have co-operated with him, and were on the tip-toe of insurrection, having lost their leader, disappeared.

The large body of rebels armed with pikes and muskets, which had assembled in Eccles-street and its environs, were so terrifick to the inhabitants of that quarter, that a number of well-dressed women fled in the greatest consternation about ten o'clock to Mr. John Claudius Beresford's riding school, and claimed the protection of his corps.

Major Sirr stopped a man on Cork-hill, about ten o'clock at night, with six pike heads, which he was going to get mounted. Sir John Macartney, in proceeding to Smithfield, the alarm-post of the Attornies corps, which he commanded, and of the Lawyers and Barrack corps, having obtained intelligence that numbers of suspicious persons were assembled in Greek-street, near Pill-lane, went thither with six or seven of his corps, and perceiving a man passing by, he seized him by the breast, and hearing something rattle under his coat, about a dozen pike heads of excellent workmanship, tied up in a piece of cloth, fell to the ground; and captain Furlong of the same corps, who was of his party, caught as many more falling on his other side. He said his name was Murphy, and that he had received those pike heads from one Ryan a stone-cutter. Keeping Murphy a prisoner, they proceeded to Greek-street, where they heard that some rebels were assembled; but they being alarmed, went through a back passage to Church-street, and crossing the tops of some houses, they were fired at by another party of the Attornies corps, who soon after apprehended a man concealing himself in St. Michan's church-yard, with several pikes lying by him.

On examining this man at the guard-house, he said that his name was Ryan, and that he was a stone-cutter; but declared that he was perfectly ignorant of Murphy: That he knew nothing of pikes, or pike heads; and that he fled into the church yard merely to avoid the firing: And Murphy, on being confronted with Ryan, pretended that he was unacquainted with him; but on receiving a few lashes of a cat-and-nine tails, their recollection being restored, they acknowledged that Murphy was serjeant in a company of united Irishmen, of which Ryan

was

was captain; and that they were waiting for the orders of Neilson to rise in arms that night, in concert with some thousands of that body, to liberate the prisoners in Newgate and Kilmainham, and to surprise the castle and the city.

In consequence of the intelligence received from Murphy and Ryan, they repaired to a yard in Dirty-lane near Thomas-street, and found a great quantity of ready-made pikes, some pike-heads and pike-handles, a paper of new nails, and a hammer close to it, for the purpose of mounting those weapons; and several newly-finished pikes.

In the same yard, they found a travelling forge, which, from its construction, appeared to have belonged to his majesty's board of ordnance; but the motto written on it at that time, in chalk, was *God damn the king*.

On the information of Ryan and Murphy, they apprehended many united Irishmen, and seized arms of various descriptions; one parcel of pikes in particular, in an obscure garden behind Eccles-street, buried about two feet and a half under ground, and cabbages planted over them. They were fifteen feet long and perfectly well finished.

Great numbers of men having pike-heads concealed were thus discovered in going from one part of the city to the other.

The castle was to have been attacked in front and in rear, by two desperate bands of ruffians, armed with pistols and cutlasses. A select party was to have ascended with long ladders into the bed-chambers of the principal members of government, and to have murdered them, or carried them off as hostages.

The city was to have been set on fire in different places; and the basin which supplied it with water, and the pipes through which it was conveyed, were to have been destroyed.

As it was intended that the insurrection should be general all over the kingdom, and as soon as possible after it took place in Dublin, it was agreed that the rebels in remote parts should rise, if the mail-coaches which set out daily from the metropolis did not arrive at their respective destinations as usual.

The Belfast coach therefore was destroyed and burnt near Santry, the Cork mail coach at Naas, and that going towards Athlone at Lucan. The persons who performed that service at Santry, desired the inhabitants



of the neighbouring cottages to rise and join them ; having assured them that the castle and city of Dublin were at that time in possession of their friends. So sure were they that the conspirators must succeed !

Near the Curragh of Kildare, the rebels murdered the guard, and the coachman of the mail-coach going to Limerick.

Numerous bodies of rebels were advancing towards Dublin, from Killocock, Maynooth, Leixlip and Chapelizod ;\* another party from towards the Black Bull ; but being informed by their spies and videts that the garriſon was under arms, they retreated. Holt, a rebel leader, was to have descended from the Wicklow mountains, as ſoon as he had received intelligence that the rebels had riſen in Dublin.

For ſome nights previous to the twenty-third of May, fires were ſeen on the Wicklow mountains, whoſe luminous appearance by night, and whoſe ſmoke by day, ſerved as ſignals to the diſaffected in the metropolis, and in all the adjacent country. The ſame practice took place on all the mountains which extend from the Scalp in the county of Wicklow, to Mount Leinſter in the county of Wexford.

From a houſe in an elevated ſituation in Dublin, I could diſcern them at a great diſtance with a teleſcope; and it is aſtoniſhing with what celerity they encreaſed or diminiſhed the number of them, by which they answered in ſome degree the purpoſe of a telegraph.

From the circumſtances which appeared on the trials of Weldon, Brady, Hart, the conſpirators againſt Hanlon, and thoſe of Dunn and Carty, which I have already quoted, the reader muſt be convinced that the maſs of the Roman catholicks in Dublin harboured the moſt ſanguinary deſigns againſt their proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, whom they meant ultimately to have extirpated, though they had inveigled a few of them.

The wanton barbarities indifcriminately committed by them on all perſons of the eſtabliſhed religion, in the counties of Wexford, Wicklow, Carlow and Kildare, muſt remove every doubt in our minds on that ſubject.

We may well conceive then how far the licentious and deſtructive rage of the popiſh multitude in the metropolis would have extended, but that the ſeaſonable diſcovery of the intended inſurrection, by the wiſdom and  
mercy

\* It appeared by the papers found on the perſon of lord Edward Fitzgerald, that he had planned that before hand.

mercy of Providence, enabled the yeomen to come forward with their united force, and to prevent it from taking place.

The fun never rose on such a scene of carnage and conflagration as the metropolis would have exhibited on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May; for it appears from various sources of information, presented to the publick by the secret committee of the house of commons, that the inhabitants of the counties of Dublin, Wicklow and Kildare, were to have rushed into the city as soon as the insurgents had succeeded in getting possession of it, or as soon as the conflict had begun; and it was expected, that the North and South would have risen in consequence of the detention of the mail-coaches, which was the signal for that purpose.

The proclamation found in the house of the messieurs Sheares,\* and which they intended to have circulated on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, will shew the reader the malignant designs of the leaders of the conspiracy; and we cannot entertain a doubt, but that the inferior rebels would have exceeded and prevented their wishes and expectations.

All the loyalists would have been assassinated; their wives would have been violated by the ruthless pikemen, that murdered their husbands; the accumulations of industry would have been pillaged; every monument of the elegant arts would have been defaced or destroyed; and whatever might have escaped the rapacious and destructive rage of the rebel plunderer, would probably have fallen a prey to the flames.

The dangers which impended over the metropolis, were very much increased by the following circumstance:

It was discovered that near nine-tenths of the Roman catholicks in the yeomanry corps were united Irishmen, and had taken an oath to be true to the rebels, in direct contradiction to their sworn allegiance;† and that many of them, after having taken the united oath, had, by deliberate and predetermined perjury, joined the yeomanry corps for the purpose of getting arms in their hands, learning the use of them, and turning them against the loyalists, perhaps in the very moment of danger.

The consequences might have been horrible, had they not been prevented by a timely discovery; for if any of the projected nightly insurrections had taken place, the loyal yeoman, roused from his bed, might have treacherously fallen by the bayonets of those whom he hastened to join as friends and fellow-foldiers.

F f 2

It

\* Appendix XIII. See also lord Edward Fitzgerald's plan of attacking a city, Appendix XXI. 3.

† See pages 39 and 40. This was sanctioned by the Romish church.

It is remarkable, that in the city of Dublin, above two thousand catholicks solicited admittance into the several yeomanry corps during the six weeks immediately preceding the insurrection; and that most of them were proposed by catholick yeomen, who afterwards either proved to be rebels, or were disarmed on strong suspicion.

In one company of the Rotunda division infantry, there were, at the breaking-out of the rebellion, twenty-two privates yeomen catholicks; and of these fourteen were proved to be sworn united Irishmen, some of them deeply concerned in the plans of insurrection and massacre; six others were disarmed on suspicion of the strongest kind; so that two only remained faithful out of twenty-two. All these men had frequently and anxiously endeavoured to introduce several of their friends into the corps, inasmuch as to produce strong dissensions in the company.

The popish yeomen of the St. Sepulchre's corps conspired to assassinate their protestant officers and fellow-foldiers, who were the minority of that corps, and they were therefore disarmed.

In the Coolock corps, there was so much dissatisfaction from the same cause, that they were disarmed; and its loyal members enrolled themselves in another body of yeomanry.\*

In the county of Wicklow it was discovered by an accident, which I shall more fully explain hereafter, that the Roman catholick yeomen did not consider an oath of allegiance prescribed by law to a protestant state, as obligatory, and that they would refuse to take a test oath framed by their officers. The captain of a corps in that county presented such a test to the members of it, and nineteen out of twenty of the Roman catholicks refused to take it, and were therefore dismissed.

The same experiment having been made with many corps in Dublin, they refused to swear it, though they had taken the usual oath of allegiance; and were therefore disbanded, or they voluntarily laid down their arms.

The dangers which hung over the city of Dublin were very much increased by the following circumstance: It was discovered that the popish servants, both male and female, with very few exceptions, had taken the united oath, and were to have assisted in the insurrection and massacre on the night of the twenty-third of May, by which domestick security was completely destroyed; for, while the loyalist trusted to the protection of his house, his domesticks in the dead hour of the night would have  
admitted

\* About one half of the Rathdown corps were in this predicament.



admitted the assassins, who would have butchered him in his bed. A friend of mine, who had his servant arrested, assured me, that he acknowledged that he knew of twenty thousand servants, sworn and attached to the united cause, who were to have joined in the insurrection.

A protestant housekeeper of my acquaintance, who had a popish kitchen-maid, prone to ebriety, informed me, that she, when intoxicated, said to her, about a fortnight before the rebellion broke out, "Mistress, you had better go to mass; for the pikemen will soon come into the city, and pike all of you protestants."

The lord mayor, alderman Thomas Fleming, was to have been murdered by his own servant, and a body of ruffians whom he was to have admitted into the mayoralty-house in the dead hour of the night; and as a reward for his treachery, he was to have succeeded his master. To prevent the lord mayor from defending himself, he drew the charge of the pistols which he kept by his bed-side.

Information of his treachery having been given to the honourable captain Cavendish and captain Beresford, they arrested him about midnight: The lord mayor arose, assured them that he had not a doubt of his fidelity; that there must be some mistake as to the charge against him, and he requested that they would treat him with tenderness; but the information which they had received turned out to be well founded, and even the delinquent acknowledged the truth of it.

Though the first effort of the rebels to rise in the metropolis was defeated by the vigilance of government, and by the spirit and loyalty of the yeomen, as it was well known that they entertained the most sanguine hopes of succeeding in another attempt, general Lake, commander in chief, published the following notice on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May:

#### N O T I C E.

"Lieutenant General Lake, commanding his majesty's forces in this kingdom, having received from his excellency the lord lieutenant full powers to PUT DOWN THE REBELLION and to punish REBELS in the most summary manner, according to martial law, does hereby give notice to all his majesty's subjects, that he is determined to exert the powers entrusted to him in the most vigorous manner, for the immediate suppression of the same; and that all persons acting in the present rebellion, or in any  
wife

wife aiding or assisting therein, will be treated by him as rebels, and punished accordingly.

“ And lieutenant general Lake hereby requires all the inhabitants of the city of Dublin, (the great officers of state, members of the houses of parliament, privy counsellors, magistrates, and military persons in uniform excepted) to remain within their respective dwellings from nine o'clock at night till five in the morning, under pain of punishment.

By order of lieutenant general LAKE,

Commanding his majesty's forces in this kingdom.

G. HEWETT, adjutant-general.”

Dublin, adjutant-general's office,

24th May, 1798.

The better to secure the peace of the city, the lord mayor published the following proclamation :

By the right honourable the lord mayor of the city of Dublin.

#### A P R O C L A M A T I O N.

THOMAS FLEMING.

“ Whereas the circumstances of the present crisis demand every possible precaution : These are therefore to desire all persons who have registered arms forthwith to give in, in writing, an exact list or inventory of such arms at the town clerk's office, who will file and enter the same in a book to be kept for that purpose ; and all persons who have not registered their arms are hereby required forthwith to deliver up to me, or some other of the magistrates of this city, all arms and ammunition of every kind in their possession : And if, after this proclamation, any person having registered their arms shall be found not to have given in a true list or inventory of such arms ; or if any person who has not registered, shall be found to have in their power or possession any arms or ammunition whatever, such person or persons will, on such arms being discovered, be forthwith sent on board his majesty's navy, as by law directed.

“ And I do hereby desire that all housekeepers do place upon the outside of their doors a list of all persons in their respective houses, distinguishing such as are strangers from those who actually make part of their family ; but as there may happen to be persons who, from pecuniary embarrassments, are obliged to conceal themselves, I do not require such names to be placed on the outside of the door, provided their names are

sent

sent to me. And I hereby call upon his majesty's subjects within the county of the city of Dublin immediately to comply with this regulation, as calculated for the publick security; as those persons who shall wilfully neglect a regulation so easy and salutary, as well as persons giving false statements of the inmates of their houses, must, in the present crisis, abide the consequences of such neglect.

Given at the Mansion-house, the 24th day of May, 1798.

Signed by order,

JOHN LAMBERT, secretary."

In consequence of the intelligence received by lord Camden, that the rebels had risen at Rathfarnham, his excellency sent lieutenant O'Reily, with a troop of the 5th dragoons, in pursuit of them, and he was joined by the earl of Roden and lieutenant-colonel Puleston of the Ancient Britons, as volunteers; and having been informed at Rathfarnham, that they had gone towards Rathcool, they proceeded in quest of them; and in their way they met a corps of yeomen, who were retreating after having attacked the rebels, and been repulsed by them.

Lieutenant O'Reily having halted the troop for the purpose of consulting what was most advisable to be done, it was agreed that lord Roden with one half of the troop should take the road to the right, and that lieutenant O'Reily should proceed to the left, in order to surround the rebels.

Lord Roden's party came up with them at the first turnpike gate on the Rathcool-road, and after a short skirmish drove them to the place where lieutenant O'Reily was posted; and he having fallen in with them, killed two, and wounded a good many of them, after which the main body made their escape; for the country was so much enclosed, as to prevent the possibility of a pursuit.

The bodies of James Byrne and James Keely, two of their leaders, whom they killed, were brought into the castle-yard, and exhibited to publick view; and Edward Keogh, another of their leaders, was brought in there desperately wounded.

Ledwich and Wade, the two deserters from lord Ely's corps, were hanged on the Queen's-bridge in Dublin, on Saturday the twenty-sixth of May.

On the night of the twenty-third of May, lieutenant colonel Finlay patroled with a party of foldiers near Clondalkin, four miles from Dublin,  
where



where he met a body of rebels, proceeding to join those from Rathfarnham. After a slight skirmish, he killed three of them, whose bodies were suspended next morning in Barrack-street, as an example to the disaffected inhabitants of that quarter of the city.

So fure were the rebel inhabitants of the country adjacent to Dublin, that their fellow traitors would overpower the government and get possession of it, that a number of them remained under arms until eleven o'clock in the morning near Artane, within two miles of the city, expecting a summons to co-operate with them; and they threatened the lives of some loyal subjects in the neighbourhood of that village.

On Saturday the second of June, Thomas Bacon, a tailor, of the protestant religion, was hanged at Carlisle-bridge, pursuant to a sentence of a court martial.

Though deeply concerned in the conspiracy for some years, he declared in his last moments to major Sandys and other gentlemen, that he did not discover, till the rebellion broke out and the massacre of protestants took place, that religious bigotry had a prevailing influence in it; and that he meant for that reason to have withdrawn himself from it. He was bred a protestant, and died in that profession. He was reputed an honest man, and in extensive business, till volunteering made him an idler and a speculatist in politicks; and at last, a rage for political innovation led him from a peaceful industrious sphere into the vortex of rebellion.

In the country for many miles round Dublin, the rebellion broke forth in various places, made a formidable appearance, and produced the most fatal effects.

The right honourable David Latouche had between seventy and eighty labourers employed in his work, at Marlay, the twenty-third of May, and the whole, except about ten, attended the Rathfarnham rebels.

A party of rebels entered the house of Mr. Minchin at Grange, headed by Curran his gardener, and Mc. Donogh his gate-keeper, about seven o'clock in the evening, when he and his family were in Dublin. They plundered it of various articles of household furniture, which they carried off in two of his carts. Curran declared that all Ireland was risen that night, and that he would return in a day or two, and take possession of the house and demesne as his own.

Major

Major Sirr the elder, the father of Mrs. Minchin, who had passed a very long life in the service of his majesty, and a female servant of the name of Middleton, were the only protestants in the house at that time; and the latter overheard the wife of Mc. Donough declare, that she would cut their throats, which she probably would have effected, but that some other women, who assisted her in plundering the house, dissuaded her from it.

It was proved afterwards, and acknowledged by some of the associates of Curran and Mc. Donough, that some assassins had been posted that evening with muskets in the avenue leading to the house, who were to have shot Mr. Minchin as he approached it; but it fortunately happened that he remained in Dublin.

On the same evening, a large party of rebels shot at Tibbradden, about two miles beyond Rathfarnham, Mr. Philip Proffor, a protestant, formerly an eminent silk-throwster in Dublin, and who then resided there, because he refused to deliver up his fowling-piece.

All the farmers and peasants in that large tract of country, between Dublin and the Wicklow mountains, were in a state of insurrection, waiting the signal which they expected, to enter the metropolis, and assist their fellow traitors there; and in the mean time, they continued to commit various acts of outrage. In every other part of the adjacent country the rebels were equally terrific and destructive.

A numerous body of them, variously armed, entered the town of Dunboyne, seven miles from Dublin, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, murdered its protestant inhabitants, among whom was Mr. Creighton, a revenue officer, and rifled and plundered their houses; but did not injure the person or property of any Roman catholic.

In the police-house there were six constables on guard, of whom they assassinated three, who were of the established religion; but did not molest the remainder who were papists.

They then proceeded to the house of the reverend Mr. Duncan, vicar of Dunboyne, the only remaining protestant in that town; but he having made his escape, they plundered it of various valuable articles to the amount of 500*l*.

Mr. Wynne, of Clonfillagh, having been informed by two of the yeomanry corps, which he commanded, of the insurrection and of these atrocities, proceeded about six o'clock in the morning, with four of them, and eleven Angus highlanders, commanded by lieutenant George Arm-

strong of the artillery, to Ratoath, \* where the rebels were in force, and had in their custody captain Gorges, member for the county of Meath, Mr. Corbally the lieutenant of his corps, and some of his privates, whom they surpris'd, and were on the point of hanging.

Mr. Wynne, having been at this time seasonably reinforced by Mr. Frederick Falkiner, with eighteen of the fifth dragoons, they charged and dispers'd the rebels, and killed thirty-five of them in the pursuit.

Soon after they set out to return home; and the dragoons having left them, the rebels, perceiving the diminution of their numbers, pursued them as far as Clonee-bridge, where the highlanders under lieutenant Armstrong display'd prodigies of valour; six of them having been killed in attempting to stop the progress of the rebels. Previous to this, lieutenant Armstrong had dispers'd a party of them near Eskar, and had taken two of their leaders, of the name of Geraghty; and he had dispers'd another body near Lucan, headed by one Daly, the greater part of whom he had killed or taken prisoners, after having received a warm and well-directed fire from them.

On the same day, they murdered six of the Angus fencibles, who were guarding the baggage of that regiment, and were on their route to Dublin.

A large party of rebels, headed by one Gilshahan, a popish farmer, entered the town of Dunshaughlin, † in the county of Meath, and searched for arms in a small barrack in which they had been deposited; but having been informed that they were removed to the opposite house, in which the reverend Mr. Neilson lived, they, after firing a volley at the windows, rushed into it, killed Mr. Neilson, his brother-in-law Mr. Pendleton, and a gardener, all of the protestant religion. They then plundered the house of arms, and of every valuable article of furniture which they could carry off. They did not injure the person or property of any popish inhabitant of that town; but did not spare one of those of the protestant religion.

A party of ruffians, headed by Thomas Connor, and Thomas Atkinson, entered and plundered the house of Mr. John Brassington of Ballymacarney, in the county of Meath, of arms and other articles, and carried off four horses.

On the trial of these men, by court martial, held the twelfth of July, 1798, at the barrack of Dublin, messieurs John and James Brassington proved upon oath, that Connor and Atkinson declared, at their house,

\* See Plate I. 6.

† Ibid.



house, that they were ordered to kill all hereticks,\* and to wade in their blood; and they boasted that they had killed the police-men at Dunboyne, and the Ray Fencibles at Clonce-bridge.†

On the same morning, they entered and plundered Woodpark, the seat of Mrs. Sheil, near the Black-Bull, of various valuable articles; and robbed miss Bradshaw, her guest, of a large sum of money. One of their leaders declared, that his orders were to put all protestants to death.

Twenty of the Fermanagh regiment were quartered at Westfieldstown, near Balbriggan, under the command of ensign Cleland. As he was returning to his quarters on the evening of the twenty-third of May, he was fired at from behind a bridge, by a ruffian with a blunderbuss; but though severely wounded in different parts of his head and body, he was able to ride to Swords,‡ where his wounds, which appeared to be mortal, were dressed.

On the same evening, his detachment at Westfieldstown, was surprised by about two thousand rebels, who disarmed and carried them off as prisoners, after having wounded some of them.

As the inhabitants of Ballyboghil, noted for disaffection, were principally concerned in this outrage, a company of the Fermanagh regiment joined the Swords yeomanry, and burned the houses of the disaffected in that village. While major King was engaged in doing so, an officer arrived, and informed him of the disaster which had befallen the detachment at Westfieldstown; he therefore pursued the rebels, who carried their prisoners off, for about six miles, and found that they had plundered and destroyed in their progress the house of every protestant which had come in their way, and compelled great numbers of people to join them.

The major took prisoner a rebel leader, of the name of Carroll, a cotton manufacturer in good circumstances, and of the Romish persuasion, whom they found in arms, and he was hanged the twenty-sixth of May, on one of the bridges in Dublin.

Mr. Sherwood, a revenue officer, seeing, on the night of the twenty-third of May, a number of rebels assembled near Dalkey, who were on the point of going to attack the camp at Lehaunstown, in which they

G g 2

expected

\* These expressions are to be seen in the bloody oath found upon the rebels in different parts of the province of Leinster. See it at the end of Grandy's affidavit, Appendix, p. 136.

† These worthy men have not ventured to reside at Ballymacarney since the prosecution of these ruffians, lest they should be assassinated.

‡ Plate I. 6.

expected the assistance of a number of soldiers attached to their cause; with laudable zeal, though at the risk of his life, harangued them for the purpose of dissuading them from so base and so dangerous an enterprise.

Four hundred conspirators were to have attacked the houses of the earl of Clare and Mr. Lees at the Black Rock. The conspirators had seduced some of the soldiers of the King's county militia, quartered at Black-rock for its defence; and they were to have co-operated with them; but two of the grenadiers of that regiment having given information of the plot, completely defeated their nefarious design. The noted loyalty of this noble lord and Mr. Lees marked them as objects of rebel vengeance; but their singular humanity and charity should have awakened such a degree of gratitude in the breasts of these fanatical ruffians towards their benefactors, as should have made them relent.

On the night of Friday the twenty-fifth of May, a party of rebels attacked and entered Mr. Blair's extensive iron works at Lucan, carried off a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, and compelled some of his artificers to attend them to the hill of Tara. This party was headed by George Cummins, a popish yeoman, of the Clonsillaagh corps, who became a traitor on the breaking-out of the rebellion, though he had taken the oath of allegiance; for which he was convicted in Dublin the tenth of July, 1798, and was afterwards pardoned.

The following paragraph appeared in the Dublin Journal the twenty-fourth of May:

#### ROMAN CATHOLICKS.

"An address to the lord lieutenant, intended to be immediately presented, and containing a declaration of political principles applicable to the circumstances of the present moment, lies, for signature, at Fitzpatrick's, bookseller, Ormond-quay; at the earl of Fingall's, Great George's-street, Rutland-square; lord viscount Kenmare's, Great George's-street; Malachy Donelan's, esquire, Mountjoy-square, and counsellor Bellew's, No. 6, Upper Gardiner's-street, Mountjoy-square.—All signatures must be given in, on or before Saturday next.—May 24th, 1798."

A yeoman officer, and a magistrate, who patrolled the country for four miles round Rathcoole in the county of Dublin, assured me, that he did not find a single man but one in above a hundred cabins and farm houses, which he searched for arms, the night before the rebellion broke out; their inmates having assembled, in order to concert measures for the general insurrection.

Captain

Captain Charles Ormsby, who commanded the Rathcoole infantry, consisting of forty-three privates and three officers, was ordered to maintain that post at all risks.

The rebels intended to attack Rathcoole on the night of the twenty-third of May, when all the garrisons in the county of Kildare were surprised; and captain Ormsby's corps, who were all, with a few exceptions, papists and traitors, intended to have murdered him, his brother who was his lieutenant, and one or two more protestants, who were privates in it, and to have joined the rebels on the first attack; but they were fortunately deterred from perpetrating their nefarious design by the following incidents:

Twenty of the Armagh regiment, brave, loyal, and well-disciplined, were stationed with him, and twenty of the same corps at Newcastle, at the distance of about one mile and a half. The Rathcoole cavalry commanded by captain Kennedy, of whom many were protestants, composed also part of his little garrison.

The rebels, whom they could discern, in great numbers, every evening exercising on the adjacent hills, had appointed many different nights to make the attack, in which captain Ormsby's traitorous yeomen, who kept up a constant correspondence with them, were to have joined; but they were intimidated by a few brave men of the Armagh who were posted there.

General Lake, considering the importance of the place, and the small force destined for its defence, sent there a reinforcement of eighty of the Angus fencibles, commanded by colonel Hunter, an experienced officer, which completely put an end to the hopes of the rebels to surprise that post.

Captain Ormsby discovered the conspiracy of his corps in the following manner: The garrison being short of provisions, he went to a hill over Rathcoole with a party, to forage; and finding there a shepherd's boy, who was constantly watching his flock, he asked him, whether he had seen any people assembled on that or the adjacent hills? and he answered in the negative. On which he seized him by the shoulder, gave him three or four stripes with the scabbard of his sword, and said, that he had told him a falsehood. The boy immediately exclaimed, "Oh! sir, take me from this place, and I'll tell you the whole truth!"

Having led him to Rathcoole, he next day acknowledged that he had seen frequent meetings of the rebels on the hills, to the number of two or  
three



three thousand, and among them several men with cross belts; and he also pointed out John Shee and his brother, privates in the corps, to whose father he had been shepherd.

Captain Ormsby having taken up John Shee, and given him a few stripes, he disclosed the whole of the treasonable designs of the corps, whom he instantly ordered to parade, in presence of a party of the Cavan regiment under arms, and he disarmed them; and committed serjeant Walsh, corporal Dillon, corporal Byrne, John Shee and William Harvey, leaders among the rebels, and principals in the plot.

Walsh, soon after he was committed, confessed the whole of their treasonable schemes; and that he and serjeant Rourke had been sworn by Mr. Clinch, a Romanist, and the second lieutenant of the corps.

Felix Rourke, the permanent serjeant, had been early appointed a colonel of the rebels, and had deserted to them some days before the rebellion broke out. He and they took oaths of allegiance. His brother had been a competitor with lieutenant Clinch for a captaincy in the rebel corps of Rathcoole; but the influence of Felix was such, as to obtain success for his brother; and the zeal of Clinch in the rebel cause was so great, that he continued to serve in it as a serjeant.

Lieutenant John Clinch was the son of a very wealthy man, had received some education, was naturally humane and benevolent, but was persuaded by the malignant influence of father Harold, his parish priest, to violate his oath of allegiance, and to become a traitor; for which he was tried and executed in Dublin the second of June.

He acknowledged the justice of his sentence, and died loading with curses father Harold, his parish priest; at whose instigation, he said, the inhabitants of Rathcoole, and all the adjacent country, had swerved from their allegiance, and became traitors. He declared also, that the organization of rebellion had taken place at his house, which was constantly the rendezvous of the rebel leaders; yet, that very priest frequently exhorted his flock to loyalty from the altar, for three months before the rebellion broke out; and on Sunday preceding that event, he preached two sermons eminently loyal, at the chapels of Saggard\* and Newcastle, in the presence of captain Ormsby and lieutenant Christopher Clinch† of the Rathcoole cavalry.

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\* Plate I. 7.

† This is a protestant gentleman, conspicuous for his loyalty, and no way connected with Clinch the traitor.

It was proved also, that Harold encouraged his rebellious sectaries to surrender some bad pikes, and to keep their good ones, in order to deceive the magistracy.

As soon as the conspiracy at Rathcoole was discovered, he and many of its popish inhabitants fled; but having been afterwards taken, government offered him his choice, either to be transported, or to stand his trial for his life; and conscious of his guilt, he preferred the former.

I mentioned before that Mr. Buckley, a respectable gentleman farmer, was murdered near Rathcoole, on the thirteenth day of March.

On the trial of the traitors of that town, the following circumstances were brought to light: Being on his return from Dublin, through Rathcoole, he was prevailed on, by some of the inhabitants of that town, to continue drinking in the house of one Doyle, till nine o'clock at night: After which he was murdered, and his body was mangled with savage barbarity, a little beyond that village, and near the house of Felix Rourke, in consequence of his noted loyalty.

Captain Ormsby having discovered that a bayonet belonging to one of his corps was found sticking in Mr. Buckley's body, ordered them to parade, but did not find that any of them wanted a bayonet.

Felix Rourke, who absented himself, was believed to have been concerned in the murder.

Lieutenant Clinch, a short time before his execution, confessed to captain Ormsby, that four of the corps had been concerned in the murder; and that he rose on the night of its perpetration, and gave a bayonet out of the store, which was under his care, to one of the assassins, to replace that which he had left sticking in Mr. Buckley's body.

The roads leading to the metropolis were so completely obstructed by bands of rebels, who roamed through and pillaged all the adjacent country, that no mail-coach arrived there from the twenty-fourth of May to the thirty-first of the same month.

On the first of June, the lord mayor, attended by Mr. Dawson the high-constable, passed above two hours in searching the vaults and cellars under the parliament-house, lest gunpowder or any other combustibles should have been laid there by the rebels.

A minute recital of individual outrage committed in the neighbourhood of the metropolis would be tedious and disgusting to the reader: I shall therefore proceed to describe some of the achievements performed

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by the rebels in the county of Kildare, which gave stronger indications of their boldness and malignity.

In the year 1795, defenderism had spread such destruction and dismay in it, by the constant commission of nocturnal robbery and assassination, that many of the loyal families were obliged to secure the lower windows of their houses with bricks and mortar; and such of them as had been active in checking its destructive progress, were obliged to introduce some of the military into them for their protection; and as defenderism had made the popish multitude peculiarly susceptible of the doctrines of the united Irishmen, which were introduced into the county of Kildare in the year 1796; and as they were diffused and sublimated by the residence and the active malignity of lord Edward Fitzgerald, the rebellion broke out with destructive rage in that county.

His lordship had laid a plan of surprising all the military posts in it, which occasioned much carnage, though it fortunately did not succeed in the extent which he expected.

In the beginning of the year 1797, the rebels robbed the houses of protestants of arms from Athy to Monastereven, Kildare, Kilcullen, Dunlavin, Timolin, and Castledermot;\* and were so successful, that none escaped, but those who fortified their habitations, and maintained a party of the military in them.†

An encampment of some regiments of cavalry on the Curragh of Kildare, in the summer of that year, furnished a plausible pretext to the disaffected of spreading a report that orangemen, aided by the military, were to murder all the Roman catholics; in consequence of which, numbers of the lower class of people, intimidated by such tales, propagated for the worst of purposes, lay in the open fields, where they were sworn and organized.

The following symptoms of the approaching rebellion appeared in the county of Kildare, in the years 1797 and 1798: Constant nightly meetings which the utmost vigilance of the magistrates could not prevent: The abstinence of the lower class of people from spirituous liquors, to a degree of sobriety too unusual and general not to be systematick: The infrequent application to magistrates in matters of dispute: The declining to pay rent or any debts whatsoever, by those who had means to do so, and who had been before very regular: The constant resort of the popish multitude to the confession boxes of their clergy: The refusal to take bank notes,  
from

\* See Plate I. 7 and 8, for these places.

† This fulfilled the prophecy of sir Laurence Parsons in the year 1795. See page 133.



from an idea that the approaching convulsion by subverting the government, would put an end to their currency: The eagerness of the people to take oaths of allegiance to lull the magistrates.

I shall now proceed to describe the operations of the rebels in that county.

#### ATTACK UPON NAAS.\*

In the month of May, the garrison of Naas consisted of one hundred and fifty of the Armagh militia, commanded by colonel lord Gosford, with two field pieces, thirty-five of the ancient Britons, commanded by major Wardell, twenty-four of the fourth horse, and sixteen of the North Naas cavalry, commanded by captain Neville.

On the evening of the twenty-third of that month, two anonymous letters were received, one in the morning by the honourable lieutenant colonel Achefon, the other in the evening, by lord Gosford; informing them that the town would be attacked that night by three thousand men.

In consequence of this information, the guards were doubled, and every measure necessary for their defence was adopted. As the garrison continued unmolested till two o'clock in the morning of the twenty-fourth, many of the officers had gone to bed, thinking the information they had received was groundless; but about half past two o'clock, a dragoon from an out-post came in, and informed major Wardell, that a very large body of rebels were moving towards the town; on which the drums beat to arms, and the guards repaired to the different posts which they were destined to occupy.

Soon after, three thousand rebels, who had been posted at the quarries of Tipper, advanced rapidly and quietly to the town, and entered it at four different places, the greater part from the North, by the Johnstown road, and penetrated almost to the gaol, where they made a most desperate attack; but were repulsed by a party of the Armagh, with one piece of cannon, and a detachment of the Ancient Britons.

Captain Davis having received some pike wounds in the beginning of the action, of which he died the next day, his men were so enraged, that they charged too soon, and prevented the cannon from playing on the enemy with the desired effect.

Large parties of the rebels, who stole unnoticed into the town, through the houses and narrow lanes, fought sometime in the streets,

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and stood three volleys from a party of the Armagh militia, posted opposite to the barrack, before they gave way; at last they fled precipitately in every direction, when the cavalry charged, and killed a great number of them in the pursuit. Thirty of the rebels were killed in the streets; and, from the numbers found dead in back houses and in the adjacent fields, a few days after, it is imagined that no less than three hundred could have fallen.

They dropped in their flight a great quantity of pikes, and other arms, of which a great number were found in pits near the town, where they also seized three men with green cockades, whom they instantly hanged in the publick streets. Another prisoner, whom they spared in consequence of very useful information which he gave, told them, that the rebel party was above one thousand strong, and that they were commanded by Michael Reynolds, who was well mounted, and dressed in yeoman uniform. He made his escape, but his horse fell into the hands of our troops.

One of the rebels concerned in the attack, who obtained the royal mercy by surrendering himself under the proclamation, informed me, that one of the gunners, who directed the cannon at the gaol, having been seduced by the rebels, elevated it so much as not to injure the assailants.

#### ATTACK ON THE TOWN OF PROSPEROUS.

The rebels were more successful in this enterprise than in that at Naas, having contrived it with more ingenuity.

On Sunday the twentieth of May, captain Swayne arrived there, with a detachment of the city of Cork regiment, and immediately repaired to the chapel, where he, the reverend Mr. Higgins, parish priest, and doctor Esmond, a physician, successively exhorted the people to return to their allegiance, and to surrender their arms; but as their exhortations produced no effect, he, agreeably to the order for exercising free quarters, distrained the cattle, and did some injuries to the property of persons well known to be disaffected, and to have concealed arms in their possession; but it produced no other effect than the surrender of two or three pikes and firelocks, on the morning of the twenty-third of May.

Father Higgins and doctor Esmond informed captain Swayne, that the people were become repentant, would have brought in their arms, and have  
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left them in the streets during the night, but that they were afraid of the sentinels. The captain therefore, at his desire, ordered the sentinels not to challenge them, which order proved fatal to the garrison.

Besides the city of Cork detachment in Prosperous, there was a party of the Ancient Britons, consisting of a lieutenant, a quarter-master, and twenty privates. Twelve of them were lodged in a house opposite the barrack of the city of Cork company, and the remainder were at single billets, except a few who slept over the stable where their horses were.

About two o'clock on Thursday morning the twenty-fourth of May, the two sentinels were surprised, and killed; and both the barracks were assaulted, while the soldiers were fast asleep. The barrack of the Cork company consisted of a hall, an apartment on each side, the same in the next story, and under ground offices. A party of the rebels rushed into captain Swayne's apartment, which was on the ground floor, and murdered him. Some soldiers, who slept in the opposite apartment, alarmed at the noise, came forth with their firelocks, and expelled those ruffians from the barrack, after having killed two or three of them.

The house was at that time surrounded with a great number of rebels variously armed. A fierce conflict ensued between the assailants and the besieged; but it was soon put an end to by the following malignant device of the former: There was a great quantity of straw in the underground office, to which the rebels set fire, and to increase the flame introduced some faggots into it. The soldiers were soon in a state of suffocation; and the heat being so great, that they could not endure it, they retreated to their comrades in the upper story; but the flame and the smoke soon reached them there, as the rebels continued to introduce lighted faggots into the apartments under them. Enveloped with thick smoke, and overcome with heat, some of them leaped out of the windows; but were immediately received on the pikes of the assailants, who gave a dreadful yell whenever that happened.

At last, the barrack being in a state of conflagration, the soldiers resolved to rush forward, and fight their way through their assailants; but they, who were very numerous, formed a half-moon round the front of the barrack, and received them on their pikes, so that but few of them escaped.



Previous to this, the rebels were so much galled by the constant and well-directed fire of the soldiers, that, despairing of success by force of arms, they sent two of their men into the hall, who cried out, "We will deal honourably by you; we will spare such of you as descend and deliver up your arms:" But those who yielded to their delusive promises, were instantly perforated with pikes.

Nicholas Eldon, the deputy barrack-master, his wife and children, and the families of some of the Cork soldiers, remained in one of the underground offices, during this scene of carnage, having retired there for safety. At last, preceded by Mrs. Eldon, they endeavoured to escape from the flames; when a ferocious ruffian, ready to dispatch them with his pike, exclaimed, "Let the heretick remain to be burnt." They returned and continued to pray, till the flames forced them out again.

She rushed out, and dropped on her knees, surrounded by three young children, having one of them in her arms. Her tears and entreaties, and her piteous situation, altogether suspended their fury for a moment. James Mc. Evoy, a young man of humanity, though a rebel, arrived, and conducted them to the house of Hugh Mc. Evoy, his father.

However, nothing could have saved them, if the following event had not taken place: A short time before, expresses arrived from Naas and Clane, which the rebels had attacked the preceding night, to inform the people of Prosperous, that their friends had been repulsed at both; and to desire that they would spare the lives of the protestants, and the soldiers wives and children, that they might be saved in their turn.

James Mc. Evoy confessed, that they intended to have burnt all the protestants in the barrack, but for that fortuitous circumstance; and it was remarkable, that they had placed over their doors sentinels, who were withdrawn as soon as the expresses had announced the above intelligence.

Mr. Brewer, an Englishman, noted for his humanity and benevolence, had embarked very extensively in the cotton manufacture at Prosperous, where he maintained numbers of people, who had been steeped in poverty. Hugh Mc. Evoy was his foreman, and his son was employed under him. They conducted Eldon and his family to the house of Mr. Brewer, who, seeing them almost naked, instantly supplied them with some of his own cloaths. He had remained alone at his house, vainly

vainly thinking that his active benevolence, and his charitable disposition would be his best shield among the inhabitants of Prosperous, whom he had fed and clothed, by employing them in useful industry. Hugh Mc. Evoy informed Mr. Brewer and Eldon, that they had been both condemned,\* and that he feared he could not save them; but that he would do his utmost for that purpose. He also said, when he was leaving him, "Sir, if they ask you to swear, by no means refuse them;" and he promised to comply.

During Mc. Evoy's absence, Mr. Brewer's house was surrounded by a large body of rebels, who broke in some of the windows, and were proceeding to break open the door, when Mr. Brewer ordered it to be opened, not suspecting that he could have an enemy in the country, and deriving great fortitude from religious faith. When the mob entered his house, James Tobin, an inhabitant of the town, and a tailor by trade, rushed into his apartment, and made a lunge at him with a pike, so vehemently, that he perforated his body, and turned the edge of the weapon against the wall, so much, that he had some difficulty in extracting it. Having then drawn a scymitar, he cleft his skull from his ear to his forehead; then aided by one Patrick Farrell, a native of the town, he carried the body to the front door, when Andrew Farrell,† who was leader of the party, cried out aloud, "Behold the body of a heretick tyrant!" which was repeated by the whole party, who gave three cheers.

Barnaby Dougall, a cotton weaver, employed by Mr. Brewer, attended there on the horse of captain Swayne, fully accoutred, and said, he was a much better man than the captain.

When Hugh Mc. Evoy returned, he exclaimed, "Oh! you villains, have you murdered the good man who kept us all from starving? If I knew the man that did so, I would shoot him, though I were to lose my own life by it." Mc. Evoy had great difficulty in saving the life of Eldon, as Andrew Farrell swore he would kill him, and made a stroke of a sabre at him.

At that instant an alarm was spread among the rebels of Prosperous, by an express from their friends at Clane, who called for a reinforcement, as they had been defeated there. They therefore marched towards  
Clane,

\* This was by a committee of assassination.

† He was a deserter from the Clane corps, and had assisted in attacking the town that morning with doctor Esmond.

Clane, and put Eldon, five of the Ancient Britons who were their prisoners, and some other protestants in their front rank; but when they had advanced a short way, they found their friends retreating and dispersed.

The attack on Downings, the house of Mrs. Bonynge, about half a mile from Prosperous, was attended with circumstances of brutal ferocity. One Dunn, a deserter from the Clane corps, galloped up to it in his uniform, at the head of a large party of rebels. This villain, a traitor to his king and country, called out for Mr. Johnston, who was hateful to them, on account of his noted loyalty and zeal in the publick service. He was a member of the Clane corps, and was then defending that town from three attacks, which the rebels made on it. Dunn was soon convinced of his absence, by signs made by the popish servants of the house, who were attached to the cause of the union.

As Mrs. Bonynge had fed some of the Cork soldiers the preceding night, Dunn, supposing them to be in her house, insisted on having them delivered up to him; but being disappointed in this, he vowed destruction against the house, unless Mr. Stammers was surrendered to him. He was proprietor of the principal part of Prosperous, and went there occasionally to receive his rents. Mrs. Bonynge, who preserved the most unshaken presence of mind, had previously insisted on his concealing himself in the back yard; and on her declaring that he was not there, they dismounted, and in a turbulent manner searched every part of the house. On being disappointed, they were on the point of sending for an additional party to demolish the house and furniture, when Mr. Stammers generously came forth and surrendered himself, to save the house in which he had been so hospitably entertained. Falling on his knees, he implored the sanguinary wretches to shoot him there, as an act of mercy, rather than put him to a cruel death, which their menaces and their furious appearance gave him reason to dread; and he also besought them to spare the house, and its inhabitants; all of whom conjured them, in the most pathetic manner, to spare the life of that worthy and unoffending gentleman. They promised compliance, but insisted on conducting him among his towns-people. One fellow, who had captain Swayne's horse, required (as a matter of kindness) that he should ride him; but he submitting quietly to his fate, walked through the town, and was shot at the other end of it.

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I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XV.\* for a description of the horrors of Prosperous on that woeful morning. The rebels, on leaving Downings, vowed vengeance against captain Williams, a half-pay officer, and nephew to Mrs. Bonyng, for no other reason than that he was a loyal subject.

It is remarkable that lieutenant Power of the Cork regiment, and his wife, both of the popish persuasion, remained unmolested in Prosperous, during this dreadful scene of carnage.

The rebels murdered a man above seventy years old, who had served the greatest part of his life in the army as a serjeant, and had retired on a pension to Prosperous, merely because he was a protestant.

Of the city of Cork detachment they killed one captain, two serjeants, one drummer, twenty-three privates, and wounded eight, of whom two died afterwards: The remainder of the company happened very fortunately to be sent on a party a day or two before, a few miles off.

The loss of the Ancient Britons was, nine killed, five taken prisoners, and the remaining eight leaped out of the windows, and made their escape over the bog of Allen.

A circumstance attended the attack on Prosperous, which evinces the force of fanaticism even on persons of enlightened minds, and of its baneful influence in extinguishing all religious and moral rectitude. Doctor Esmond, brother to sir Thomas Esmond, was of a very antient popish family in the county of Wexford. He settled as a physician in the county of Kildare, where he had considerable practice, till he married a lady with so large a fortune, that he became indifferent about the emoluments arising from his profession. Joined to a handsome countenance, and a very good figure, he had such urbanity of manner, and such attractive convivial qualities, that he was regarded as a very pleasing companion. In consequence of these mental and personal qualifications, Mrs. Esmond became enamoured of him. In private life, he was considered as honourable and humane; but on this occasion, he yielded to the delusions of bigotry, which rendered him a traitor to his king, and inspired him with a malignant desire of subverting the best constitution in the universe, and of erecting, on its ruins, the pandemonium of France, with all its concomitant horrors. Assuming the semblance of loyalty, he applauded the exertions of captain Swayne, and even co-

operated

\*. Davis's affidavit.

operated with him in extinguishing that spirit of disaffection, which prevailed among the inhabitants of Prosperous and its vicinity. He dined with him at an inn there on the twenty-third of May, and continued to enjoy the glow of social mirth with him, till a few hours before the perpetration of that bloody scene, which he had for sometime meditated.

“ Talibus infidiis, perjuriq; arte Sinonis,”

“ Credita res.”

He was lieutenant of the Clane cavalry, commanded by captain Griffith, and he persuaded many privates of the corps to desert their colours, and to join him in the attack on Prosperous, which is about three miles from Clane.

#### ATTACK UPON CLANE BY THE REBELS.

The garrison there, consisted of a company of the Armagh militia, commanded by captain Jephson, and a few of the Clane yeomen cavalry. Early on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, the main body of the rebels stole into the town unperceived; but a drummer and the trumpeter having been alarmed, the former, after beating a few strokes of his drum, was driven into the guard house; however the trumpeter alarmed the garrison.

Captain Jephson, on looking out of his window, saw the streets crowded with rebels, armed with different weapons: The soldiers, who were at billets in the town, endeavoured to come forth; but as each house was beset by a body of pikemen, they were obliged singly to fight their way through them; and in attempting to do so, two of them were killed on the spot, and five were badly wounded. However, the remainder, notwithstanding the surprise, assembled, and gallantly repulsed the rebels. In the second attempt which they made, six rebels, dressed in the clothes and mounted on the horses of the Ancient Britons, entered the town, with the view of, imposing themselves as yeomen, an artifice which in some measure succeeded; for captain Jephson approached them, laid his hand on the neck of one of the horses, and asked the rider, whence he came? on which he damned him, drew his sabre, and made a cut at him; for which he was instantly shot by one of the soldiers, and the remainder were wounded in their retreat.

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About three o'clock captain Griffith received an express at Millicent, his seat, by a yeoman, that a large body of rebels had attacked the guard at Clane: The captain arrived there in fifteen minutes, and found that, by the steady conduct of part of his troop, who were armed with carbines, which they used with good effect, the insurgents had received such a check, as to afford time to about forty of the Armagh to turn out. The yeomen and militia had not fired more than three rounds, when the rebels dispersed; and the captain, on his arrival, found the troops pursuing them, and burning the houses on the common, in which they had taken refuge. They killed a good many of them, and took six prisoners of the popish persuasion, four of whom were captain Griffith's tenants. One of them was condemned and hanged at the drum-head in Clane; the other five were hanged the same day at Naas.

At his return to Clane, about five in the morning, he heard of the carnage at Prosperous. On mustering the guard, he found his second lieutenant, a serjeant and seventeen privates, one of whom was severely wounded; the other three had deserted with their own arms, and those belonging to other yeomen of his troop. He had hardly time to draw up the yeomen and militia in the street, when a party of rebels, mounted on the horses and furnished with the arms and accoutrements of the Ancient Britons, made a charge into the town. By one volley they brought down six or seven of them; the remainder fled precipitately, and took shelter behind a strong party of rebel infantry, which were approaching from Prosperous, and which made a formidable appearance, not so much from their numbers, though considerable, as from the brightness of their arms, and the scarlet coats and helmets of which they had plundered the soldiers at Prosperous.

As they were not strong enough to attack so numerous a party, and thinking it dishonourable to retreat, the captain, in concurrence with the militia officers, resolved to take post on an elevated spot near the Commons, where they could not be surrounded or out-flanked; and there they waited for the enemy, who began a smart fire on them, but without effect, as the elevation was too great. Our troops, having returned the fire, killed and wounded a considerable number of them, on which they fled in great dismay, and were charged by the captain and his sixteen yeomen, who cut down many of those whose heads were ornamented with the helmets of the Ancient Britons, or the hats of the Cork regiment.



In their flight, they dropped a great quantity of pikes, pitch-forks, muskets and fabres.

He returned to Clane, refreshed his men, and set out for Naas, whither he had orders to march; but a short time before he left Clane, he was joined by one of his yeomen, of the name of Philip Mite, who secretly delivered him a letter, in which he communicated to him the conduct of Esmond, who, he said, had commanded at the attack of Prosperous; and that he (Mite) had accompanied him to the entrance of that town, and then made his escape. He had scarce received this intelligence, when Esmond appeared and joined the troop, with his hair dressed, his boots and breeches quite clean, and fully accoutred. The captain had fortunately sufficient command over himself, to repress his indignation on seeing him, and to hold his peace till he arrived at Naas, where, having drawn up his troop in front of the goal, he committed Esmond in five minutes after they halted.

When Mite was awakened, and was compelled to join the rebels, who were proceeding to Prosperous, he objected against attending them; on which Esmond, who headed the party, desired him to banish his fears, as, he said, the mass of the people of Ireland would rise that night.

He was afterwards conveyed to Dublin, was tried by a court martial, and convicted of high-treason, on the clearest evidence, and was hanged on Carlisle bridge the fourteenth of June. He summoned captain Griffith to give evidence on his trial, and as it was not as favourable to the doctor as he and his friends expected, a banditti the next night but one plundered and damaged his property at Millicent to the amount of 3000*l*.

#### INSURRECTION NEAR DUNLAVIN.

On the night of the twenty-third of May, the rebels having broke open the gaol of Ballymore-eustace, one of the prisoners, who made his escape, arrived at Dunlavin, and informed captain Ryves, who commanded a corps of yeomanry there, that the town would be attacked by a numerous body of rebels that night, or early in the morning.

At the dawn he perceived large columns of them moving round the adjacent country, and many protestant houses on fire; and knowing; from the cruel and sanguinary spirit which the rebels had displayed at Ballymore-eustace, that they meditated the total extermination of all protestants and loyalists, he was driven to the necessity of adopting a measure, which nothing but motives of self-preservation and the emergency

gency of the occasion could justify. The only troops in Dunlavin were his corps of yeomen, and the light company of the Wicklow militia, commanded by captain Richardson; and the number of prisoners confined in the gaol there for treason far exceeded that of the garrison.

The captain marched out of the town with a party of yeomen cavalry to encounter the rebels; but they were so numerous and desperate, that he was obliged to return, after some of his men had been piked.

The officers, having conferred for some time, were of opinion, that some of the yeomen who had been disarmed, and were at that time in prison for being notorious traitors, should be shot. Nineteen therefore of the Saunders-grove corps, and nine of the Narromore, were immediately led out and suffered death.

It may be said, in excuse for this act of severe and summary justice, that they would have joined the numerous bodies of rebels who were moving round, and at that time threatened the town. At the same time they discharged the greater part of the prisoners, in consideration of their former good characters.

#### ATTACK ON BALLYMORE-EUSTACE.

As the united Irishmen in the neighbourhood of Ballymore-eustace were known to have an immense quantity of arms, captain Beavor was sent there on the tenth of May with detachments of the ninth dragoons, the Tyrone, Antrim and Armagh militia, to compel a surrender of them, by living at free quarters. He had every reason to believe, that he had completely succeeded in the object of his mission, as he received three thousand stand of arms of different descriptions; and particularly, as, on the morning of the twenty-third of May, four serjeants of united Irishmen marched in their quota of men, eleven each, with their pikes on their shoulders, and received protections. As several committee-men had done the like on that and the preceding day, captain Beavor was so convinced that the people were sincere in their professions of renouncing their rebellious designs, and of returning to their habits of peaceful industry, that he sent off one hundred and twenty men of his garrison, and kept but about forty, to lighten the distress of the people, who were obliged to maintain them.

About the hour of one o'clock, he was awakened by the cry of a person, that the rebels would have his blood; and on rising, two men rushed

into his bed-chamber, one armed with a pistol, the other with a pike. The former, who fired at him, very fortunately missed him; on which he seized a pistol, which lay at his bed-side, and shot him through the body. The other made a lunge at him with his pike, which he strove to avoid, and received but a slight wound in the shoulder. The ruffian, seeing that he was reaching for the second pistol, seized him in his arms, and carried him some way towards the head of the stairs, where he saw a number of pikemen ready to receive him; but, being superior to him in strength, he got his arms loose, rescued himself, and dragged the rebel into a room, where a yeoman was standing with his sword drawn, and whom he solicited to run him through the body, but he never offered to stir. It appears that he was a papist, and was afterwards dismissed from his corps for noted disaffection.

At that moment, lieutenant Patrickson arrived, and ran him through the body. The pikemen, at the foot of the stairs, finding that their two comrades had been killed, were making off, but were met by some of the dragoons, who were rallying from all points round the captain's quarters, and who killed most of them. Twenty-eight dragoons joined the captain and took post in his house, which was attacked for near two hours by a large body of rebels, whom they at length repulsed, after having killed a number of them.

In the mean time, the rebels set fire to several houses in which the soldiers were quartered; and, assisted by the owners, who treacherously secreted their arms, murdered seven dragoons and four of the Tyrone militia, and desperately wounded three of the former, and two of the latter.

At length, captain Beever sallied out with twelve dragoons, and routed them in every direction. Lieutenant Mc. Farland, of the Tyrone militia, a most excellent officer, was shot through the body and died.

They entered the house of Mr. Henderson, a revenue officer and a protestant, and shot him in his bed.

Next morning they took a rebel prisoner, who gave the following information, as to their number and their mode of attack: The soldiers were quartered in eight different houses, each of which was to be attacked at the same moment, by the signal of a gun fired in the church-yard. The number of the assailants was eight hundred. They lost three



three captains, and near one hundred men. Captain Beevor's servant was shot in his bed. He, lieutenant Patrickson, cornet Maxwell, and all the privates of the dragoons and the militia, displayed singular spirit and intrepidity against so great a superiority of numbers.†

#### INSURRECTION AT KILDARE.\*

For some days previous to the twenty-third of May, the inhabitants of Kildare and the adjacent country continued in great numbers to surrender arms, to take oaths of allegiance, and to obtain protections.

About two o'clock in the afternoon of that day, general Wilford ordered the troops under his command at Kildare to march to Kilcullen, for the purpose of reinforcing general Dundas, who had had an engagement with the rebels.

John Constable, a private of captain Neville's corps of yeomen cavalry, who conveyed the orders to him for that purpose from general Dundas, was shot outside the town; yet he lived to deliver his dispatch, but dropped dead soon after.

On leaving the town, general Wilford ordered Mr. Cooper, innholder, to collect his baggage, and that of the Suffolk fencibles, and to lodge them in the guard-house. He also sent orders to captain Winter, commanding a detachment of the Suffolk, and a small party of the 9th dragoons at Monastereven, to follow him.

When captain Winter arrived at Kildare, he received written orders from the general, to burn all the camp equipage lodged at Kildare; but Mr. O'Reilly, late major of the Kildare, having represented to him the danger of setting fire to the town, and having informed him that its inhabitants would protect the baggage, which they treacherously promised to do, he desisted from burning it.

In about an hour after the king's troops had left the town, the inhabitants rung the market bell, as a signal for a general insurrection, which accordingly took place.

About two thousand† rebels, headed by one Roger Mc. Garry, marched into the town, and seized all the officers' baggage and the camp equipage, which had been lodged in the guard house, and a considerable

† Had captain Beevor whipped one or two vagabonds, a day or two before this woeful event, he would have discovered and averted it.

\* Plate I. 7.

† Their pikes had crosses painted on them.

derable quantity of pikes and fire arms, which they had surrendered a few days before, as a proof of their sincerity to renounce their treasonable designs, which they promised by oath to do. The protestant inhabitants, fearing that they should be massacred, immediately fled to Naas or Monastereven, for protection, and on their departure, their houses and their property were plundered and destroyed. Mr. Cooper lost to the amount of 2000 l. in Kildare and the Curragh.

The following horrid circumstances attended the murder of George Crawford, and his grandchild of the age of fourteen years. He had formerly served so long in the fifth dragoons, as to be entitled to a pension, and was at that time a permanent serjeant in captain Taylor's corps of yeomen cavalry. He, his wife, and granddaughter, were stopped by a party of the rebels as they were endeavouring to make their escape, and were reproached with the appellation of hereticks, because they were of the protestant religion. One of them struck his wife with a musket, and another gave her a stab of a pike in the back, with an intent of murdering her. Her husband, having endeavoured to save her, was knocked down, and received several blows of a firelock, which disabled him from making his escape. While they were disputing whether they should kill them, she stole behind a hedge, and concealed herself. They then massacred her husband with pikes; and her granddaughter having thrown herself on his body to protect him, received so many wounds in the breast, the head, and thighs, that she soon after expired. These circumstances of atrocity have been verified by affidavit sworn by Crawford's widow the twentieth day of August, 1798, before alderman Jenkin. The fidelity of a large dog, belonging to this poor man, deserves to be recorded, as he attacked these sanguinary monsters, and fought bravely in defence of his master, till he fell by his side, perforated with pikes.

Mr. James Williams, a revenue officer, of the protestant religion, having made his escape, they plundered his house, and destroyed his property; and having hung up his favourite dog, they fired many shots at it, lamenting at the same time, that they had not an opportunity of treating his heretick master in the same manner.

About eleven o'clock that night, they stopped and plundered the Limerick mail coach, and massacred one of the passengers, lieutenant William

William Giffard of the 82d regiment, and son to captain John Giffard of the royal Dublin regiment. The savages having shot one of the horses so as effectually to prevent the coach from proceeding, demanded of lieutenant Giffard, who, and what he was? to which he answered without hesitation, that he was an officer, proceeding on his way to Chatham, in obedience to orders he had received. They demanded, whether he was a protestant? and being answered in the affirmative, they held a moment's consultation, and then told him, that they wanted officers; that if he would take an oath to be true to them, and join them in an attack to be made next morning upon Monastereven, they would give him a command, but otherwise he must die. To this the gallant youth replied, that he had already sworn allegiance to the king; that he would never offend God Almighty by a breach of that oath; nor would he disgrace himself by turning a deserter, and joining the king's enemies; that he could not suppose an army of men would be so cruel as to murder an individual who had never injured them, and who was merely passing through them to a country from whence possibly he never would return; but if they insisted on this proposal, he must die; for he never could consent to it. This brave and yet pathetic answer, which would have kindled sentiments of generous humanity in any breasts but those of Irish rebels, had directly the contrary effect upon them: With the utmost fury they assailed him; he had a case of pocket pistols, which his natural courage, and the love of life, though hopeless, prompted him to use with effect. Being uncommonly active, he burst from them, and vaulting over a six-feet wall, he made towards an house where he saw light, and heard people talking. Alas! it afforded no refuge! it was the house of poor Crawford, whom, with his granddaughter, as before mentioned, they had just piked for being protestants. A band of the barbarians, returning from this exploit, met lieutenant Giffard; there he fell, covered with wounds and with glory; and his mangled body was thrown into the same ditch with honest Crawford and his innocent grandchild. Thus he expired, at the age of seventeen, a martyr to religion and honour, whose memory will ever be respected by the virtuous and the brave!

While these blood-hounds continued their sanguinary orgies in the night, they constantly exclaimed against hereticks and orangemen.

About



About one o'clock in the morning, they marched for Monastereven, from thirteen to fifteen hundred in number, and commanded by captain Mc. Garry.

As by far the greater part of the popish members of the yeomen corps in the county of Kildare joined the rebels, or were known to be disaffected, I think it right to mention that fourteen of that persuasion in the Monastereven corps, much to their honour, shewed on all occasions the utmost fidelity to their king and country.\*

In their march to Monastereven, they killed such protestants as they could lay their hands on, and plundered their houses. They gave many wounds with a pike to Thomas Birch, parish clerk of Kildangan, a man above eighty years old; and then drove him into his house, which they set fire to, with an intent to burn him; but he escaped out of the back door, and recovered afterwards.

They murdered dean Keatinge's parish clerk, a very old man; and they took a protestant boy of the name of Higginbotham to their camp at Knockallin, and shot him there. They piked one Miley, a carpenter, near Dunlavin, and major Ponsonby's servant, one of the fifth dragoon guards, as he was crossing the Curragh.

#### ATTACK UPON MONASTEREVEN.†

In this town there was a corps of yeomen cavalry, another of infantry. Having received intelligence on the twenty-fourth of May, that one of their members was barbarously murdered, and that another was a prisoner with the rebels, they made circuits of several miles round the country, to give the loyal inhabitants an opportunity of retreating to the town. They met great numbers of rebels repairing to their respective leaders, with whom they had some skirmishes, and in one of which they were so fortunate as to rescue three soldiers of the Ancient Britons, part of a detachment from Kildare, consisting of a warrant officer, and four privates, one of whom they had barbarously murdered. One of the troop, who rashly pursued some rebels too far into a bog, received many desperate pike wounds. In their circuit they repaired to the house  
of

\* Mr. John Cassidy, a brewer of that town, and a Romanist, shewed singular zeal on all occasions, as a loyalist, in that corps.

† See Plate I. 7.

of Mr. Darragh, for the purpose of escorting him and his family to Monastereven; but he was in such imminent danger, and such excruciating pain, that he could not be removed.\*

Between four and five o'clock in the morning, one of the videts galloped into the town, with intelligence that the rebels were advancing; one column approached by the canal, covering the road to a great extent, and was opposed by the infantry, commanded by lieutenant Bagot, who ordered his men to present; and the rebels having suddenly halted, the infantry recovered their arms and advanced, on which the rebels retreated, with an intention of attacking the town in another quarter.

The cavalry, commanded by captain Haystead, then came forward, turned down the road towards the turnpike, and fell in with another body, whom they routed, after killing many of them.

The third column advanced into the main street, where the action became very serious.

The infantry maintained a warm and well directed fire on the rebels, and at last broke them.

The cavalry, taking advantage of their confusion, charged them, and pursuing the fugitives, killed and wounded a great number of them; no less than sixty rebels lay dead in the streets. On the part of the loyal yeomen, John Nicholson, Christopher Cox, John Pilsworth, Edward Simpson, and Richard Hetherington, and nine horses, were killed.

I think it is a tribute due to the memory of these brave men, that their names should be recorded in the page of history. It redounds much to the honour of the Monastereven yeomanry, that they defended their town against thirteen hundred rebels, well appointed with arms, without the assistance of the militia or regular troops.

A priest of the name of Prendergast was hanged at Monastereven, having been convicted on the clearest evidence of being deeply concerned in the rebellion.

A day or two before it broke out, he called on a protestant gentleman in its vicinity, for whom he had a particular regard, and informed him, that he was very desirous of saving him and his wife; but that he feared it would be impossible to do so, unless they would consent to be christened, to confess to him, and to embrace the Roman catholic religion;

K k

that

\* See the attempt on his life, page 197.

that on such terms he would save also his brother ; but that he could not save his wife, as she was an orangewoman.\*

When the rebels were entering the town of Monastereven, they attacked, and were on the point of breaking into the house of Mr. John Christian, with a design of murdering him, his family, Charles Browne, esquire, and his lady, Mr. and Mrs. Christian and their child, all protestants ; but were driven from it by the fire of the yeomen.

On the twenty-fourth of May, while Mr. Darragh of Eagle-hill was lying on the bed of pain and sickness, his house at Eagle-hill was attacked by a numerous body of rebels, who came from their camp at Knockallin-hill, about three miles off. It was defended by Mr. Dalton, his brother-in-law, Mr. Bolton his surgeon, two other gentlemen, two soldiers, and two servants ; the whole under the direction of Mr. Dalton, who fought with great bravery, the rest of his domesticks having joined the rebels. They had just time to place the barricadoes to the windows, which Mr. Darragh had been obliged to make use of to defend his house for twelve months before, and to distribute the ammunition. As the rebels approached the house, they sent forth a terrifick yell, like savages, and swore they would carry off, on their pikes, all the heads of the inmates. They had but two guns, three pistols, and two swords, besides the soldiers muskets, for their defence. A furious assault was made immediately on the house, and many volleys were fired into the windows of the ground floor, and middle story ; and some balls found their way through the port holes, into the drawing-room, where Mr. Darragh lay, accompanied by Mrs. Darragh, her mother, sister, the maid servant, two men servants, and two soldiers. They were so fortunate as to rout the whole party, after killing and wounding a great number of them. The rebels carried off all the killed, except one ruffian, who fell when he was endeavouring to break open, with his pike, a window near the hall. He had in his pocket captain Swayne's protection, in consequence of having taken the oath of allegiance, and surrendered a pike, a few days before ; and the following prayer :

“ My God, I offer unto thee my sleep, submitting it with a pure intention to thy holy will ; and that I may recover new vigour to serve thee.

\* By this he alluded to her being sister to a gentleman of noted loyalty, who was very active in checking the progress of the conspiracy.



thee.\* I wish that every breath I am to take this night, may be an act of praise and love of the divine Majesty, like the happy breathings of the saints and angels who never sleep; and so I compose myself to sleep in the arms of my Saviour."

This wretch lived about a mile and a half from Eagle-hill, and had a short time before been brought through a malignant fever, and his life saved, by the benevolent assistance of Mrs. Darragh, who supplied him with medicines, wine, and other necessaries and comforts.

He kept a school, and a nightly rosary, which was some superstitious institution like the scapular, that served as a vehicle for treason.

#### ATTACK ON RATHANGAN.

On Thursday morning the twenty-fourth day of May, the inhabitants of the country for some miles round Rathangan were in a state of insurrection; and as they approached the town, towards evening, in great bodies, and with much vociferation, captain Langton, who was quartered there with a company of the South Cork militia, fearing that he should be surpris'd and cut off, kept patrols all that night on the different avenues leading to it, which was very fortunate, as they had skirmishes with, and repulsed different parties of the rebels who were advancing towards the town. Pursuant to orders which he had received from general Wilford, he would have marched that day to Sallins; but he was persuaded to remain there by Mr. Spenser, who promised to excuse him to the general, and who sent a Mr. Gatchell to Kilcullen for that purpose.

On his arrival there, he found that it had been evacuated by the king's troops, and was in possession of the rebels, who attacked and endeavoured to seize him; but he narrowly escaped, after having been severely wounded. He received intelligence on the road, that the mail coach had been destroyed near Naas by the rebels; who, in large bodies, had been desolating the preceding night all the country contiguous to those towns with fire and sword.

The loyal inhabitants of Rathangan were in the utmost consternation all that night, as they could discern, from the tops of their houses, a great number of habitations on fire in the adjacent country; and their owners,

K k 2

who

\* Every popish rebel imagined that he served his God in opposing a protestant, or injuring his protestant fellow-subjects.

who were all protestants, came flocking into the town, after having narrowly escaped with their lives. They could also perceive multitudes of the rebels moving round the fires; and could hear them uttering the most dreadful shouts and yells.

Captain Langton, having received a peremptory order from general Dundas, marched from Rathangan on Friday, about three o'clock in the afternoon, and endeavoured to persuade Mr. Spenser to accompany him, as he was very obnoxious to the rebels, from his noted loyalty; but he resisted his earnest entreaties.

The inhabitants remained under arms on Friday night, expecting to be attacked every moment. It was not until Saturday the twenty-sixth, about three o'clock, that the rebels in great numbers, and variously armed, entered the town; of whom the principal part approached and surrounded Mr. Spenser's house, which he had barricadoed, and introduced into it some of his labourers, in whom he thought he could confide, and three protestant farmers, two of them yeomen. They broke in the window-shutters with the butends of their muskets, and thrust into the rooms large quantities of burning straw, on the end of their pikes. They also set fire to the back-door, and to the windows of the under-ground offices. Mr. Spenser, perceiving that resistance would be fruitless, assured them, from a window in the first floor, that he would quietly surrender his arms. Having desired him to descend, he complied with their wishes, and approached them in a most respectful conciliating manner; on which a fellow of the name of Doorley, to whose family Mr. Spenser had always been very kind, and whose brother was a yeoman in his corps, approached him with a menacing aspect, and flourished a scymitar over his head, using at the same time some insolent and opprobrious language. Mr. Spenser asked him, "What he had ever done to offend him?" Doorley replied, "You would not give me a protection against the soldiers, when they came into this country upon free quarters." Mr. Spenser assured him, "That he would have done so, if he had applied to him for that purpose."

Mr. Spenser, perceiving that they began to grow turbulent and furious, retired into his house, and was pursued by a party of them, who murdered him on his stair-case, having shot him through the head, and mangled his body with pikes in a most savage manner. They then carried it out and laid it on the ground, in the front of the house, as if to satisfy the rebel multitude,

multitude, that their wishes had been accomplished. Next day the servants obtained permission to bury it; but without a coffin.

Thus this worthy gentleman, who was an active and intelligent magistrate, and as remarkable for the amiableness and affability of his manners, as the benevolence of his heart, fell a sacrifice to the fanaticism of those savages, to whom he had been unremittingly a kind and generous benefactor.

As his house was a short distance from the town, Mrs. Spenser, who was led to it in the midst of these monsters, had the anguish to see the mangled corpse of her husband lying at his door.

When they killed him, they proceeded to massacre George Moore, James his son, and John Heaslip his son-in-law, the three protestants who were in the house: The labourers joined the mob, and were not injured; for their religion preserved them.

Mr. Spenser was captain of a yeoman corps, which made him hateful to the rebels, who were joined by almost the whole of the popish members of his troop. Of these, Martin Hinds, to whom he had been singularly kind and generous, and Molloy, an opulent farmer, who was his second lieutenant, became leaders among the insurgents.

Mr. Moore, his first lieutenant, was an English gentleman, who had long served with reputation in the king's service, and had retired to Rathangan, a very pretty village, in which a few respectable families formed a pleasant society. On the approach of the rebels, he and about fifteen of the yeomen infantry, together with a few loyal inhabitants, retreated into the house of Mr. Neal, a quaker, as it was more defensible than his own. They asked him to surrender his arms, having assured him that his person should not be injured.

For some time having refused to comply, Mrs. Spenser, and some more respectable females, went to the front of the house, and on their knees besought him to accept of the terms offered by the rebels; from a conviction that resistance would be vain, and that it would terminate in the destruction of the besieged. They at last acceded to the terms which had been delusively offered; but these amiable females found, alas! that they had been deceived by these blood-hounds, whose cruelty could be equalled by nothing but their treachery; for they murdered every protestant in the house, by leading them into the street, and butchering them with savage  
exultation.



exultation: But it is remarkable, that they did not injure a single papist whom they found there.

They led Mr. Moore about the streets, mocking and insulting him. His wife, who lay-in three days before, had been removed to the house of captain Grattan five or six hours previous to the massacre; and, having conducted him opposite to it, they resolved to assassinate him there, to increase the bitterness of death, and to wound the feelings of his innocent wife, whose sensibility was heightened by the delicacy of her situation; but some of the savages, more humane than the rest, objected to that refinement in cruelty. They then led him to another part of the town, and shot him; and soon after they massacred six protestants who had been in Mr. Neal's house with him; of whom the youngest, of the name of Foster, was but fourteen years old.

One of the Fosters escaped in the following manner: While they were torturing his brother, he rescued himself by main force, darted from them into an adjoining house, closed the door, and got into a little closet under the stairs, where he remained above forty hours, almost double; and when the savage pikemen pursued him, the maid servant humanely said, that he passed through the house, and made his escape; for which instance of humanity she merited the greatest applause, as it might have brought on her the vengeance of the rebels, particularly as she was a Roman catholic.

On the whole, they murdered nineteen protestants in that little village, and some of them with such circumstances of cruelty, as nothing but fanaticism, operating on the most barbarous ignorance, could dictate.

They cut off the arm of Robinson, a carpenter of the protestant persuasion, before they put a period to his existence.

On firing at one Whelan, a protestant, he fell to the ground, and then received many pike wounds; yet he recovered and is still alive. The ruffian who fired at him exclaimed, "There goes a protestant!"

They killed one Coyle a shoemaker, far advanced in years, because he could not cross himself; but on finding him to be a heretic, they compelled him to cross himself as well as he could with his left hand, superstitiously believing, that the doing so would inevitably doom him to eternal damnation.

They

They were inclined to kill Mr. Dawson, a protestant gentleman, who lived at Rathangan; but some of them objected to it, and said, 'He is married to one of us,' meaning a papist.

A woman urged them to kill doctor Bagot, an aged and infirm gentleman, who never denied medical assistance to the poor. One of the rebels objected to it, and said, he is a good man: She replied, 'You should get rid of him; for his children sing 'Croppies, lie down.' However, they led him out to execution, and compelled him to wear a green wreath in his hat; but his wife saved him, by saying, he would be useful in dressing their wounds. There is not a doubt but that he would have shared the fate of the other protestant inhabitants of Rathangan, if they had not hoped to avail themselves of his skill as a surgeon; for, through the course of the rebellion, they were careful of the lives of such persons as were versed in the medical art.

These savages continued all night to express the joy which they felt at their success, by shouts and yells, uttered with barbarous dissonance, and to boast of their achievements in the presence of those persons whose relations they had massacred.

The following expressions were related to me by some ladies of undoubted veracity, who heard them uttered by these cannibals: "We have got rid of our friends, and have sent their souls jumping to hell." "We have at last got what we had a right to, our own county to ourselves,"\* meaning the county of Kildare.

One of them, soon after the murder of Mr. Spenser, asked one of his servants, whether they were all Roman catholics? and on saying they were, the housekeeper excepted, he replied, 'The bitch must be put an end to.'

Lieutenant-colonel Mahon of the 7th dragoon guards, marched to the relief of the town, on Monday the twenty-eighth of May, with a detachment of his regiment, and some yeomen cavalry from Tullamore, which is seventeen miles from Rathangan. Some time before he arrived there, he divided the squadron into two parts, with a view of approaching the town by two different roads, in order to surround the rebels. One party arriving first, passed through it without any molestation, and having joined the

\* The popish multitude are taught to believe, that the protestants have no right to reside in Ireland, or to any property in it.

the other, they returned to see that every thing was right ; but in passing through it, they received a most tremendous fire of musketry from the windows, by which three men were killed, and eleven were wounded ; and six horses were killed, and twelve were wounded. It is surprising that they escaped so well, as the squadron, consisting of eighty, were close together ; but the great dust which they raised prevented them in some measure from being seen. Lieutenant Malone, whose horse was shot under him in the street, became their prisoner, and had a narrow escape, as he was shot through his clothes, and there were many shots in his saddle and holsters. One of the savages was seen to give many stabs of a bayonet to one of the dragoon horses which lay dead in the streets ; and every time he repeated them, exclaimed, " Take that, protestant ! "

On Monday morning one James Curry, a leader of them, and supposed to be a muster master, cried out in the streets, " What is become of the boys of Coolelan and Ballinure ? \* damn them, stick them to the heart, for not joining us. " The savages swore vehemently that they would do so ; and said, we are the boys that will do their business. That villain was between sixty and seventy ; he was hanged in two hours after.

They fired up into the steeple of the church, supposing that Wilson the sexton was there ; but he lay concealed in a hay loft, and eluded their savage fury.

On Sunday, one of their leaders, mounted on Mr. Spenser's horse with all his accoutrements, arrived at Rathangan ; and after haranguing them some time, said, " Let there be no more bloodshed, as we have got possession of the castle and the barrack of Dublin. "

They frequently boasted of the murders they had committed. A young man having declared vauntingly, in the presence of Mrs. Watson, that he killed captain Moore, and committed other barbarities ; she, who is a quaker, and has much religious fortitude, exclaimed : " Oh ! thou wretch ! If thou art so great a monster at thy age, what must thy father be ? "

On Monday afternoon, the city of Cork militia under colonel Longfield, with a detachment of dragoons, and two field-pieces, approached Rathangan. The rebels shewed the utmost terror and consternation ; some were for giving battle, others for abandoning the town ; one was heard

to

\* Two town-lands in the county of Kildare. The inhabitants of every town-land were regularly enrolled and registered.



to say, "Thank God, I heard three masses yesterday!" A large party of them called out for holy water; and having obtained it, retired to Mrs. Pym's yard, went on their knees, and were sprinkled with it.

Lieutenant-colonel Longfield having appeared at some distance from the town, the rebels sent a man on horseback, with a flag of truce, towards him; and major Millar having advanced to meet him, received a letter from him for the commanding officer; importing that they would instantly put Mr. Malone their prisoner, to death, if the king's troops did not retire; but the colonel, disregarding their menace, advanced precipitately, after having fired some discharges of round shot at the town, which dislodged the rebels, and put them to flight; and such was their confusion, that they fled without injuring Mr. Malone.

Colonel Longfield obtained ample vengeance for the death of the loyalists, having killed in the attack and the pursuit between fifty and sixty rebels, and hung some of their leaders, who fell into his hands; among whom was Molloy, Mr. Spenser's renegade lieutenant.

They were on the point of hanging one Keogh, a glazier, who had been active among the rebels at Mr. Spenser's house. Having pleaded that he was compelled by force to join them, they spared his life; but obliged him to execute those whom they sentenced to death.

When the military appeared, the rebels had begun to strip the lead from the roof of the church, for the purpose of making bullets; and then they intended to have burned it.

Doorley owned afterwards, that in one day more they would have put all the protestant women and children to death, if the king's troops had not arrived; and there is every reason to think so, as their fanatical fury, inflamed by constant ebriety, had fermented to a very high pitch.

The barbarous treatment of Michael Shenstone, a protestant, deserves to be circumstantially related. He was led into the street, with the other unfortunate protestants, and received eighteen stabs of pikes.

A woman of the name of Farrel, who was infamously active in this sanguinary business, informed them, that they did not know how to kill orangemen; on which a ruffian stepped forward, and trampled on the dead and dying. He then put a pistol close to Shenstone's head, and the ball entering near the ear, came out under the eye, having fractured the cheek-bone in a most shocking manner. In some hours after he was put

into a cart with the bodies of seventeen protestants who had been murdered, and was conveyed to the church-yard to be interred; but some alarm preventing it, he remained among the dead that night. Next morning, at the intercession of some of the rebels, his body was delivered to his wife, by whose care and proper medicinal assistance he recovered, and regained the use of his limbs. These facts were related to me by a gentleman who saw Shenstone soon after; and they have been verified by his affidavit, sworn before Oliver Nelson, a magistrate, and by Mr. Bayly, curate of Rathangan, and Mr. Pym, his landlord.

I shall mention here an incident, which throws great light on the spirit of the conspiracy and rebellion, and the secret designs of the great body of the rebels. One Dennis, an apothecary and a protestant, was the county delegate, and the chief conductor of the plot in the King's county,\* which was to have exploded in a few days; but the wanton massacre of protestants at Prosperous and Rathangan having convinced him that their extirpation was the main object of the Romanists, though they had with singular dissimulation concealed it from him, who was their leader, he repaired to Tullamore to general Dunn, who commanded in that district, threw himself on the mercy of government, exposed the whole plot, and the names of the captains, who were immediately arrested. He said to the general, "I see, sir, that it will soon be my own fate."

#### ATTACK ON KILCULLEN.†

For a fortnight or three weeks previous to the twenty-third of May, the rebels continued to take oaths of allegiance, and to obtain protections, in consequence of having surrendered pikes and muskets, which they did to the number of between ten and fifteen thousand, to general Dundas, who resided at Castlemartin, within half a mile of Kilcullen-bridge. In consequence of this, the civil magistrates, and the officers, were thoroughly convinced that the disaffected had completely renounced their rebellious designs.

A person assured me, that he rode alone on the morning of the twenty-third of May, from Tallagh-hill to Kilcullen-bridge, without seeing any persons on the roads or in the fields; and yet at four o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Robert Douglass of Gormanstown, came into Kilcullen, and informed the garrison, that about three hundred rebels had assem-

bled

\* See Plate I. 7.

† Ibid.

bled at the Rath of Gilltown the preceding night ; and that he was very well informed, that they meant in a large body to attack the town, and to take general Dundas prisoner by surprise. In consequence of this intelligence, patrols were sent to all the avenues leading to the town, and the army and the yeomanry were ordered to be in readiness.

At half past eight, two of captain Latouche's corps, John Farange and Hugh Gribbin, were sent express to Ballymore-eustace, to apprise the garrison there of the rising. About midway, they fell in with five hundred pikemen, at a sudden turn of the road. They knocked Gribbin off his horse, and gave him several stabs of pikes ; however he is since recovered. Farange returned, and entered the town, crying aloud, " To arms ! "

About twelve o'clock, a prisoner was brought in, who, on being whipped, confessed, that the rebels were at that time on the point of attacking Naas.

The town remained quiet till seven next morning, when general Dundas ordered forty cavalry of the 9th dragoons, and the Romneys, and twenty-two of the Suffolk fencibles, commanded by captain Beale, whose conduct merited the highest praise, to proceed to Old Kilcullen, where the rebels were assembled. Three hundred of them were strongly entrenched in the church-yard, which was defended on one side by a high wall ; on the other, by a quickset hedge, with a dyke before it.

General Dundas ordered the Romneys and the 9th dragoons to charge the rebels, though it was up-hill, though the ground was broken, and many of the rebels were in a road close to the church-yard, in which not more than six of the cavalry could advance in front.

They however charged with great spirit, though their destruction was considered by all the spectators to be the certain and inevitable consequence of it ; for what could cavalry do, thus broken and divided, against a firm phalanx of rebels, armed with very long pikes ; nevertheless, they made three charges, but were repulsed in each ; and at every repulse the general urged them to renew the attack.

It was with the utmost difficulty that captain Cooks and captain Erskine could prevail upon their men to renew the charge, after the first defeat. In the last charge, captain Cooks, to inspire his men with courage by his example, advanced some yards before them ; when his horse having



received many wounds, fell upon his knees ; and while in that situation, the body of that brave officer was perforated with pikes ; and he, captain Erkine, and twenty-two privates, were killed on the spot, and ten so badly wounded, that most of them died soon after.

Had general Dundas waited for the arrival of twenty-two of the Suffolk fencibles, who were advancing, and joined them in a very short time, that affair would have had a more fortunate issue.

Captain Beale, who commanded the Suffolk fencibles, with great coolness advanced within thirty yards of the rebels, broke and dispersed them with one well-directed volley, every shot having taken place.

General Dundas, defeated at Old Kilcullen, retired with his little force to the village of Kilcullen-bridge, where he halted for some time ; but the rebels, elate with their success, determined to follow up their victory with vigour, and knowing that they could not hope to force the strong and narrow pass of Kilcullen-bridge, defended by regular troops, they took a circuitous route, and fording the Liffey a little below Castle-martin, marched up to the Turnpike-hill, and took a position between Kilcullen and Naas,\* with intent to cut off general Dundas and his forces from the possibility of retreating.

The general upon this occasion put himself at the head of twenty-seven Suffolk fencible infantry, his cavalry in the rear, and marched boldly up to the rebels, whose success had increased their numbers to many thousands.

The rebels were drawn up in a regular line, three deep, with three stands of green colours. They began the attack by firing four rounds, accompanied with loud shouts. They were broken and dispersed by the second or third discharge of the Suffolk fencibles ; on which the cavalry charged, routed them, and killed great numbers in the pursuit.

Mr. Latouche's corps made a distinguished figure in this affair, in which three hundred rebels were killed.

After the engagement, general Dundas abandoned Kilcullen, and marched to Naas, for the purpose of concentrating the forces under his command, as near the metropolis as possible ; having well-grounded apprehensions, that it would be attacked by the enemy in great force.

Soon after the general marched from Kilcullen, the rebels plundered all the houses of the protestants in it and its vicinity, and murdered such  
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\* Fourteen miles to the south of Dublin, Plate I. 7.

of the inhabitants as could not make their escape. They killed quarter-master King of the 9th dragoons, a man seventy years old, who remained behind in the town; and two dragoons of the same regiment, who guarded the reverend doctor Cramer's house, were treacherously murdered by some wretches who were drinking with them. They piked out one eye of a Mrs. Burchell, aged ninety; they also assassinated some wounded soldiers who had been left in the town, and a Mr. John Cheney at Donard. All the protestants near Kilcullen, who were so fortunate as to escape from the savage rebels, fled to Naas, where they remained some days in the utmost distress.

On the twenty-fifth of May, the house of the reverend Henry Annesley of Newpark, was surrounded by a party of rebels, headed by one Hetherington of Kildare, who, after taking a plentiful repast, and plundering it of provisions and various articles, set fire to it, and eight out-offices, which were soon consumed.

One of the leaders of this party was Laurence Byrne, a blacksmith, who lived under and was kindly protected by Mr. Annesley's family, at Ballyfax. This ruffian made several attempts to stab him with a pike, but was prevented. He repaired the same evening to Ballyfax, with a cocked pistol, and compelled Mr. Annesley and his nephew to go to Knockallin camp.

All the protestant clergy in the county of Kildare, except one,\* were obliged to fly from their houses.

On Saturday the twenty-sixth of May, the houses of Mr. Eyre Lindsay, Mr. David Burchell, and Mr. John Jones, all protestants, were burnt near Ballyfax.

There were six rebel encampments in the county of Kildare;† one at Knockallin near Old Kilcullen, one at Barnhill near Kildare, one at Hodgestown, one at Hortland, one at Redgap, and one at Timahoe.

On Saturday the twenty-sixth of May, a rebel army, above three thousand in number, composed for the greater part of those that had been stationed at Knockallin and Barnhill, sent a deputation to general Dundas, to signify that they would surrender their arms, and return to their respective houses, provided their prisoners that were taken were liberated; but he refused these terms. They then offered an unconditional

surrender.

\* The peculiarity of his connections protected him. † Plate I. 7.

surrender; but he hesitated to negotiate with them without the sanction of government.

General Lake having been sent to him by lord Camden, the two generals received their arms and their submission, and granted them pardon; yet the greater part of them joined their friends in their different camps in the county of Kildare, with the protections of those generals in their pockets; and others repaired to the county of Wexford, to join their fellow traitors there.

It is universally allowed, that this negotiation of general Dundas with the rebels, though well intended, produced the worst effects; for it made them elate and insolent, by shewing them that treason might be committed with impunity; and it encouraged them in the commission of murder and rapine for two years after, which will appear in the sequel.

General sir James Duff, quartered in Limerick, having heard that the insurrection was very general and terrifick, infomuch as to threaten the metropolis, and to obstruct all the roads leading to it, marched from Limerick with two light six-pounders, seventy of lord Roden's fencible cavalry, and two hundred and fifty of the city of Dublin regiment of militia. They were joined on their route by about two hundred of the South Cork regiment of militia, and their two battalion guns; and by about fifty of the 4th dragoon guards, and a party of gallant yeomen. They arrived at Kildare by forced marches in forty-eight hours, and then repaired to a place called the Gibit Rath, where the rebels were posted in a Danish fort.

General Wilford had been deputed by general Dundas to receive their submission; but, unfortunately for that body of rebels, sir James Duff arrived there half an hour before him.

The general, on his arrival there, after having disposed his army in order of battle, sent a serjeant and twelve of the cavalry to the rebels, to desire they would quietly surrender their arms; but they wantonly and without provocation fired on the king's troops, of whom they killed one, and wounded three; but ample vengeance was soon obtained; for above three hundred and fifty of the rebels were killed, and several wounded by lord Jocelyn's fencible cavalry, who fell in with them pell mell; so that the artillery and infantry were unable to act without the risque of destroying their friends.

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The reverend Mr. Williamfon, a protestant clergyman, not being able to make his escape, from the suddenness of the infurrection, would have fallen a victim to rebel fury, but that he was humanely protected by Mr. Nowlan the parish priest. Being at the mercy of the rebels, he was compelled by them to go to meet general Duff, accompanied by Mr. Nowlan, to inform him that the rebels of Kildare had obtained the royal mercy, on condition of surrendering their arms, and returning to their allegiance; but the troops not knowing them, and suspecting their sincerity, would have hanged them, but that colonel Sankey, brother-in-law of Mr. Williamfon, arrived and undeceived them.

Next day, sir James Duff, having received information that a large body of rebels were encamped at Blackmore-hill, whither great numbers of those pardoned by general Dundas had repaired with their protections in their pockets, he marched to attack them; and by a few discharges of artillery they were routed, and a good many of them were killed.

No praise can equal the merit of sir James Duff, and his gallant little army; for in forty-eight hours they marched seventy miles without halting. At Kildare, they found the murdered bodies of honest Crawford, of his innocent granddaughter, and of the gallant young Giffard, who preferred death to dishonour, and whom they interred with military honours.

It is to be lamented that the disaffection of the popish yeomanry of the county of Kildare was highly disgraceful.

Of a corps of fifty yeomen cavalry at Castledermot,\* there were but five who were not implicated in the rebellion; and their lieutenant, Mr. Daniel Caulfield, was committed by government.

A neighbouring corps of yeomanry, called the Sleumarigue, under the command of Mr. Bambrick, with great modesty gave up their arms, conscious of the improper engagements they had made with the united Irishmen.

A protestant corps of the same name, formed under the command of Mr. Gerald Fitzgerald, have rendered the most effectual service to their country.

A well-mounted corps of fifty yeomen, called the Athy cavalry, were raised under the command of Thomas Fitzgerald, esquire, of Geraldine, whose commander was committed to the castle of Dublin, where he remained a close prisoner for some months; and soon after his arrest,

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\* Plate I. 2.

the corps were disarmed publicly, in the market square of Athy, for disaffection.

An attempt was made to admit such as were without censure, into the loyal corps of Ballylinan, commanded by Steward Weldon, esquire; but very few were found eligible.

All the Roman catholicks in the Rathangan corps joined the rebels. Molloy their lieutenant, and several more were hanged; many were pardoned under the proclamation, and others of them absconded.

In the North Naas corps, there were so many implicated in the rebellion, that but very few except protestants could be depended on to do duty. There was very great defection among the popish yeomen of the Furnace corps.

Though the Clane corps were sixty-six strong, such disaffection prevailed among the Roman catholick yeomen, that but twenty-four mustered on the twenty-fourth of May.

#### ATTACK ON CARLOW.\*

The mail coach from Dublin always reached Carlow in the morning about eight o'clock; and, as its not arriving on the morning of Thursday the twenty-fourth of May was to be the signal for rising there and in its vicinity, the rebels could not make their intended attack on that town till the morning of the twenty-fifth.

About two o'clock on that morning they assembled in great force, mostly from Grange, Hacketstown, Tullow, † Leighlin, ‡ and that part of the country between Rathvilly and Borris, § headed by one Roach a farmer. They gave a most dreadful yell as soon as they entered the town, where they were joined by most of the lower class of the popish inhabitants, and numbers of people who had been secretly coming into it the whole of the preceding day and night. They marched, in number about two thousand, through Tullow-street, till they arrived at the potatoe market, where their progress was interrupted by two sentinels posted at the collector's door, and a loyal protestant who joined them; and they, by a constant and well-directed fire, defeated their design of uniting with the Queen's county rebels, (who were to have met them at Graigue-bridge) and drove them across the potatoe market towards the gaol, where two sentinels, with equal spirit, checked them in their career, and forced them to retreat through Bridewell-lane, towards the court-house; where  
having

\* Plate I. 3, and II. 1. † Plate II. 1, 2. ‡ Ibid. 3, 4. § Ibid. 7.

having received a few shots from the house of a loyal protestant, they cried out that they were surrounded by the soldiers, threw down their arms, and, in the greatest consternation, endeavoured to retreat by the road through which they had at first advanced; but, fearing to meet the army in that direction, numbers of them retired into the houses in Tullow-street, which it is believed were inhabited by their associates; for when the soldiers set fire to them, to make the rebels bolt, there was not a woman or child in any of them. Some rushed out through the flames, and were shot or bayoneted; others remained in the houses till they were consumed. The other miscreants who had taken different routes, were shot by the loyal inhabitants from their windows; and such of them as escaped, were pursued and killed by the soldiers and yeomanry; so that the streets, the roads, and fields contiguous to the town, were strewed with carcases. That evening, and all next day, nineteen carts were constantly employed in conveying the dead bodies to the other side of Graigue-bridge, where four hundred and seventeen bodies were buried in three gravel-pits, and covered with quick lime. On the whole, it was believed, that no less than six hundred of the unfortunate wretches perished, including those who were consumed in the houses, and those who fell in the roads and fields, and were secretly interred by their friends.

The Queen's county rebels were to have met, and joined those of the county of Carlow, at Graigue-bridge; but having heard that there were two pieces of cannon posted there, they changed their route; and, headed by one Redmond, and one Brennan, who had been a yeoman, they burned some protestant houses in the village of Ballyckmoiler, and attacked the house of the reverend John Whitty, a protestant clergyman, near Arles, about five miles from Carlow; but it was bravely defended, by himself and eleven protestants, who kept up a constant fire, killed twenty-one rebels, and baffled all their attempts to storm or burn it. The conflict continued from three till six o'clock in the morning; when Mr. Whitty's ammunition being nearly expended, he sent two of his party to a neighbour to borrow more; but they were surrounded and overpowered after a gallant defence. The corpse of one of them, whom they killed, was mangled in a barbarous manner. They left the other, whose name was Impey, supposing him to be dead; but he afterwards recovered: He sought for a draught of water from some persons who were present, but they would not relieve him, till he asked for a



priest, and then they supplied him with it. This party was first informed, by emissaries from Carlow, that their friends were successful, and had got possession of the barrack; on which they felt a degree of joy equal to madness, but it was only the delusion of a moment; for the dismay which they felt, on hearing the fate of their friends was such, as to check their sanguinary design of immolating an unfortunate protestant, whom they were on the point of shooting.

Richard Waters, a member of Mr. Rochfort's corps of yeomanry, fell into their hands; and they had him for some time on his knees, ready for execution, when an account of the defeat of the rebels at Carlow arrived. He, taking advantage of the panick which it produced, recommended to them to surrender their arms, and throw themselves on the mercy of government; and his exhortation not only produced the desired effect, but saved his life.\*

The barony of Carbery, in the county of Kildare, and part of the adjacent country, including considerable portions of the counties of Meath, and the King's county, were dreadfully agitated, so early as the beginning of the year 1795, by the defenders, who continued almost without intermission, till the rebellion broke out, to levy money, to plunder of arms the houses of protestants, and often to murder their inhabitants; and this in some instances at noon day.

About the hour of twelve o'clock at night, on the sixth of May, 1797, they attacked the Charter-school at Castlecarberry, in great numbers, broke all the windows, fired many hundred shots into it, and attempted to force open the door; but were repulsed with the loss, it is said, of twenty men killed. The number who fell could not be well ascertained, as they carried off the dead bodies. They assumed the title of united Irishmen, some time in the year 1796.

On the thirtieth of May, 1798, about two thousand of them, headed by one Cafey, attacked and burned the same charter-school, after having plundered all the property of Mr. Sparks, the master, which was considerable. This man, remarkable for his humanity and tenderness to the children under his care, was peculiarly the object of their vengeance, on  
account

\* In a former edition of this work, I made some observations on the principles of sir Edward Croftie; but having been assured by some respectable persons that I was mistaken, I now acknowledge my error.

account of the vigorous defence which he had made the preceding year. The school had been defended by a party of fencibles, till the twenty-fourth of May, 1798; and when they were withdrawn, Mr. Sparks and his family were obliged to abandon it; and the children took refuge in the bog of Allen, and in some neighbouring cabins.

The day before the charter-school was burnt, the parish priest told some of the children, and an old woman who attended them, that they need not be under apprehensions that night; and that, at all events, they (meaning the children) would not be molested. The charter-school, as a protestant institution, was peculiarly the object of hatred to the insurgents, who were exclusively of the popish religion.

In consequence of the increasing outrages of the country, and the well-grounded belief, that a general insurrection would soon take place, lieutenant Tyrrell, commanding the Clonard cavalry, in the absence of Mr. John Tyrrell, its captain, then in England, received an official letter on the tenth of May, ordering his corps on permanent duty at Clonard,† four miles from Carbery.

Mr. Thomas Tyrrell, at that time high sheriff of the county, finding his house at Kilreny, a mile and a half from Clonard, indefensible; and as his noted loyalty and activity had made him obnoxious, he removed his family to the house of his kinsman, Mr. John Tyrrell, at Clonard; which he fortified, and where he kept a guard of one serjeant and eighteen men, who were relieved every week.

About the same time, captain O'Ferrall, of the Ballina cavalry, mounted a permanent guard at Johnstown; but as there were strong apprehensions of a general insurrection, he was permitted to join the guard at Clonard every night for protection, and returned every morning at four o'clock to Johnstown.

At last, the outrages and atrocities increased to such an alarming degree, that lieutenant Tyrrell repaired to Dublin, and applied to lord Castlereagh for a reinforcement of regular troops. His lordship assured him, that, from the peculiar state of the country, government could not comply with his request; but recommended to him to raise some supplementaries among the protestants of the country, and told him that they should be supplied with arms and ammunition.

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During

† See Plate I. 6. and 7.

During this representation to administration, the rebels burned the protestant charter-school at Carbery, and several houses of protestants in it and its vicinity. They then proceeded towards Johnstown, burning all the protestant houses they met with in their progress, which terminated at Gurteen, where they plundered and burned the house of Mr. Metcalf.

Mr. Barlow, second lieutenant of the Clonard corps, marched out with part of his guard, and being joined by captain O'Ferrall, pursued the rebels to Gurteen; but finding they were posted behind hedges, at each side of the road, which was so deep and so narrow, that the cavalry, tho' exposed to the enemy's fire, could not deploy, or make any offensive or defensive operations, they were under the necessity of retiring.

On the thirtieth of May, Mr. Tyrrell arrived from Dublin, and next day enrolled and armed nineteen well-affected protestants, to act as infantry. By this time the rebels had collected in very great numbers, and encamped on an island in the bog of Timahoe,\* and at Mucklin and Drihid; and for some time they continued to plunder the houses of all the protestants in the neighbourhood, and carried off all the horses and cattle they could find; and even intercepted the supplies of oxen and sheep which were going from remote counties to the capital.

Government having received intelligence of these enormities, sent general Champagne, on the fifth of June, to consult with lieutenant Tyrrell, who was well-acquainted with the country, on the best and most feasible mode of attacking the enemy's camp. General Champagne was escorted to Edenderry by lieutenant Tyrrell; but finding no troops there, he sent an express to Philipstown, to order a party from thence to attack the enemy; and they arrived at Edenderry on the evening of the seventh of May; and on the next day, the general, having arranged his plan of operation, proceeded to attack the enemy with the following forces: A detachment of the Limerick militia, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Gough; the Coolestown yeomanry cavalry, by captain Wakely; the Canal Legion, by lieutenant Adam Williams; the Clonard cavalry, by lieutenant Tyrrell; and the Ballina cavalry, by captain O'Ferrall.

The

\* A gentleman who was prisoner with them, informed me, that he saw a priest there, who encouraged the rebels to persist in the rebellion, by assuring them, that all the people in Connaught were in a state of insurrection.



The general disposed the cavalry so as to surround the bog, while the infantry attacked the camp, which was on an island in it. The contest lasted for some time, as the number of infantry was but small; however, their valour amply compensated the paucity of their numbers; for the Limerick, led on by the gallant colonel Gough, and ably supported by the Canal Legion, commanded by lieutenant Williams, at last forced the camp, and dispersed the rebels; of whom great numbers were cut off, in their flight, by the cavalry.

Lieutenant Tyrrell having received information that a numerous body of rebels had taken post on a hill near his house of Kilreny, where they were committing depredations and various enormities, went to Kinnegad himself for the troops quartered there, and sent an express for those who were stationed at Edenderry, to co-operate with them.

The following troops assembled on the thirtieth of June, and attacked the rebels, who, to the number of six hundred, were posted on Foxes-hill: A detachment of the Limerick, the Coolestown, the Canal Legion, and a small party of the Northumberland fencibles. The rebels were soon routed with considerable slaughter; and one Casey, their commander, his brother, and another leader, were killed, and their bodies were exposed for some days at Edenderry.

Casey had been principally concerned in the atrocities committed at Rathangan; the uniform great coat of Mr. Spenser, and the boots of Mr. Semple, a yeoman, murdered there, having been found upon him.

Lieutenant Tyrrell entertained the most sanguine expectations that such decisive advantages against the rebels would have restored peace and tranquillity; but the arrival of four thousand Wexford rebels in the county of Kildare, commanded by general Perry, and one Kearns, a popish priest, blasted all his hopes, and spread desolation in the country which he was appointed to defend. I shall postpone a description of their progress and operations, till I have mentioned their defeat in the county of Wexford.

The following anecdote will shew the reader to what a state of debasement the popish multitude were reduced by the sanguinary and fanatical principles which were constantly infused into their minds, to prepare them for the approaching insurrection and rebellion: John North, of Nurney, in the county of Kildare, a fellow of mean parentage, and plebeian

beian manners, married a handsome young woman of the name of Carrol, of the protestant religion, and respectably connected; but whose distresses compelled her to make so disagreeable and unequal a connection. Being a bigotted papist, and of a ferocious disposition, he became an enthusiast in the cause of the united Irishmen, and gradually contracted an envenomed hatred against his wife, on account of her religion; insomuch, that he used constantly to beat her with great cruelty, and to reproach her with the appellation of heretick; and his relations, harbouring an inveterate aversion towards her for the same reason, would not suffer her to suckle her only child, a new-born infant. At last, impelled by fanaticism, he attempted to murder her with a knife, and would have effected it, but that his mother, on her knees, deprecated his anger.

He kept an inferior kind of publick house, which was the rendezvous of all the rebels of the adjacent country; particularly of one Prendergast, a priest, who was hanged at Monastereven, on the breaking-out of the rebellion. As she heard them at their nightly meetings forming treasonable plots, and expressing their determination to destroy all hereticks, she was kept in a constant state of terror.

At last she found, among his papers, a letter from a rebel captain, advising him to kill her, and to bury her in an adjacent fallow field; on which she fled, and repaired to her relations in the county of Wicklow.

Soon after, this ruffian having a quarrel with a protestant yeoman of the name of Crofs, a challenge took place, and the combatants agreed to decide it with pistols. North fired first, and missed his antagonist, on which Crofs desired him to beg his life; but he swore he never would do so of an orangeman; on which Crofs fired and killed him.

#### ATTACK UPON KILCOCK.

The day after the rebels surrendered their arms at Knockallin to general Dundas, a party of them, encamped at Timahoe, sent their delegate the reverend father Murphy, a priest, to sir Fenton Aylmer, posted at that time at Kilcock, with the Donadea cavalry which he commanded, consisting of one captain, one lieutenant, three serjeants, and thirty privates, for the purpose of assuring him of their penitence, and their determination of surrendering their arms; and to request that he would go to their camp, which he might do with the utmost safety, as they had the

the greatest respect and regard for him: He, agreeable to their desire, having gone there, accompanied by one friend, and escorted by two dragoons, had a long conference with their leaders; and in consequence of the strong assurance of their pacific disposition, and of an ardent desire to return to their allegiance, he repaired first to general Dundas, and afterwards to lord Camden, to obtain an amnesty for them.

While sir Fenton Aylmer was conferring with the rebel chiefs in their camp, his friend perceived two of the inferior rebels steal behind a hedge, and present their muskets at him; on which he told the leaders, that he and his friend would instantly shoot them, if the assassins did not immediately desist: on which the chieftains made an apology, and said it was done without their knowledge. They then, at their instance, accompanied them to a place about a mile from the camp; and as a proof of their sincerity, they observed, that they had no arms; but they no sooner arrived there than they saw six rebels with their muskets, going behind a hedge, to shoot at them.

Notwithstanding his exertions to serve them, they treacherously made an attack on him at Kilcock, with their whole force stationed at Timahoe, which is seven miles distant, on the Monday following; saying, "That all they wanted was the bloody sir Fenton Aylmer, and Michael Aylmer his lieutenant, and their bloody Orange crew."

One of his videts having informed him of their approach, he advanced with his corps, with an intention of charging them; but perceiving their great superiority of numbers, he founded a retreat, after having narrowly escaped being surrounded by them.

The rebels, after entering the town, searched every recess, and every chimney in the inn, for him and his officers.

Sir Fenton Aylmer then fell back, and joined a small corps of yeomen infantry, commanded by captain Jones, about a mile at the other side of the town, determined to give them battle.

On taking his ground, which was in sir Percy Gethin's lawn, he found, to his mortification, that the infantry had retreated, and that all his corps, except fourteen who were protestants, had deserted him; the remainder, who were Romanists, not being able, as they said, to mount their horses in the hurry, remained behind; and the rebels were so friendly to them, that they only deprived them of their arms, without offering them any injury.

The



The papists in captain Jones's corps retired to their respective houses, in the same manner, without being molested by the enemy. The rebels then burned the house of Joseph Robinson, a protestant, an active constable, and clerk of the parish church of Donadea, then the barrack, and afterwards Courtown, the seat of lieutenant Aylmer; swearing at the same time, that they would burn the house of every bloody protestant. They afterwards proceeded to Donadea, to burn the house of sir Fenton Aylmer, but were diverted from doing so, by being informed that their own friends had lodged many valuable articles in it for safe custody; but they gave orders to have them removed, that they might execute their malignant purpose. But having been engaged in some other enterprize, they fortunately forgot it.

Nicholas Newenham, one of sir Fenton's videts at Kilcock, having, from excessive zeal, advanced too far, was taken prisoner by the rebels, and was a witness of the destruction of his father's house, close to Donadea, which they burnt, because he was a protestant; for they publickly announced their determination to destroy the property of every person of that persuasion.

Having led young Newenham to their camp, they compelled him to dig his own grave; and during five or six days they carried him often to the brink of it, and threatened to throw him in and bury him alive; and whenever they did so, they compelled him to say his prayers at the edge of it; and while performing his devotion, they mocked his religion, and cursed him, as a heretick; at last one of them, more humane than the rest, shot him, threw his body into the grave, and covered it lightly with earth.

These facts have been substantiated by the affidavits of different rebels, who afterwards obtained their pardon.

About a month after, as sir Fenton Aylmer was coming to Kilcock with fourteen dragoons, he was way-laid near Clane, and had a narrow escape, as the hedges were thickly lined with rebels. Very fortunately for him, he had an advanced guard, consisting of four men, of whom they killed three, which alarmed them, and enabled them to make their retreat to Sallins. One of the advanced guard was Archibald Noble, a protestant, and late of the Fermanagh militia, noted for his courage and loyalty; and such was their hatred towards him, that they fired  
the

the instant they saw him, by which the remainder of the party were saved.

William Aylmer, a rebel general, declared afterwards, that he should have cut off the whole of them by the ambush which he had laid, but that he could not restrain the impetuosity of his men.

Next day they lay in wait a second time for him and his party.

Of eighteen papists in sir Fenton Aylmer's corps, eleven deserted on Sunday the eleventh of June, 1798, with their full arms and accoutrements. The other seven that remained faithful, were officers servants, or persons who immediately depended on protestant gentlemen for their subsistence.

A respectable protestant clergyman was taken prisoner, and conveyed to the camp at Timahoe, where he saw a priest haranguing the rebels; and he assured them that they must succeed, as all the people in Connaught were up and under arms.

#### INSURRECTIONS IN THE COUNTRY NEAR ATHY AND NARRAGHMORE, AND COUNTY OF KILDARE.

On the seventeenth of March, 1798, John Glennan, a protestant, was murdered near the Moat of Ardsclull; and a few days after, John Lucas, parish clerk at Narraghmore, a man far advanced in years, was decoyed out of his house by his brother-in-law, and assassinated.

These atrocities, and the constant robbery of protestant houses of arms, alarmed the loyalists so much, that they invited Mr. Rawson, of Glasfealy near Athy, to command them; and he was soon at the head of one hundred and forty men, steady in support of their king and country. By their active exertions and the discoveries that were made under the direction of that excellent officer general Campbell, the leaders of insurrection were speedily apprehended in the vicinity of Athy. Many hardened rebels fought for chieftains in more distant parts, and several hundreds acknowledged their crimes and surrendered their pikes.

Colonel Keating, a most active magistrate and intelligent officer, perceiving that the storm was gathering, raised sixty yeomen cavalry and twenty infantry for the preservation of the peace; and it is to be lamented, that the Roman catholick members of those corps, with few exceptions, proved afterwards to be disaffected; and that many of them, in violation of their oaths of allegiance, turned their arms against their king and country.

This amiable gentleman went to the different popish chapels, and frequently exhorted the multitude to renounce their treasonable designs, and to return to their allegiance; but finding all his efforts fruitless, he left the country in despair; an ill-fated event for the neighbourhood where he resided! for, had he remained, his good sense would have contributed much to avert the storm which hung over the county of Kildare.

In the month of January, 1798, captain Rawson, to undeceive and conciliate the people, published addresses at all the chapels in his neighbourhood, of which see a copy in Appendix, No. XV. and for this, his noted loyalty, and his active exertions as a magistrate, he was condemned by a committee of assassination, which sat in his vicinity; and the ruffian who made an attempt on the life of Mr. Darragh, having been employed to murder him, lay in wait for him at different times, in a shrubbery near his house, and would have assassinated him, but that he was fortunately attended by his son, who was armed.

On the memorable twenty-fourth of May, an express arrived from Dunlavin to general Campbell, and intelligence was brought to captain Rawson, that the popish multitude were in a state of insurrection on every side, and the protestant inhabitants of Narraghmore requested to know what measures they were to take for their protection. The general sent an express to Dunlavin, with directions how to proceed; and captain Rawson sent another to Narraghmore, with orders to the loyalists to fall back on Glaskealy, with an assurance that a party would soon go to their assistance; but both the expresses were murdered by the way; and such of the unfortunate protestants of Narraghmore as could not effect their escape, remained in the village, without any assistance.

General Campbell sent a detachment of the Suffolk fencibles, under the command of major Montrefor, by Glaskealy, to the assistance of the Narraghmore loyalists, whilst he went with another towards Mulloghmast-hill.

Early in the day, James Murphy of the water-works, as principal in command, with a number of rebel captains, collected the whole country, men, women, and children; in short, every one capable of bearing a pike; and they, with their united force, proceeded to attack the village of Narraghmore. Nine loyalists, who retired into the court-house, successfully resisted them for two hours, and at last beat them off.

John Jefferies, the permanent yeoman serjeant of the Narraghmore corps, having a house with much property, which he wished to defend, imprudently



imprudently led his little party into it. The routed rebels were met by Daniel Walsh, a traitorous yeoman of that corps, who has been since deservedly hanged; and he rallied, and brought them back to the attack. Jefferies's house being soon set on fire, the loyalists parleyed, and the rebels promised that their lives should be spared, provided they surrendered their arms; but the instant they came forth, the pikemen fell to butcher them. No less than six traitors were stabbing together at Thomas Young; but the clashing of their pikes, and the confusion which arose from their eagerness to shed his blood, having suspended his fate for a moment, Fitzpatrick, one of the traitors of the Narraghmore corps, cried out to the pikemen to clear his way; and he instantly blew out the brains of his fellow soldier, with the musket which he had received to serve his king and country; he then seized a pike, and transfixed the body to the ground, crying out, "That's the way to kill a heretick!"

Thomas Alcock, and Moses Borroughs, an old man of eighty years, (whose venerable locks should have protected him,) were next inhumanly butchered. The other six were reserved to be hanged in the adjoining wood of Narraghmore. The rebels then set fire to every protestant house in the town, in which the women were particularly active. On their retiring, the mangled body of poor old Borroughs was seen by Fitzpatrick, who thrust a pike into it, and pitched it into a dyke of water, exclaiming, "Fogh! I smell a protestant carrion."

This barbarian was apprehended by the Athy loyalists, tried by a court-martial, executed on the spot where he had committed some of his enormities, and his head is now on the gaol of Athy. In his last moments he declared that he died innocent.

Lieutenant Eadie of the Tyrone militia, who had been stationed for some months at Ballytore, was ordered, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, to join his company at Calverstown. Having proceeded with twenty-three privates, by Narraghmore, he received a pressing invitation there to breakfast, which was very unfortunate, as by that delay he was prevented from arriving in time to save the lives of the loyalists.

He had not proceeded far with his party, when he heard the shouts of the savages, exulting over their victims, as they conveyed them for execution.

Lieutenant Eadie placed his men behind a low wall, and when the savages came within thirty yards, gave them a volley, which killed many of them.

The savages fled, leaving all their prisoners, save Jefferies and William Ashe, behind them. They were rallied and brought back to the fight, by a heroine, whose spirit and animation would have immortalized her name in a good cause.

In their turn, the rebels attacked lieutenant Eadie's little party, for many hours; he kept on the defensive, until at length he completely routed his foes, taking the heroine prisoner. She was stripped of her riding-coat and cap; and, lieutenant Eadie, either admiring her bravery or beauty, gave her her liberty.

The rebels, after their defeat by lieutenant Eadie, retreated to Ballytore, where they gained a reinforcement of many thousands; and, attributing their want of success to irreligion, they formed in the street, knelt down, and compelled Mr. Cullen, the parish priest, to give them his blessing. Then, headed by Redmond Murphy, and Malachy Delany, two rebel leaders, they broke into a house where lieutenant Yeates, the son of a respectable magistrate of the neighbourhood, was prisoner, butchered his body in a most cruel manner, and threw it into the streets to be devoured by pigs. They then murdered a poor travelling soldier, who had sought protection in the house of Mr. Robert Hudson.

They attacked and put to death several sick soldiers of the Suffolk fencibles, hanging some of them, who were in fevers, out of their windows; they took prisoners two ladies, the wives of the Suffolk officers, and lodged them in the house of Abraham Shackleton,\* of Ballytore, under a guard of rebels. They then proceeded to murder Jefferies and Ashe; but Mr. Cullen saved and concealed them, till they made their escape to Athy.

By this time the rebel force had increased to the number of three thousand, and learning from their scouts, that lieutenant Eadie had missed the road to Calverstown, they pursued him. Major Montresor having proceeded with his detachment to Glassealy, a party of rebels from Fonstown, under the command of captain Paddy Dowling and  
Terry

\* His father was schoolmaster to Edmund Burke.

Terry Toole, who were on their way to burn the mansion-house there, fled at his approach. The major then proceeded to the village of Narraghmore, but too late to do any essential service there; as no human being was to be seen, but the wretched victims of savage fury, and every protestant house in it was destroyed, or consumed by fire.\* The major then marched to the place of his destination, Red-gap hill, while captain Rudd with thirty men, flanked him through the woods of Narraghmore; and having been joined by lieutenant Eadie, they followed the route which major Montrefor had taken.

At the end of the bog road near the turnpike, they were attacked and surrounded by the three thousand rebels from Narraghmore, on whom they kept up a brisk fire, for near half an hour, which brought the major and his party to their assistance. The rebels having perceived his approach, placed a number of wool packs on cars, which happened accidentally to be passing by; and some of their marksmen concealed behind them, fired and killed seven of the Suffolk fencibles, and then retreated to their main body. But the major pursued, and obtained ample revenge; for in a short time, two hundred rebels lay dead, and as many more were wounded. In these different conflicts, and in the scenes of carnage, conflagration and plunder, which occurred in the course of that day, sixty papists of the Narraghmore corps in their uniforms, fought with the rebels; for which, eighteen of them were shot, several were hanged, some fled the country, and others came in under the proclamation, offering pardon to repentant rebels, and received protections.

The main object of the rebels in that part of the county of Kildare, was, to join those of the Queen's county, and the county of Carlow; and to have assisted them in taking possession of the town of Carlow.

Notwithstanding

\* The houses of the following protestants were burnt at Narraghmore, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, by their Roman catholic neighbours, with whom, till that day, they had lived on the most friendly terms; and their inmates, narrowly escaping with their lives, fled for protection to Athy:

Mary Jefferies, widow, Joseph Whiteacre, Thomas Corry, Robert Cooke, Richard Holmes, Matthew James, Darby Kehoe, William Cope, Sarah Lucas, Catherine Young, William Little and James Little. These facts have been verified by the affidavit of the said persons, and captain Thomas J. Rawson, sworn before A. Weldon, esquire, a magistrate, the twenty-sixth of July, 1798. Besides the above, the houses of the protestants whom they massacred in that town were burnt.



Notwithstanding their different defeats, they collected a party of one thousand two hundred, and were proceeding to accomplish their original plan; but, in passing through Castledermot to Carlow, they were attacked by captain Mince, who commanded there a small party of the sixth regiment of foot. After the second discharges they were routed, and several of them were killed; and sir Richard Butler, who went with his troop of yeomen cavalry to the assistance of captain Mince, pursued them and took many prisoners, of whom two were hanged; and the remainder, through the clemency of government, were set at liberty.

General Campbell, having received intelligence that the rebels were in great force in Ballytore, that they had taken many passengers prisoners, and that they obstructed the approaches not only to that town, but even the great Munster road to the metropolis, by felling large trees across them, he laid a plan for dislodging them, and ordered the troops from Carlow and Baltinglass to march to one side of the town; and he intended to arrive at the opposite side at the same moment.

At twelve o'clock on the night of the 27th, he marched from Athy, with his whole force, except a few yeomen under the command of captain Rawson, who were left in charge of the town; the person who undertook to guide his party mistook the road, and led him by the woods of Narraghmore, through which he sent a flanking party.

As they passed by the mansion-house of Narraghmore, some disaffected persons fired at the troops from it; on which general Campbell ordered it to be attacked with cannon. After some discharge of artillery it was set on fire; and the fellows who had fired at the troops were killed in the woods, as they were endeavouring to make their escape.

When the general entered Ballytore, he found it deserted by every male, except Mr. Francis Johnson, a surgeon; and as some of the Tyrone regiment had repeatedly seen him commanding the rebels, the sight of him kindled such indignation in them, that one of them bayoneted him through the breast, on which he fell. He rose again, laid his hand on his wound, and strongly, and with many oaths asserted his innocence. Several of the soldiers cried out, that they had frequently seen him at the head of the rebels—an open was made—five of the Suffolk fencibles presented their muskets at him; when he found that all subterfuge was vain, he exclaimed, “Since I must die,  
guilty

guilty as I am, the Lord have mercy on me!" and he was instantly sent into eternity.

The general, on entering the town, liberated colonel Wolfeley and his lady, two wives of the Suffolk officers, and some others, who had been prisoners with the rebels.

Finding that they were every where unsuccessful, they sent a deputation to general Campbell, offering him a surrender of their arms; and he having assented, about three hundred gave up pikes and other arms at Ballindrum, near the Moat of Ardsclull; and great numbers besides went to Athy, and obtained protections.

In about ten days, general Dundas thought it necessary to order the garrison at Athy to march to Kilcullen, to reinforce him there; and the town was evacuated by the military, the yeomen, and all the protestants; the latter well knowing that they would be massacred without the protection of the former.

When they had marched about ten miles, they received an order that the yeomanry should return to defend the town, which gave the greatest joy to the loyalists, as all their property would have been destroyed in their absence. They arrived there about twelve o'clock at night, and concluded that the rebels were in possession of it; but though they had been waiting to attack it some nights before, they were afraid to enter, suspecting that the evacuation of it was but a feint, and that the general meant to have attacked them, as soon as they had got possession of it.

The next evening they approached it in great force; but finding the yeomen ready to receive them, they fled from a small patrol who had been sent to reconnoitre.

From this period, the country round Athy appeared tolerably tranquil, and no bodies of rebels appeared in force; but still it was not safe for a protestant to appear, or travel ever so short a distance alone.

John Jefferies of Narraghmore, who escaped on the day they burned his house, having gone to that village from Athy, to look after such part of his property as might have remained, was murdered at two o'clock in the day.

Such was the malignity of the rebels in the county of Kildare, that a party of them, in order to distress the metropolis, endeavoured to obstruct the navigation of the Grand canal, by cutting its banks, and empty-  
ing

ing its water into the adjacent country ; but they were surpris'd and prevented by captain Griffith of Millicent, who killed some of them.

The vicinity of Athy remained peaceable, and it was believed that the disaffected had given up their destructive schemes ; but on the night of the twenty-fourth of December, 1798, a party of rebels, most of them from the Wicklow mountains, and under the command of Matthew Kenna and Redmond Murphy, two Kildare ruffians, set fire to the house of Mrs. Hannah Manders, close to Glasfealy, and murdered her, her two sisters,\* and Mr. John Anderson her nephew, all protestants, and a servant woman of the Romish persuasion, and threw their bodies into the flames, in which they were reduced to ashes.

They then burned the dwelling-house of captain Rawson, and all his furniture ; and in one hour destroyed the production of twenty-five years of active industry.

A Roman catholick servant, who was in Mrs. Manders's house, was suffered to pass unmolested ; but Anderson, attempting to follow him, was shot.

The Roman catholick maid shewed her attachment to the rebels, by putting her head out of a door, and calling to them to take care of Keane, the brother of one of them, who was in the stable. He was accordingly led out, and rescued from the flames ; but she met with that fate which she deserved ; for resembling Mrs. Manders in person, they mistook her, and piked her to death.

In a short time after, captain Rawson had one Whelan, an assassin, better known by the nick-name of Black Top, apprehended, for the murder of the Manders family ; and he was tried before a court-martial at Carlow.

It appeared on the evidence of Mrs. Margaret Mc. Ivers, the niece, who escaped through a back window, that, when the houses were set on fire, Black Top stood at the door with a musket and bayonet, to prevent any of the protestant part of the family from escaping : That she applied to him to take the young infant she held in her arms out of the flames, and that she would take her chance ; but he replied, " No, you damned heretick bitch ! you may burn together ; nits will become lice."

Immediately Howard, a traitorous yeoman, who had been often hospitably entertained in the house, entered it with a musket and bayonet ; on which

Mrs.

\* They were unoffending religious women, far advanced in years.



Mrs. Manders was overjoyed at seeing him, supposing that he came as her deliverer; and she expressed a hope that he would not murder her; but the obdurate ruffian replied, by knocking her down with the buttend of his musket, and transfixing her aged body to the floor.

An old superannuated sister, who had not left her bed for many months, crawled into the garden, and endeavoured to conceal herself in a square of cabbages; but she was pursued and piked, and her body was thrown into the flames.

Black Top and Fitzpatrick (the murderer of Thomas Young at Narraghmore,) were convicted, and executed where they had committed these horrid crimes.

In the spring of 1800, one of the villains became an approver, and gave captain Rawson full information. Shortly after, Howard was taken in the county of Carlow, by a son of the captain's; and Keane and Bryan, two more of the assassins, were also apprehended. These three were brought to trial at the assizes, and fully convicted to the satisfaction of a crowded court, and of the very humane judge Kelly, who, in passing sentence, declared, "That it was the first case that ever came before him in which he did not feel distressed; but that he felt great satisfaction at being the instrument, under Providence, of ridding the world of such monsters."

On the trial it was proved, that captain Rawson's house and out-offices were burned in revenge for his loyal exertions; and that the Manders' family was assassinated merely because they were hereticks.\*

On this trial Mrs. Margaret Mc. Ivers, Mrs. Manders's niece, corroborated the testimony of the approver against Howard, in what has been before stated; and he, Keane and Bryan, were hanged and beheaded at Glassealy.

All the cottagers contiguous to that place, to whom captain Rawson had acted with singular humanity for above twenty years, were among the foremost in plundering his house.

### POISONING AT RATHCOOLE.

Though the efforts of rebellion were crushed at Rathcoole, on the general rising, yet the rebels, indignant at the disappointment, endeavoured to accomplish their nefarious designs on the twenty-second of June, by

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poisoning

\* This was acknowledged by the approvers on the trial.

poisoning the garrison there. On that day, captain Joseph Hewan of the Angusshire regiment, was ordered to march from Tallagh to Hazel Hatch, with twenty of his men, to reinforce the party there; and having halted his men at Rathcoole, the head quarters of his regiment, to refresh them, some of them, after having been there about an hour, were reported to be very ill. On enquiry, it appeared, that after having eaten some bread and milk, they were seized with a great sickness in their stomachs, accompanied with a head-ach, and a violent vomiting and griping; and they said, that they thought they had a ball of fire in their breasts.

Mr. Irwine, surgeon of the regiment, communicated these symptoms to colonel Hunter, who commanded there, and his suspicion, that the bread which they eat, had been poisoned. On which the colonel ordered the baker and his man into custody.

The men of both parties began now to be taken ill with the same symptoms, by five or six at a time; the commanding officer then ordered the baker and his boy, and one Doyle, who was strongly suspected, to eat some of the bread; but more of the men becoming sick, and the malignity of their disorder increasing, he ordered the two former to be shot. The latter grew as sick as any of the soldiers; but nobody doubted of his innocence, and his wife and children were affected in the same manner, as they had eat of the bread. Doyle kept a low publick house, in which some of the soldiers had been entertained. Many of them would have died, but that they were relieved by medical assistance. The symptoms were sometimes abated by an emetick, but they often returned with redoubled violence; and then oil or melted butter, as a substitute, afforded them relief. Some of them were seized with such strong convulsions, that two or three men could not hold them, but with difficulty.

Mr. Robinson, a protestant clergyman, his wife and seven children, who were passing through Rathcoole, were affected exactly in the same manner, in consequence of having eaten some of the bread.

Next day the officers of the Angusshire regiment were well informed, that the roads, fields, and ditches near Rathcoole, were crowded on the preceding night with men well armed, and that they dispersed when the bakers were shot, and reinforcements came from Dublin, Tallagh, and Hazel Hatch. They intended to have surprised the garrison, when debilitated by poison.

Some

Some of the bread which had produced such dreadful effects in those who had eaten of it, was given to a cat and a dog, and they died of it. Some hours after the baker and his boy were shot, his house was searched, and a paper, containing two ounces of yellow arsenick, was found in his bake-house ; which, being sent to Dublin to a surgeon, proved, on the analyzation of it, to be that kind of poison.

### ATTACK UPON MAYNOOTH.

From the supposed sanctity of this town, as a college had been recently erected there, and endowed at a very great expence by the *protestant state*, for the education of *popish priests*, it was hoped that it would not have been molested by the rebels ; however, the protestant inhabitants of it and its vicinity were as much the object of the sanguinary rage of the rebels, as in any other part of the county of Kildare.

About twenty of the Carton cavalry, of which his grace the duke of Leinster was captain, and Thomas Long and Richard Cane, esquires, were lieutenants, did permanent duty there, for some time, previous and subsequent to the twenty-fourth of May ; and ten of them were constantly stationed on the different avenues leading into the town : the duke was absent at that time in England.

About one o'clock in the morning of the tenth of June, 1798, two men approached the town and addressed one of the corps, who was at an outpost ; and pretending to be travellers, and that they had lost their way, begged admittance into the town, to get a lodging, but on being refused, they drew back a few paces, and both fired at the sentinel at the same time ; on which, he galloped with the utmost speed to the guard room, and alarmed his fellow-soldiers ; and was pursued by about five hundred rebels, headed by William Aylmer their commander.

Such was the disaffection of the corps, that, though they were alarmed in due time, only seven mounted their horses to face the rebels ; and of those seven, but four fired at them ; and they were under the necessity of retreating, lest they should be overpowered by the great superiority of numbers.

Lieutenant Cane made his escape, but a young gentleman of the name of Nugent, who had been on a visit with the lieutenant, and whose youth and innocence should have preserved him from their sanguinary disposition,



tion, fell into their hands, and was led to their camp and shot there next day. They took eleven yeomen prisoners, some of whom returned the day following, and the remainder continued with the rebels. Three days after, a party of the same rebels entered the town of Maynooth, and plundered some houses; and at the same time, they seized Mr. Wilkinson, a protestant, and a master carpenter, much esteemed for his probity; and conveyed him to their camp, where they next day piked him to death. As they conveyed him out of the town, he implored them to put an end to him immediately, that his body might fall into the hands of his friends, for the purpose of being interred; but they refused his request.

Afterwards lieutenant Cane, and about thirteen of the corps, joined the yeomanry at Leixlip, and continued to do duty with them, most of the remainder having joined the rebels.

Mr. John Brown, a gentleman farmer, much esteemed for his probity, lived at Barropstown, near Maynooth; and had three sons who served in the Carton yeomanry. He and his family, being natives of England, and protestants, were so much the object of rebel vengeance, that they were obliged to leave their house, and retire to Leixlip for safety.

In the beginning of September, Mr. Brown, his wife, daughter and son, went to pass the day at Barropstown. In the evening Mr. Brown, having rode out to see some hay-makers whom he employed, perceived, about forty perches from his house, twelve ruffians, armed and mounted, galloping furiously towards him; and on seeing him, they shouted and increased their speed. Mr. Brown galloped to his house, alarmed his family, and proceeded towards Leixlip. Part of the ruffians pursued him; the others his son, who fled from them on foot, and whom they murdered with savage barbarity; but his father was so fortunate as to escape.

The following anecdote will show the reader how much the influence of the Romish priests tends to defeat distributive justice: A rebel, of the name of Cullen, was to be tried at the summer assizes of Naas, on the following charges: For having fired three shots at a yeoman, as he was travelling along the high road, and wounding him in two places; and, for being concerned in the attack upon Prosperous, and in the murder of captain Swayne. One Kennedy, the prosecutor, was kept in gaol, to secure his appearance, and to prevent him from being assassinated. When the trial was coming on, Mr. Kemmis, the crown solicitor,

solicitor, went to the gaol for Kennedy, the prosecutor; but on approaching it, he perceived a priest whispering in his ear, through one of the grates; and who, on perceiving Mr. Kemmis, fled precipitately. On entering the gaol, he told Kennedy that he must repair to the court with him, as the trial would come on immediately; but to his great astonishment, he discovered, that the suggestions of his ghostly adviser, but for a few minutes, had induced him to contradict the most material facts which he had sworn in his information; for he pretended to be ignorant of them. The ruffian Cullen escaped from justice by this infamous procedure.

#### BATTLE OF OVIOTSTOWN, NEAR KILCOCK.

It was much to be lamented, that the rebels of the county of Kildare, instead of feeling gratitude for the royal mercy which had been extensively granted to them by the generals who commanded there, and of returning to their allegiance, persevered, for a long time, not only in committing individual robbery and assassination, but continued their encampments, and to commit depredations in large bodies. Lieutenant-colonel Irwine, who commanded the garrison of Trim, having received intelligence that a numerous body of rebels were assembling near Kilcock on the eighteenth of June, marched on that night, with part of his garrison, consisting of the fourth dragoons, a troop of the duke of York's fencible cavalry, four companies of foot, and two battalion guns, and the following yeomanry corps: The Trim cavalry, one troop; the Navan and Murgallion cavalry, one troop; the Demifore, one troop. Soon after he passed through Kilcock, his advanced guard was fired upon by a large body of the rebels; of whom the main body, supposed to consist of three thousand, was drawn up in a line at the bottom of Oviotstown hill, near Hortland house. As it was some time before the colonel could form, owing to the unevenness of the ground, and the number of inclosures on it, the rebels kept up a smart fire, and made a desperate effort to seize the cannon; but the well-directed fire of the infantry, made them abandon that enterprise. Soon after the troops formed, they routed the rebels, who precipitately fled to the neighbouring bog, where they effected their escape, after two hundred of them had been slain. The king's troops sustained the following loss: Fourth dragoon guards, one serjeant killed; captain sir Richard Steele, one serjeant,

two rank and file wounded ; Murgallion cavalry, one rank and file wounded ; Trim cavalry, one rank and file wounded ; Duke of York's Highlanders, ensign John Sutler, one serjeant, and five rank and file killed ; lieutenant-colonel Irwine, one serjeant, and seven rank and file wounded ; the first slightly.

William Aylmer, a romanist, who had been a lieutenant in the Kildare militia, was the leader of the rebels in this action.

For many months after, the ferocious spirit of the popish multitude continued to break forth in acts of rapine and murder, of which the reader will find some specimens in Appendix, No. XV.

The chapel of Athy was burnt in the month of April ; and an offer was made, by some papists of consideration, of a sum of money to a soldier of the Cork regiment, to swear that it was perpetrated by the yeomen of that town, who are protestants. I shall refer the reader to the same Appendix, for the particulars of this infamous transaction.

This chapel was wantonly burnt, with a malignant design of throwing an imputation on the protestants of having done it ; a practice which took place in other parts of Ireland.

#### DUBLIN.

I shall now return to the metropolis, to give the reader a short sketch of its situation, as its disaffected inhabitants still continued to give unquestionable proofs that they hoped to succeed in a general insurrection, with the assistance of the country rebels, and some of the disloyal yeomen, who were still attached to their cause in the city.

On the twenty-ninth of May, the Sepulchre's corps, who mustered about fifty effective men, commanded by captain Ryan, was ordered to mount guard at Dolphin's-barn, an outlet on the South West side of the city of Dublin. As they were marching to their post, a man of the name of Raymond, a romanist, and one of the most active privates in the corps, entered into conversation with one Jennings, who was also in the ranks, and said unto him, " Do you see that our lieutenant has got pistols ? " (alluding to lieutenant Maturin, the officer of the guard.) Jennings answered, " Yes." Raymond then said, " They will not be of any use to him, for we will do him out." When they arrived at their post, Jennings asked him what he meant, in the allusion which he made to the lieutenant. Raymond then informed him of the following plot : " That, in case



case of an attack, which was hourly expected, and which it was believed he had previously concerted with the rebels, the disaffected members of the corps were to massacre the officers and the protestants of it, and to deliver up the bridge to the assailants : They were then to proceed to the battery in the Park ; to inform the guard that they had been defeated ; to ask admittance ; and on being let in, to murder the guard ; to take possession of the battery and ammunition ; and to turn it to their own use."

Jennings had been sworn an united Irishman, and was attached to their cause from pure republican principles ; but being a protestant, and having discovered from the massacres which had taken place, in the counties of Dublin, Meath and Kildare, that the extirpation of his own order was intended, he informed lieutenant Maturin of the plot ; and he having communicated it to government, Raymond was taken up, tried, convicted and hanged on the Old Bridge the first of June.

As the Roman catholick members of that corps, who formed the majority of it, were discovered to be disaffected, they were disarmed on parade the Sunday following, and disbanded.

Raymond would not have formed so desperate a design, which must have been defeated, and have terminated in the ruin of him and his fellow conspirators, if it were not connected with a general insurrection, which the disaffected in the metropolis constantly meditated.

The fanatical zeal of some of the rebels was such, and their hopes of succeeding by a general insurrection, were still so sanguine as to extinguish all prudence.

Two soldiers, who were conducting a prisoner by Peter's-row, were attacked at noon-day by two ruffians, who snatched their firelocks from them, with which they knocked them down. One of them, of the name of Fennel, a notorious traitor, was taken up, tried and hanged on the twenty-ninth of May, on one of the bridges. He was so great a fanatick, that he said, when he was about to ascend the fatal step, " That he would live and die an united Irishman." This fellow had been captain of a corps of united Irishmen ; and was at the head of a numerous body of them, in the fields, near the floating docks, on the night of the twenty-third of May, waiting for a signal to run into the city.

Committees were frequently discovered in deliberation ; blacksmiths were detected in the act of making pikes ; and sentinels were frequently  
fired

fired at, or knocked down while at their posts : Information was obtained from some notorious traitors by whipping them, of the extent and malignity of the plot ; and of immense quantities of pikes and other arms, which were discovered and seized in different parts of the city.

There was a constant communication between the rebels of the metropolis and those of the country, which was proved by the frequent interception of letters ; and that the former expected the co-operation of the latter.

On the evening of the twenty-fifth of May, a detachment of the merchants corps, consisting of one officer, one serjeant, and twenty privates, was ordered to escort four waggons of ammunition to Naas ; and it was considered by government to be a service of so much danger, that their destination was kept a profound secret, till the moment of their departure ; and a military officer, who accompanied the party, had orders not to suffer any person to go before them, lest the country rebels, risen in great multitudes in the county of Kildare, and who had four encampments there, might cut them off. During the whole of their progress, one K——, a romanist, and strongly suspected of disaffection, inveighed bitterly against government for the disrespect shewn to the corps, in having sent them off in so sudden and unexpected a manner.

Next morning, when on their return to town, about a dozen rebels came out of a wood near Johnstown, as if to provoke an attack from the yeomen. The officer drew up his small party, who fired some shots at the rebels, on which they retired into the wood. K—— urged the party to pursue them, which would have been fatal to the whole of them ; as it has since been discovered, that there were from twelve to fourteen hundred rebels in the wood, ready to cut them off on their return, of which K—— had given them information the night before ; and that the ten who shewed themselves were intended to draw them into an ambush.

On Monday the twenty-seventh of May, a party of the merchants corps, consisting of one officer, two serjeants, and thirty privates, were ordered on the same service to Naas. On that night, captain Beresford waited on captain Stanley, who commanded that corps, to inform him, that he had informations against K——, who was immediately arrested ; and shewing strong marks of perturbation, he confessed that he was a colonel in the rebel army, and that he was to have headed a very large party on the twenty-third of May, in an attack upon Newgate.

On

On Tuesday the twenty-eighth of May, an express going from Dublin had been stopped, and a letter was found upon him from K—— to the rebels, written on Monday; the purport of which was, to inform them of every particular respecting the escort which was to go to Naas, and expressing a wish that they might be more successful in cutting off this party than the former.

It was observable, that for some days previous and subsequent to the intended insurrection, the disaffected tradesmen, among whom the butchers were very conspicuous, would not take bank notes. Though it had been defeated on the night of the twenty-third of May, the rebels were so confident of succeeding in another effort, that fellows were at different times employed in marking the doors of the loyalists, and particularly those of the yeomen. Seven men were detected and seized on the thirtieth of May in the act of doing so; and on being whipped by a party of the attornies corps, in the old Exchange, they acknowledged that they belonged to a committee of fifteen employed in that service; that there were many similar committees, and that each of them had its respective department.

As an insurrection was still expected every night, the lord mayor published the following caution:

#### CITY OF DUBLIN.

Mansion-house, 26th May, 1798.

#### A CAUTION,

*Left the Innocent should suffer for the Guilty.*

The lord mayor requests his fellow citizens to keep within their houses as much as possibly they can, suitable to their convenience, after sun-set, in this time of peril, as the streets should be kept as clear as possible, should any tumult or rising to support rebellion be attempted, in order that the troops and artillery may act with full effect in case of any disturbance.

The lord mayor's servant acknowledged to his lordship, that he was at the head of a numerous body of servants, who were to have assassinated their masters; and that he and his party were to have murdered the lord mayor and his family, and two others of his servants, who had hesitated to join them; and that this atrocious deed was to have been the signal for the other servants in the vicinity to rise and commit similar enormities.



Pursuant to a notice to the Roman catholicks, inserted in the Dublin Journal of the twenty-fourth of May, an address, purporting to be that of the Roman catholicks of Ireland, was presented to his excellency the lord lieutenant, on the thirtieth of May, “expressing their firm attachment to his majesty’s royal person, and the constitution under which they have the happiness to live: That the share of political liberty, and the advantages which they possess under it, leave them nothing to expect from foreign aid, nor any motive to induce them to look elsewhere, than to the tried benignity of their sovereign, and the unbiassed determination of the legislature, as the source of future advantage; and they expressed their regret, that many of the lower order of their religious persuasion were engaged in unlawful associations and practices.”

This address was signed by four noblemen, some gentlemen of landed property, some respectable merchants, and by twenty-eight titular bishops. Had the latter, so early as the year 1793, informed government, which they might have done, having learned it in their confession boxes, that a conspiracy was at that time formed for subverting the constitution, they would have endeared themselves to the best of kings, and to his government in England and Ireland. It may be said, that the secrecy required in the article of confession, raised insuperable obstacles to it. There is not a sentence in the scripture which gives the most remote sanction to the doctrines of confession and absolution, and the extraordinary superstructure raised on them, except that saying of our Saviour to his apostles, “Whose sins ye remit, they shall be remitted to them; and whose sins ye retain, they shall be retained.”

The Almighty thought proper, at one particular period, to make use of supernatural means, and to invest with extraordinary powers a certain set of men, whom he selected to dispel that darkness which invested the pagan world, and to work the salvation of his creatures; but that end being attained, it must be considered the highest arrogance in any christian pastor afterwards to claim a delegation from his Creator, and a right to exercise those powers.

These doctrines were a device invented by the artful policy of the court of Rome, to gain an ascendancy for its members, wherever the Romish faith was professed; and it is most certain, that a set of men, in whom celibacy extinguishes all social affections, who are insulated in society, and

and whose primary object therefore is the aggrandizement of their own order, must have very great influence in society, when they can extract from their communicants of every rank and degree, their most important secrets. The Romish priests, thus circumstanced, may be considered as in a state of ambush, in respect to the rest of the community.

From the various and fluctuating opinions delivered by the learned divines and schoolmen of the Romish church on this doctrine, it is very evident, that secrecy in confession is a positive human institution; and it is very extraordinary, that a set of men who profess to be of the religion of Christ, which is the bond of peace, and enjoins the practice of every moral virtue, should prescribe a rule under the article of confession, which sanctions the concealment of crimes, and by doing so, prevents the punishment, and consequently encourages the commission of them. This is contrary to the divine law; for any thing unworthy of the Deity cannot be true, and whatever is repugnant to his attributes of wisdom, justice and mercy, must be false.

St. Paul tells us, "That he was all things to all men, that he might by all means save some."\* But a priest is prohibited from disclosing a secret, on which the lives of thousands, or the existence of an empire, might depend. Misprision of treason is a capital offence by the laws of every state in Europe; and yet the popish priests are compelled to be guilty of it, in consequence of their not being allowed to break the seal of confession.

By the divine law we are ordered to submit to the laws and ordinances of the state under which we live. "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the superior power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive damnation to themselves."† "Wherefore ye needs must be subject, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake."‡ "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well."||

P p 2

Now

\* 1 Corinthians ix. 22.

† Romans xiii. 1, 2.

‡ Ibid. 5.

|| 1 Peter ii. 13, 14.

Now the priest, who obtains a knowledge of crimes, should, according to the *ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, and for the punishment of evil doers*, disclose them to the civil magistrate; but in doing so, he is guilty of sacrilege, as confession is a sacrament in his church, according to the canons of it; and by concealing them, he violates both the divine and human law.

By the ancient canons, particularly by the council of Lateran, under pope Innocent III. in the year 1215, every confessor, who reveals a confession, shall be interdicted and imprisoned for life. Cardinal Tolet says, "that the seal of confession should not be broken, to save the lives of princes, or even the republick:" And Henriquez adds, "not even to save the whole world, or to keep it from burning, or all the sacraments from demolition." But cardinal Bellarmine \* says, "if treason be known to a priest in confession, he may give notice of it to a pious and *catholic prince*, but not to a *heretick*:" And father Suarez said, "that that was acutely and prudently said by him." This shews that it was founded in human policy, and framed as a system of terror to drive sovereign princes within the pale of the Romish church. Father Binet differed from Bellarmine, and says, "it were better that all the princes in the world perished, than that the seal of confession were broken."

Jaurigny and Balthazard Gerard, who murdered William I. prince of Orange, Clement the Dominican, who assassinated Henry III. of France, Chatel, Ravaillac, and all the parricides of that period, went to confession before they committed those crimes. Strada, a jesuit, distinguished for his learning, tells us, "that Jaurigny expiated the guilt of that crime, before its perpetration, by receiving the sacrament from a Dominican friar.†"

Fanaticism was carried to such excess in that dark age, that confession was an additional engagement to the perpetration of crimes; for, it was held sacred, as confession is regarded as a sacrament in the Romish church.

In those counties in Ireland, where the rebellion broke out, the lower class of people, some days previous to it, resorted in great numbers to the confession boxes of their priests.

Soon

\* One of their most learned divines.

† Non ante facinus aggredi sustinuit, quam expiatam ejus animam, apud Dominichanum sacerdotem, cœlesti pane, firmaverat.



Soon after the assassination of Henry IV. and while the French were lamenting the death of that amiable monarch, the advocate-general Servin, of illustrious memory, required that the Jesuits should be obliged to sign the four following articles :

I. That the council is superior to the pope.

II. That the pope cannot deprive the king of any rights by excommunication.

III. That the ecclesiastics are like any other people, entirely subject to the king.

IV. That a priest, who by confession is apprized of a conspiracy against the king, or the state, should reveal it to a magistrate.

The parliament passed an arret, laying the same injunction on the jesuits; but the court of Rome was at that time so powerful, and that of France so weak, that the arret was disregarded.

It is worth notice, that the court of Rome, which would not suffer a conspiracy against the life of a sovereign to be revealed in confession, ordered confessors to inform the inquisition, in every instance, where a female should accuse another priest of having seduced, or attempted to seduce her. This revelation was ordered by Paul IV. Pius IV. Clement VIII. and Gregory XV.

Some of the most learned divines of the Romish church have specified certain cases in which confession might be revealed; and others have contended, that it might be disclosed in every instance, with the consent of the penitent.

This horrible absurdity is one of the unhappy consequences of the constant struggle, which has subsisted for ages between the ecclesiastical and civil power,\* and which has been the source of inextricable error; for mankind have been suspended between the crimes of sacrilege and high treason; and the distinctions of right and wrong have been buried in a chaos, from which they are not yet emerged.

To return. The roads leading to the metropolis were so much obstructed by the rebels, that no mail-coach arrived there from the twenty-fourth of May until the thirty-first, when the spirited and gallant sir James Duff struck terror into the rebels, by the defeat which he gave them on the  
Curragh

\* Fortunately avoided by the English constitution.

Curragh of Kildare, by which he opened a free intercourse between Dublin and the southern parts of the kingdom; but it should not be forgotten, that general Campbell, by his good sense and spirited exertions in the vicinity of Athy, Narraghmore, and Ballytore, contributed materially to effect this.

As the disaffected in the metropolis were disappointed in their expectations of raising an insurrection there, numbers of them left it at different times, and displayed their zeal in the cause of the union, by joining rebel encampments in the country.

On the twelfth and thirteenth of June, a great many servants and mechanicks, and other persons of various description, suddenly disappeared in Dublin, and the neighbourhood of Blackrock; and it was observable, that the same thing took place, when the rebels were about to make any great effort in Wexford, Wicklow or Kildare.

The loyalty, magnanimity, and firmness, of the corporation of Dublin, in the course of the conspiracy and rebellion, should never be forgotten. They raised four regiments of yeomanry, with uncommon celerity; and it is well known, that the indefatigable exertions of those brave corps preserved the metropolis from destruction. The vigilance and activity of the corporation in enforcing the execution of the laws were such, as to supersede the necessity of proclaiming the city, till the nineteenth day of May; and many counties claimed the protection of the insurrection law, two years before that period.

#### BATTLE OF TARA.\*

I already mentioned the barbarous outrages committed by the rebels in Dunboyne and Dunshaughlin; from whence, having proceeded towards Tara, in the county of Meath, most of the farmers and labourers of the county through which they passed, flocked to their standard; and in short, the mass of the people in the county of Meath; and in that part of the county of Dublin bordering on it, were in a state of insurrection, and plundered every house in the country, which happened not to have been well guarded, of provisions, wines, spirits; bed clothes, wearing apparel and furniture. As there were no military  
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\* Eighteen miles to the north of Dublin, and in the county of Meath.

in the country, and as the officers of the yeomen corps perceived that their safety depended on the concentration of their forces, they, by mutual and immediate communication, adopted measures for that purpose. The corps of lord Fingal and captain Gorges performed that service with great activity and vigilance.

On the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, the officers of the Navan cavalry, John Preston, esquire, captain, Philip Barry, lieutenant, wrote a letter to the officer commanding the garrison at Kells, to request that he would send them such troops as he could spare for their protection; as a private of captain Gorges's yeomanry had arrived there, and informed them of the atrocities committed at Dunboyne and Dunshaughlin; and that the rebels had planted the tree of liberty at the latter.

Captain Molloy, who commanded at Kells, on receiving that intelligence, marched the yeomen cavalry and infantry of that town, to relieve them; but finding on his arrival there, that the town was not immediately threatened with an attack, he returned to Kells for the protection of its inhabitants, and of a large depôt of ammunition in that town, which lay exposed in his absence.

It was then determined, that the Kells cavalry, with a detachment of the Navan troop, should proceed towards Dunshaughlin, and reconnoitre the enemy; and they having discovered that the mass of the people were in a state of insurrection, and were committing various enormities, Mr. Barry, lieutenant of the latter, wrote the following letter to captain Molloy, at Kells:

“ Sir,

“ Prepare your yeomanry immediately, as an insurrection has appeared from Dublin to Dunshaughlin, and numbers have been murdered. Communicate this to all the other officers.”

In consequence of this, captain Molloy apprized the different yeomen officers of these alarming circumstances; and recommended to them to be in readiness. Captain Preston, commanding the Navan cavalry, having been informed that the Rea fencibles were to be in Navan on the night of the twenty-fifth of May, on their route to Dublin, resolved to join them, in hopes of being able to obtain their co-operation in attacking next day the rebels, whom he had reconnoitred in great force, at Dunshaughlin; and they having complied, and all the yeomanry in  
the



the adjacent country having joined them, they proceeded at break of day, on the morning of the twenty-sixth of May, from Navan, to attack the enemy at Dunshaughlin.

On their arrival there, they found that the rebels had changed their position; and as they could not learn whither they had gone, the Rea fencibles, having resolved to quit them, set out for Dublin, and the yeomanry determined to retire to their respective homes, which would have been fatal to the whole country, as the rebels would have spread universal desolation.

Captain Preston, now lord Tara, then followed the Rea fencibles, who had proceeded two miles on their march, and informed the commanding officer that he would engage to find out the rebels in two hours, if he would consent to stay; but having refused to comply, he informed him, that he would proceed to Dublin, and obtain an order from the lord lieutenant for him to return, before he could proceed half way on his march; on which he consented to return, and gave him two hundred and ten men, and one battalion gun, the whole commanded by captain Blanch; and they were joined by the yeomanry, commanded by lord Fingal and captain Preston.

After going some time in quest of the rebels, they found them very strongly posted on Tara-hill, where they had been four hours, and were about four thousand in number; and the country people were flocking to them in great multitudes from every quarter. They plundered the houses in all the adjacent country of provisions of every kind, and were proceeding to cook their victuals, having lighted near forty fires. They hoisted white flags in their camp. The hill of Tara is very steep, and the upper part is surrounded by three circular Danish forts, with ramparts and fosses; and on the top lies the church-yard, surrounded with a wall, which the rebels regarded as their citadel, and considered as impregnable.

The king's troops, including the yeomanry, might have amounted to about four hundred. As soon as the rebels perceived them, they put their hats on the tops of their pikes, sent forth some dreadful yells, and at the same time began to jump, and put themselves in various singular attitudes, as if bidding defiance to their adversaries. They then began to advance, firing at the same time, but in an irregular manner.

Our

Our line of infantry advanced with the greatest coolness, and did not fire a shot until they were within fifty yards of them. One part of the cavalry, commanded by lord Fingal, was ordered to the right, the other to the left, to prevent our line from being outflanked, which the enemy endeavoured to accomplish. The rebels made three desperate onsets, and in the last laid hold of the cannon; but the officer who commanded the gun, having laid the match to it, before they could completely surround it, prostrated ten or twelve of the assailants, and dispersed the remainder. The Rea fencibles preserved their line, and fired with as much coolness as if they had been exercising on a field day.

They at length routed the rebels,\* who fled in all directions, after having lost about four hundred in killed and wounded. In their flight, they threw away their arms and ammunition, and every thing that could encumber them. We took three hundred horses, all their provisions, arms, ammunition and baggage, and eight of the Rea fencibles whom they had taken prisoners two days before, and whom they employed to drill them.

It was much to be lamented, that the brave Rea fencibles lost twenty-six men in killed and wounded; and the Upper Kells infantry had one killed, and five wounded.

The king's troops would have remained on the field all night, but that they had not a single cartridge left, either for the gun or the small arms. The prisoners, of whom they took a good many, informed our officers, that their intention was, to have proceeded that night to plunder Navan, and then Kells, where there was a great quantity of ammunition, and little or no force to protect it; and that when they had succeeded, they expected, according to a preconcerted plan, to have been joined by a great number of insurgents from Meath, Westmeath, Louth, Monaghan and Cavan, and to have released all the prisoners confined in Trim, where they would not have met with any opposition.

So general an insurrection might have been fatal to the kingdom, for the rebellion in Wexford and Kildare was raging with inextinguishable fury: It was still destructive in Wicklow and Carlow, and the mass of the people, in many parts of Leinster and Munster, were on the point of rising.

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\* In their pockets, popish prayer books, beads, rosaries, crucifixes, pious ejaculations to our Saviour and the Virgin Mary, and republican songs were found; and scapulars on the bodies of many of them.

The garrison of Dublin was so weak, and so much exhausted by fatigue in the severe duty which they underwent, in endeavouring to prevent its disaffected inhabitants from rising, that they could not send any troops to the adjacent country.

Part of the rebels who fled from Tara, retired to the bogs of Meath and Kildare, where they continued for three weeks to plunder and desolate the surrounding country.

The earl of Fingal, who commanded the yeomanry in this action, shewed great spirit and courage in it; for which, and his noted loyalty and zeal in the service of his king and country, during the progress of the conspiracy and rebellion, he became so obnoxious to the disaffected in the county of Meath, that it was resolved to cut him off; and his assassination was to have been a signal for a general massacre of all the loyalists in that county.

I think it right also to say, that captain Molloy, who commanded the yeomen infantry, under lord Fingal, displayed the most steady and deliberate valour; and that the officers and privates under him fought with the coolness of veterans.

On the fourth of June, lord Edward Fitzgerald died in the gaol of Newgate. During his confinement he often enquired, with apparent solicitude, of Mr. Gregg the gaoler, and those persons who attended him, of the state of the metropolis, and the kingdom in general. Any extraordinary noise which he happened to hear, he supposed to be occasioned by the explosion of that conspiracy which he had planned.

As the execution of Clinch on the second day of June, attended by a numerous body of troops, and a vast concourse of people, occasioned much noise in the metropolis, he anxiously enquired the cause of it; and having been informed, it affected him so much, as almost to put him into a state of derangement. Lady Louisa Conolly, his aunt, attended by the earl of Clare, visited him the day before his death, but he was completely delirious. A person who was present informed me, that it was a most affecting scene, as the degraded and deplorable state to which his crimes and misfortunes had reduced him, made a very deep impression on that very amiable and respectable lady.

Lord Edward had served with reputation in the nineteenth regiment during a great part of the American war, and on many occasions had displayed great valour and considerable abilities as an officer. When in the  
army,



army, he was considered as a man of honour and humanity, and was much esteemed by his brother officers for his frankness, courage, and good nature; qualities, which he was supposed to possess in a very high degree. After the war he retired on the half-pay list; but having again entered into the service, he obtained the majority of the 54th regiment, quartered at St. John's, New Brunswick, on the bay of Fundy, and joined it in May, 1788.

The following adventure is a strong proof of that active mind and enterprising spirit which he displayed on all occasions: He set out from Frederick-town on the river St. John's for Quebec, in the winter of 1788, through woods and desarts, which had never before been traversed by any European; and without any other attendant than captain Brisbane of his regiment, a guide, and his own servant, who was a negro. From the great depth of snow, they were obliged to use snow shoes, and they had no other provisions but what they carried on a sledge, which lord Edward drew in his turn. This journey, which was some hundred miles, took them many weeks to perform.

In the month of November, 1791, the regiment landed at Portsmouth, where lord Edward received a letter from lieutenant-colonel Bruce of the same corps, from Naples, acquainting him, that he was in a rapid consumption, and advising him to take proper measures for succeeding him: But as his lordship and his family were at that time in opposition in parliament, he would not solicit a favour from government; but at the same time expected that the commission would have been given to him without solicitation, though he had many competitors of longer standing.

On hearing that colonel Sturt succeeded to the commission, lord Edward, soured with disappointment, and fired with indignation, repaired to Paris the latter end of the year 1791, or the beginning of the year 1792, and became, from disgust, an enthusiastic admirer of the extravagant political theories of the French, which were repugnant to, and subversive of the glorious constitution under which he lived, but of whose defects he pretended to be a reformist; and having manifested these principles without reserve, his majesty thought proper to strike his name out of the list of the army; but allowed him at the same time to sell his commission.

He became so great a devotee to French principles, that he married a little French woman, whose birth and origin\* were unknown, except by conjecture, and who had nothing to recommend her to him, but the extravagance and malignity of her republican principles.

The fate of lord Edward affords a strong and instructive lesson to such gentlemen as oppose the crown, from motives of disgust and disappointed ambition, not to exceed the bounds of moderation; for a person, enflamed and blinded by resentment, may, from an insatiable desire to gratify it, gradually sink into a dereliction of every religious, moral, and political duty; and a vehement reformist is often an incipient traitor.

“ *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus.*”

The reader may form some idea of the persecution of the protestant clergy in the archdiocese of Dublin, from Appendix, No. XV.

#### REBELLION IN THE COUNTY OF WICKLOW.†

Previous to the introduction of the principles of the united Irishmen into it, in the year 1796, it was the most peaceable and amenable to the laws, of any county in the kingdom; and the active and unabating industry of its inhabitants, had improved it so much, that its appearance was entirely changed within the last twenty years.

Religious animosities between protestants and papists were at an end, or at least were dormant; and tythes were not complained of as a grievance. The gentlemen of the country resided on their estates, employed great numbers in building, planting, and agricultural improvements, maintained social order, and gave energy to the execution of the laws. The farmers followed the example of their landlords, meliorated the state of their arable lands, and, in general, built good and commodious houses.

The labourers, who had constant employment, received as wages ten pence a day in the summer, and eight pence in the winter; and paid but  
two

\* She was supposed to be the natural daughter of the duke of Orleans, by madam Genlis.

† See Plate I. 3.

two guineas a year for a cottage and an acre of land ; but in some places their wages were higher.

In the parish of Rathdrum, twenty good slated houses were built within a few years, with suitable offices, fit for gentlemen of large fortune ; and many others on a smaller scale, but neat and commodious.

Most of these buildings have been destroyed ; every thing that art could accomplish for the happiness of man has been annihilated ; and all progressive industry has been suspended by the late rebellion, promoted by the united Irishmen.

For some weeks previous to the breaking-out of the rebellion, the magistrates of the county of Wicklow met almost every week, for the purpose of preventing, if possible, the explosion so much dreaded.

Every means were used to call the lower class of people to a sense of their duty, and a submission to the laws. Friendly exhortations, and promises of protection, were for a long time resorted to ; but they were treated with derision. Threats were then used, with no better effect. The magistrates then had recourse to rewards for publick or private information of seditious meetings, and concealed arms ; however, friendly and conciliating admonitions were still continued. The resolutions of the magistrates, containing pathetick exhortations, and threats, and rewards, were printed and circulated through the country ; but the mass of the people had drunk so deep of the intoxicating poison of French republicanism, sublimated by fanaticism, that no antidote could counteract its baneful influence.

I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XVI. 1. for part of a pathetick address, published by the magistrates, on the third of April, 1798 ; when finding that mild and conciliatory measures were disregarded, they were driven to the necessity of proclaiming the whole county. The upper and lower half barony of Talbotstown was so much disturbed, that it was proclaimed the tenth of November, 1797.

The first seeds of disaffection sown in the county of Wicklow were by a party of defenders, who had been hunted out of the county of Louth by the Speaker, in the year 1792 ; and were employed as labourers in the mines of messieurs Camacs, at Ballymurtagh.

Those



Those miscreants, with their most zealous exertions, could not propagate defenderism any farther than the district in which they lived ; and it was not accompanied with any acts of violence or outrage. All the efforts of the united Irishmen to make the people of the county of Wicklow join in their rebellious designs, proved unavailing, till they persuaded the popish clergy to co-operate with them for that purpose ; which took place in the year 1796, as stated in the report of the secret committee, on the evidence of doctor M'Nevin, a Roman catholic, and one of the leaders in the rebellion.

A loyal papist, who was tenant to captain King of Rathdrum, informed his landlord, that he had been pressed by a neighbour to take the united Irishmen's oath, and threatened, if he refused, or delayed to comply, with the total destruction of him and his family ; but he peremptorily refused, having assigned as a reason, that he had taken the oath of allegiance. This objection was laughed at by his pretended friend, who assured him, that it had been decided, and declared, by their clergy, that the oath of allegiance, and all other oaths prescribed by law, were to be considered as compulsory, and therefore not binding ; and that none but those which were voluntarily taken, imposed any obligation on consciences.\* He at the same time recommended to him, to consult father C. a priest, on the subject ; and having asked him, whether it was sinful to take the united Irishmen's oath, after having taken the oath of allegiance ? he assured him, that it was no sin. This man, having been informed that his life would be in imminent danger, unless he joined the united party, as he was told that a resolution had passed at one of their meetings, that such persons as refused to do so should be put to death, told his landlord, captain King, of what had passed ; and by his advice, he asked father C. and two more priests, who happened to be in his company, whether a person could get absolution in their church, for having deliberately killed a heretick, or one who differed from them in religious tenets ? The answer of the priests, which was evasive and equivocal, shocked him so much, that he resolved to become a protestant ; and he and all his family have continued to go to church ever since the rebellion.

This

\* See the council of Lateran, pages 10, 11, and the opinions of doctor Burke, and the cardinal Legate, on such an oath, pages 39, 40.

This man being satisfied that papists, under priests influence, regarded the oath of allegiance as not binding, suggested to his landlord, captain King, the following test oath, and recommended that it might be proposed to the Cronebane corps of yeomen; and assured him, that numbers of them, who were disaffected, would refuse to take it.

“I ———, do in the presence of my neighbours, solemnly swear by the contents of this book, containing the holy gospel of Christ, that I have not joined, nor in any manner entered into, any society, or association of persons, styling themselves united Irishmen, or any other seditious society or association whatsoever, or taken any oath to keep the secrets of any such society: And that I will not join, nor enter into, any such society, or take any oath to the prejudice of his majesty king George III. or contrary to the existing laws, or constitution of this kingdom of Ireland. And all this I swear, freely and voluntarily, without any mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever.

“So help me God.”

The fact turned out as predicted; forty-four of that corps who were deeply disaffected, refused to take the oath, which a priest of the name of Meagher, pronounced to be blasphemous, when it was proposed for his consideration; though he would allow his flock to take the oath of allegiance, or any other prescribed by law.

This priest declared that he had lost all influence over his congregation ever since the introduction of French principles; and yet, when a search for arms was about to be made, he gave notice to them to come in and take the oath of allegiance, which was immediately and implicitly obeyed by all his parishioners.

It was universally believed that he did so from an idea that the taking that oath would supersede the necessity of searching for arms, and throw a veil over the malignant designs of the united Irishmen. Captain Mills, who commanded the Cronebane corps, disarmed the forty-four disaffected members, and their places were supplied by loyal men.

This test oath, and the occasion of framing it, having been mentioned in the Dublin Journal, was adopted by the officers of many other corps in the counties of Wicklow, Dublin, and Wexford, by whom it was proposed to be taken; and it produced universally the same effect, as almost the whole of the popish yeomen refused to take it, and who were therefore dismissed, which tended much to strengthen the cause of loyalty;

as some corps were purged of many traitors by it. Fourteen Roman catholicks of the Coolgreney corps, commanded by captain John Beauman, refused to take it, and were therefore dismissed.

In the Castletown corps, commanded by captain Grogan Knox, there were about fifty papists, and ten protestants. The captain intended to propose the above test oath to be taken, but was dissuaded by his two lieutenants, sir Thomas Esmond and Laurence Doyle, both papists; but as the disaffection of the popish members was very strongly suspected, the gentlemen of the county insisted on having them dismissed, which was very fortunate, as many of them were afterwards hanged, or shot, for having been concerned in the rebellion.

There was very great disaffection in the popish yeomen of Bray. In short, there appeared a spirit of disaffection among the popish yeomen of every corps in the county of Wicklow. Captain Hume's corps consisted of protestants, and they were of course loyal.

William Byrne of Ballymanus, a rebel captain, and a member of the Wicklow yeomanry, having refused to take the oath, quitted it. He was afterwards hanged, for having been an active rebel leader.

Some time previous to the rebellion, and during its existence, many protestants were murdered with horrid circumstances of barbarity. The magistrates and gentry of the country, by frequent addresses, endeavoured to recal the people to a sense of their duty; and offered large rewards for the discovery of such atrocities.

Captain King having sent one of those papers to father C—— to be read from the altar; he, in answer said, "That he had received a paper from him, which contained rewards for the discovery of crimes, and that he was sure it was well intended. That our Saviour was betrayed for thirty pieces of silver, but he hoped that none of his parishioners would act the part of Judas."

For some months previous to the rebellion, the priests strongly inculcated the necessity of sobriety and peaceable demeanour,\* to lull the magistrates and government, and to prevent the rebels from betraying their secrets, which had such an immediate and universal effect, that the whiskey houses were deserted, and those who had been the most notorious drunkards, could not by any persuasion be induced to drink any spirits, and abstained

\* This appeared to have been the main object of the defenders, as appeared in their prospectus found on Sharky at Drumbanagher, so early as the year 1789. See Appendix, No. II.



abstained from broils and quarrels, and particularly from seditious language in any mixed assemblies.

Such instructions, penned with energy and elegance, were printed and circulated among the people, which rapidly produced an apparent reformation in their manners, to the great surprize of those who were ignorant of the secret motives which occasioned it.

Very early in the rebellion, two men of the names of Doyle and Lancaster, were found in arms near Glenmalur. The former, a papist, was condemned to die; but it appearing that he was more than once instrumental in saving the life of Lancaster, who was a loyal man, and had been compelled to join the rebels, he was pardoned at the intercession of captain King and Isaac Eccles, esquire, two magistrates. When the mitigation in his sentence was communicated to him, he related several circumstances concerning the rebellion; among others, that he believed the priests promoted the rebellion to the utmost of their power, and that twenty-eight of them were in the rebel army at the camp of Vinegar-hill.

In fact, the war there was purely religious; for there was no other motive to actuate the mass of the people, except the hope of plunder, which was held out as an additional encouragement.

The old obsolete popish holydays were revived, in order to give the seditious more frequent opportunities of assembling, which could have proceeded only from the clergy, who attended on those days.

When the united Irishmen had disseminated their principles among the mass of the people, their leaders tried many devices to ascertain the strength and numbers of the party, and at the same time to inflame their resentment against the protestants of the established church, whose loyalty was unquestionable. For that purpose, they propagated reports, "That the Roman catholicks were to be murdered on a particular night, by the yeomen and loyalists."\* This afforded a plausible pretext to the disaffected to assemble in their respective districts, to avoid or oppose the intended massacre.

At other times it was said, that the orangemen harboured that barbarous design, though at that time the very name of orangeman was unknown

R r

there.

\* See similar reports propagated in the rebellion of 1689, p. 74 and 75.

there. The first meeting of that kind took place the eleventh of October, and was general in the country, from Arklow to Bray, taking in the whole of the county east of the mountains.

On the tenth of October, a man who assumed the name of James Collins, and said he was the servant of captain King, perambulated a great part of the county on horseback, and propagated a report, "That he had been employed three days in giving notice to all the orangemen in it, to meet the Rathdrum troop (all of whom but four were orangemen,) the next night, to begin the massacre of the Roman catholicks; and the reason he assigned was, that all the yeomanry corps were to be ordered to march to Bantry bay, and that they were to perform that office before they fet out."

He declared, "That though he was servant to that loyal gentleman, captain King, he was a warm friend to the Roman catholicks, and for that reason he wished to put them on their guard."

This person having been well described, captain King traced him to the mines of Ballymurtagh, where he was employed by the messieurs Camacs; and he discovered also, that his name was James Mc. Quillan, a native of the county of Louth, where he had been active among the defenders.

On being committed to gaol, he acknowledged, "That at a meeting of the Ballymurtagh men, (many of whom had been defenders,) it was agreed, that he should undertake his mission, and propagate the report about the designs of the orangemen; that he went by the sea-side to Dublin, and returned by another road to make the dissemination of it more general."

He assumed the name of Collins, because several persons of that name were in the service of captain King.

The rising and assembling of the people was preconcerted, and Mc. Quillan's mission was merely to give them notice on what night it was to take place.

Captain King's name was often made use of to have him assassinated, as he was very active as a magistrate, and a yeoman officer, in checking the progress of rebellion; for which purpose he was one of the first persons marked as an object of rebel vengeance in the Union Star.\*

The

\* See an account of it in page 187.

The informations relative to Mc. Quillan are lodged in the clerk of the crown's office.

Many other agents were employed to spread such reports in the county of Wicklow.

On the seventh of August, 1797, one William Mc. Daniel of Crown-roe, announced publicly at Humewood, and in other parts of the county, that many of the protestant members of captain Hume's corps,\* in which there was but one Roman catholick, took a solemn oath, to burn all the Roman catholick houses in the county, and to shoot their inmates, and that they would soon swim in Catholick blood. This ruffian was taken up, convicted of that crime at the assizes, and imprisoned six months.

A female vagrant went about the country near West-Aston, spreading a report with active malignity, "That Mr. Aston, a gentleman of good landed property, said, that an order had been received from government, that the protestants should put all the Roman catholicks to death; and that he expressed concern at it, to some of the lower class of that persuasion." That gentleman offered a reward for the discovery of that wretch, but he could not obtain it.

The conduct of the united Irishmen in the county of Wicklow, previous to the rebellion, was exactly similar to what took place in every other part of the kingdom; except that they murdered but few persons in plundering houses of arms.

The first person assassinated in it, was an inoffensive old gentleman of the name of Nickson, on the seventh of November, 1797.

When the rebels went to his house for arms, he opened the door himself, informed them, that they should have what arms he had, and said, they should also have something to drink, if they went in.

One in the rear of the party cried out, "Does the old rascal prate? No. 4, shoot him directly." On which, No. 4 stepped forward, and shot him through the body.

The popish multitude in Wicklow, as well as in most other counties, previous to the rebellion, repaired to the magistrates, swore oaths of allegiance, and obtained protections, with no other view but to deceive them and the government.

\* It had not a single united Irishman in it.



Even so late as the twentieth of May, great numbers of people went to Arklow, took oaths of allegiance, and surrendered pikes to the reverend Mr. Bayly of Lamberton, a magistrate; but for no other purpose than to delude the government and the loyal subjects.

Had protections been withheld till the people had surrendered their arms, and had shewn some signs of returning obedience, this practice would have been attended with the best effects; but the general officers in their respective districts granted them indiscriminately, and without any condition. An artful rebel had obtained two protections for himself, from two different quarters, and had given one of them to a neighbour, who assumed his name.

Dwyer, the noted rebel leader, more cruel than Hacket or Holt, and who has been the occasion of many atrocious murders near Baltinglass, obtained a protection from general Moore, in the year 1798, and remained some time in his camp, corrupting his soldiers; and yet for more than two years he bids defiance to the king's troops, and keeps the inhabitants of a large tract of the county of Wicklow in terror and dismay.

Four deserters from the Antrim militia, and another rebel, were taken at their harbour, at Aughavanagh, with their arms, and carried to the general's camp; but having pretended that they were on their way to surrender, he gave them protections, and discharged them. They were afterwards (except one who was shot,) the most desperate robbing party in the country.

It is not to be supposed that the general would have treated them with such lenity, had he known that they were deserters. Had he consulted the yeomen, or the country gentlemen of the district, he could not have been deceived; but at that time it was the fashion to abuse the yeomanry, and to treat the opinion of the country gentlemen with contempt, which was fatal to many parts of that county.

From the following extracts, taken from informations sworn before the reverend Edward Bayly, of Lamberton, in that county, the reader may judge of the designs of the rebels. Simon Beahy swore the twenty-fifth of May, 1798, that the object of the rebels was, to assist the French, when they came to conquer the kingdom, by encouraging assassination, robbery, and the burning of houses.

Owen Redmond deposed the twenty-third of May, that he was sworn to join the French, and assist them; and to kill all those who would not join them.

John Hall depofed the fame, the twenty-third of May.

John Bryan made the fame depofition, the twenty-feventh of May.

Patrick Myrna fwore the fame the twenty-third of May. Michael Stafford fwore the twenty-third of May, that all thofe who were not united would be murdered.

Terence Kinsley fwore, the twenty-third of May, that the united Irifhmen were to rife in rebellion againft the king and his government, and to deftroy all perfons who were not of the popifh religion.\*

I have feen a great number of informations of the fame tenor, fworn by repentant rebels, and have many of them in my poffeffion.

I did not hear of a fingle inftance of difaffection among the proteftant yeomen in the county of Wicklow,† or that a perfon of that perfuafion was concerned in the confpiracy or rebellion.

Part of the Arklow corps quartered at Gorey, patrolled the country on the night of the twenty-feventh of May, and in doing fo, took up a wounded rebel, whose life they promifed to fpare, if he would difclofe what he knew of the united bufinefs; on which he freely and voluntarily confeffed, before many refpectable witneffes, “ That he had been fworn by his prieft, to rife againft the government, and to kill all the hereticks.”

Many rebels in the county of Wicklow enlisted in the king’s troops, while they were quartered there, merely for the purpofe of obtaining arms and ammunition, and a knowledge of military difcipline. On the night of the twenty-firft of September, twenty-two of the King’s county militia, who had praftifed this bafe artifice, deferted with their arms and ammunition. Some yeomen cavalry were fent in purfuit of them, but the deferters having lain in wait, fired on them when they were in a deep road, with high hedges on each fide, killed two of them, and wounded fome more. This method was univerfally adopted by the rebels, for the above purpofes, and to feducer the king’s troops from their allegiance.

On the thirteenth of May, 1798, the magiftrates and yeomen officers for fome miles round Baltinglafs,‡ publifhed exhortations to the lower clafs of  
people,

\* See Appendix, No. XVI. 2.

† Except Holt, a low fellow, without any kind of principle, and a notorious robber.

‡ Plate I. 8.

people, recommending to them to surrender their arms, to make full confession of their guilt, to swear oaths of allegiance, and to receive protections; and vast multitudes of them continued to do so, from morning till night, from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth of May; and yet, on the morning of that day, the insurrection of the lower class of people was general; and they were all armed with pikes or muskets, though, with their usual dissimulation, they had for some days before put on the semblance of contrition.

On the nineteenth of May, a decent looking man went through the country contiguous to Baltinglass, exhorting the people to be in readiness to rise at a moment's warning, as no excuse would be taken.

On the morning of the twenty-third of May, the following notice was put under the door of a yeoman of captain Saunders's corps:

"This is to give you notice, that if you do not do as you are desired to do, you will be left desolate: and further, if you let any bad persons know, you will be burnt in your house."

Captain Saunders of the Saunders-grove corps, having received a hint that some of its members were seduced by the united Irishmen, called a full parade of them on the twentieth of May, and exhorted them, if any of them had been unfortunately tempted to swerve from their allegiance, to acknowledge it to him either publicly or privately; but his address to them did not produce any effect.

Such of them as were disaffected, had resolved that evening to disclose their guilt to their captain, but that James Dunn, the corporal, who had seduced them, persuaded them to adhere to the united cause, and not to violate the oath of secrecy which they had taken. Full information having been received of the guilt of Dunn, he was taken up on the twenty-first of May, by the Wicklow militia, and on being arrested, he impeached some of the members of his own corps.

This discovery induced captain Saunders to call a full parade the twenty-second of May, when he announced it to his men, in presence of a party of the Wicklow militia, and the Dunlavin cavalry: and having desired three or four of the most guilty to come forward, no less than twenty of them, touched with the stings of compunction, advanced, and confessed that they had been sworn. They were immediately conveyed as prisoners to Dunlavin, where many of them were shot on the morning of the twenty-fourth



fourth of May, when the general rising took place. There was much disaffection in the popish members of all the yeomen corps in that part of the country ; but I could not hear of a single instance of treachery in a protestant. There was a conspiracy formed to murder captain Saunders ; but this is not surprising, as all the protestant gentlemen of that county were to have been cut off by their popish servants or tenants. Thomas Kavanagh, a popish member of lord Aldborough's corps, was a leader of the rebels ; he was afterwards hanged ; and his head was amputated, and fixed on a may-pole at Baltinglass.

Mrs. Saunders, with heroic fortitude, remained at Saunders-grove, with her six children, during the whole of the rebellion, while the tempest howled around her ; and, confiding in the fidelity of a few protestant yeomen, she bid defiance to many bands of traitors who often approached her house, which she humanely made the asylum of many loyal protestants, who narrowly escaped from the pikes of the assassins in the adjacent country.

The rebels having assembled to the number of four or five hundred, near Stratford upon Slaney, entered that town in order to pillage it. While they were proceeding to do so, lieutenant Macaulay, commanding thirty of the Antrim militia, and cornet Love, with twenty of the ninth dragoons, attacked them ; and at the same instant, captain Stratford appeared at the other end of the town with a detachment of his corps. They attacked the rebels at the same time, and completely routed them, having killed between one and two hundred ; and many were wounded, who made their escape. Thomas Kavanagh, who headed the rebels on that occasion, offered to mount guard next day at Baltinglass, in order to betray it to the rebels, which he would have done, but that his treachery was discovered.

Previous to relating the battle of Newtown-mount-kennedy, I shall give an account of the progress of the rebellion in the adjacent country, and of the circumstances which immediately preceded it.

In the spring and summer of one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, strong symptoms of disaffection began to appear in it, such as cutting down trees to make pike handles, sounding of horns, meetings of the people on moon-light nights for the purpose of exercising, and firing shots to intimidate and keep within their houses the loyal inhabitants.-- Some vigilant and intelligent magistrates, seeing that nothing but active and seasonable exertions could save the country from destruction, had the  
landholders

landholders and principal inhabitants convened, to take its alarming state into consideration. Notwithstanding the most indubitable proofs that treason fermented, and had made a considerable progress in the country, which was evinced by the facts which I have stated, many noblemen and gentlemen were so incredulous, in consequence of the artful conduct, and gross misrepresentation of the disaffected, and of the readiness of the multitude to take the oath of allegiance, as not to believe that they had treasonable designs, and for that reason, the meetings were frequently adjourned ; and instead of adopting vigorous measures, the most friendly and pacifick addresses to the people were published, inviting them to respect the laws, and to return to a sense of their duty.

The committees of the united Irishmen regarded their patience and forbearance, as cowardice and pusillanimity ; and the lower class of people became daring and insolent, pulling down the pacifick resolutions of the county meetings, and denouncing vengeance against such magistrates and loyal subjects, as expressed a disapprobation of their seditious proceedings, or had taken an active part against them ; and at length it became dangerous for persons of that description to traverse the country, for fear of being assassinated.

At last they were driven to the necessity of proclaiming the whole county, as the infection had spread very widely. Some parts of it had been proclaimed the tenth of November, 1797. The general meetings of the people, in their respective districts, on the eleventh of October, I have already mentioned. It had a most terrific appearance, in the country round Newtown-mount-kennedy. The people, in considerable numbers, headed by their captains, and variously armed, paraded there. On being interrogated by the gentlemen of the country, who remonstrated to them on the dangerous consequences of their conduct, they said, in excuse, that they assembled in defence of their persons and property, against the orangemen, who, they said, conspired against them, and were to rise and cut off every person of their persuasion without exception.

I have already mentioned, that such reports were framed for no other purpose, but to kindle an inextinguishable hatred in the Roman catholics against the protestants ; and the effects of it appeared afterwards in the massacres which took place in the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, Carlow, Meath, Dublin, Kildare, Mayo, and Sligo.

Matters

Matters remained in that state, till the spring of 1798, when a paper containing the proceedings and resolutions of the county of Wicklow committee was obtained, and was afterwards proved upon oath before the secret committee of the house of lords, which shewed the extent and malignity of the conspiracy.

Government still desirous, if possible, to avoid harsh and coercive measures, and to induce the people to return to their duty and their allegiance by mild and conciliating means, lieutenant-general Craig, by their orders, issued a proclamation, dated the eleventh of May, 1798, for that purpose, which see in Appendix, No. XVI. 3; and major Hardy, a humane gentleman and a judicious officer, who then commanded in that county, used the most zealous endeavours to the same end.

Early in the month of May, as the country was in such an alarming state, that no loyal subjects could with safety remain in their houses, the yeomen of the district were ordered into garrison at Newtown-mount-kennedy.

On Tuesday the twenty-ninth of May, a party consisting of ten of the Ancient British cavalry, commanded by lieutenant Edwards, and the same number of the Newtown-mount-kennedy cavalry, under lieutenant Archer, were ordered to proceed to Roundwood, and to return by the Devil's-glynn, where the rebels were supposed to be encamped in considerable force; and they were to reconnoitre them, and to ascertain their numbers and their position. As they approached Roundwood, they attacked and cut off some small parties of the rebels.

Soon after they were informed, by express, that the rebels were proceeding to burn all the houses of the protestants, and that they had begun with that of Mr. Hugo,\* at Drummeen, about three miles off: the detachment arrived in time to save the dwelling-house, but they found the offices in flames. They attacked and routed the rebel party, who committed that atrocity, with considerable slaughter, and laid waste the village of Clohogue, in which they took refuge.

On the twenty-ninth of May, two dragoons, one a yeoman, the other an Ancient British fencible, were sent from Dublin, with an express to lord

S s

Rossmore,

\* He was lieutenant of the Wicklow cavalry, and was noted for his zeal, his activity, and courage.



Rossmore, at Newtown-mount-kennedy, who was to forward it to Wicklow. When they were within two miles of Newtown-mount-kennedy, some rebels, who lined the hedges, fired on them, and killed the yeoman who carried the express; yet his comrade, though the traitors continued to fire at him, dismounted, and with great coolness took the express out of his pocket, and delivered it, all covered with the blood of the deceased, to lord Rossmore.

For some days previous to the thirtieth of May, immense numbers of rebels were seen on the mountains which overlook the village of Newtown-mount-kennedy, which gave strong reasons for suspecting that they meant to attack it.

About one o'clock, on the morning of that day, the town was assaulted by about one thousand of them, variously armed, who began by shouting and huzzaing for Napper Tandy, and then by setting fire to several houses, particularly to the stable of the Ancient Britons; but very fortunately the horses had been removed the preceding day.

On their entering the town, they were opposed by the small garrison in it, consisting of forty Ancient Britons, twenty of the Antrim militia, forty of the Newtown-mount-kennedy cavalry, and forty dismounted men, who had only received their arms the preceding day.

Nothing could exceed the valour of this small force, in repelling so sudden and violent an attack. In the first onset, captain Burgany of the Ancient Britons fell, covered with shot and with pike wounds. Captain Gore of the Newtown-mount-kennedy cavalry, who bravely led the attack, was dismounted, and received some dangerous pike wounds. Mr. Graves Archer, lieutenant of that corps, was severely wounded in the charge, and his horse was killed; and several of the yeomen received slight wounds.

Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, the rebels were routed and pursued with much slaughter, the pursuit having continued for some hours; and the rebels, to facilitate their escape, dropped some hundred pikes in their flight.

The conduct of lieutenant Ferguson, and his detachment of the Antrim, was highly meritorious, not only for their courage and activity in the town, but in dislodging and dispersing a party of rebels, headed by one Maguire, a noted leader, who were too late for the attack on the village,

village, but materially assisted in covering the routed rebels in their retreat.

Holt, a famous rebel chieftain, who commanded at the attack on Mr. Hugo's house, was to have assisted in the assault on Newtown-mount-kennedy, with six hundred men; but could not arrive there before the main body was defeated.

The reader may conceive in what a dangerous and terrific state this country was in, on the breaking-out of the rebellion, from the following circumstance: Captain Beauman, who commanded the Coolgreney corps, was at Arklow\* when that event took place; and though his house was but five miles distant, he did not venture to go to it, nor could he learn what was going forward there for three weeks; so completely was all communication cut off.

For some months after the rebellion was said to be extinguished in the county of Wicklow, the rebels continued to commit the most shocking atrocities, plundering and burning the houses of protestants, and murdering their inmates, though there were three camps stationed there at that time, for the purpose of preventing the commission of outrages.

In the parish of Donoughmore, twenty-two of the principal protestant houses were burned, and no house of a Romanist, but one; and that, because the woman of it lamented that the house and property of her protestant landlord had been destroyed.

A hundred protestants of that parish fled for protection to Tullow,† Dunlavin, and Baltinglass;‡ and were afraid to return to their respective homes, in consequence of the threats and denunciations of their popish neighbours.

All the protestant houses at each side of the road from Baltinglass to Hacketstown, from Hacketstown to Rathdrum, and from Rathdrum to Bleffington, were burnt; but the property of a Roman catholic did not receive the smallest injury in that extensive tract. On Wednesday the twenty-fifth of July, they burned all the protestant houses, sixty in number, between Rathvilly and Hacketstown. This desolating spirit was very much encouraged by the refusal of the general officers to assist the civil magistrates with troops to prevent it.

S s 2

Mr.

\* Plate II. 1.

† Ibid. II. 2.

‡ Plate I. 8.

Mr. Hume, member for the county, made such an application to general ———; but he openly and bluntly refused him, having said, that such outrages were occasioned by the burning of houses, by country gentlemen.

The rebels, finding that they ran no risk of punishment, proceeded in large bands and with cool deliberation to lay waste extensive tracts of country.

I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XVI. 4, for some specimens of their treasonable designs, of their destructive spirit, and of the cold-blooded murders which they committed.

About three o'clock, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of June, two yeomen patrolling near the meeting of the waters, a place between Arklow and Rathdrum, saw a well-dressed man, on a horse covered with foam and sweat, from severe riding; they seized him, and demanded who he was, and whence he came. He answered, that he was a gentleman, and had been riding about for pleasure, to see the beauties of the country. Having conducted him to Rathdrum, he was examined by the commanding officer there, but would not give an account of himself.

A young gentleman of Drogheda, a recruiting officer, who was present, recognised the prisoner, gave privately a brief history of him to captain Giffard, and requested that he would keep it a profound secret.

At that instant an alarm having been given, that the rebels were advancing, the garrison got under arms, the cannon were drawn out, and the matches were lighted.

Captain Giffard shewed him these preparations: Told him, he knew that he was father Martin, a priest, of Drogheda: That he was acting as a spy: That unless he made a full confession, he should be put to death, as his life was forfeited by the laws of war: That if he complied, he should be left at the disposal of the viceroy, who was merciful; but if he hesitated, he should be blown away at the mouth of a cannon.

He instantly dropped on his knees, begged to be taken into a private room, where, he said, he would make a full and candid confession.

At first he began to trifle; but the captain having mentioned some circumstances, which convinced the prisoner that he knew more of him than he supposed, he made the following full and unreserved confession upon oath, and afterwards signed it:

“ That



“ That his name was Martin, that he had been a friar of Drogheda, and that he recently officiated at Dunboyne : That he was early an united Irishman, and very active in the cause : That he preached up the massacre of the protestants at Dunboyne, which afterwards took place there : That he was in habits of intimacy with father Ledwich, parish priest of Rathfarnham, whose nephew (Ledwich) and Wade, he excited to rebellion, in consequence of which they were both hanged on the Queen’s-bridge : That he was now come down to promote the cause, and was in search of Byrne and Holt, who were at the head of a large body of rebels in the mountains, between Rathdrum and Hacketstown : That he had slept the preceding night at the house of a priest at Roundwood.”

He also stated, “ That there was a club of traitors at that time sitting in Dublin, and another in Drogheda,” most of whom have been since taken up, and punished. He said, “ That a large sum of money had been levied on the Roman catholics in general, both clergy and laity, every person paying according to his wealth, some an hundred pounds, others one shilling : That he, though a poor priest, was rated at a guinea : That the money so levied, was to be applied to purchase arms and ammunition, and to reward their friends both in and out of parliament.”

The practice of putting red tape on the necks of popish children, a short time before the rebellion broke out, prevailed as much in the county of Wicklow as Wexford. It is certain, that the intent of it was, to distinguish the popish from the protestant children. The pretext was, to protect them from the effects of a contagious disorder which would soon appear in the country, and be fatal to many of its inhabitants ; but experience has since taught us that it was to enable the rebels to discriminate protestant from popish children in the massacre which was intended of the former.

A court-martial was held at Arklow, the eighteenth of June, 1798, by orders of general Needham, for the trial of Matthew Waddock, a traitor, found in arms, and for being in the action of the ninth of June, at Arklow.

The prisoner acknowledged the crime, and that while he attended the rebel army, he considered as chief commanders in it, Anthony Perry of Inch, father Francis Kavenagh, a priest of Gorey, father Roche of the same, Bernard Murray, apothecary, and Matthew D’Arcy, both of the same.

James

James Murrigan, a prisoner, taken in arms with Waddock, deposed, that fathers Roche, Stafford, Kavenagh and Redmond,\* four priests, were always considered as commanders in the rebel army.

The death of captain Hume, member for the county of Wicklow, murdered by the rebels, happened in the following manner ; which was proved on the trial of John Moore, the rebel who killed him :

John O'Neale swore, that the party of rebels to which he belonged, was closely pursued by the king's troops, through Glenmalur, into Aughavanagh, where they saw different parties of the king's troops in pursuit of them. They had but six horsemen of their party, three in red, and three in coloured clothes. Captain Hume, having mistaken them for a party of yeomen, advanced near them, and cried out, " Is there not enough to mind that position ? " Conway, one of the rebels, asked him, Who he was ? to which he answered, " Captain of a corps of cavalry." Conway then said, " Did you ever hear of the Ballynatrochin cavalry ? " and then raising his firelock, missed fire at him. On which Moore shot him, and mounted his horse, and Conway took his spurs. This gentleman, who was universally and deservedly esteemed in his county, had displayed great courage and activity at the head of his corps, during the progress of the rebellion. This melancholy event happened in the month of October, 1798.

#### REBELLION IN THE COUNTY OF WEXFORD.

The inhabitants of no part of Leinster enjoyed so equal a portion of social happiness, as those of the county of Wexford, which arose from the following causes : Many English families who settled there at different periods, but particularly in the last century, introduced that œconomy, industry, and cleanliness, which are peculiar to the British nation, but in which the native Irish are very deficient ; and strong vestiges of those habits are still evident in the descendants of the British settlers. There are fewer absentee estates in Wexford than in most other counties, and more gentlemen resident in it, who maintain social order, and discharge the duties of hospitality, charity and humanity ; and as the leaves of a tree enrich the soil which nourishes the parent trunk, so the rents of an estate should be expended in rewarding

\* The latter was hanged. He was coadjutor to father Kavenagh, a priest of Gorey.







a Scale of Miles



rewarding the labour of those, who, in producing them, contribute to the ease, the comfort, and convenience of the landlord. From its oblong and narrow form, and the sinuosity of its sea coast, it enjoys a much greater length of it, in proportion to its quantity of square acres, than any other county; a circumstance favourable not only to commerce, but to agriculture, as the sea sand, and sea weed, form a very good manure for corn. It is abundantly supplied with fish and sea fowl. It is bisected by the river Slaney, which is navigable to Enniscorthy, fifteen miles from the sea: part of it is bounded on the west by the rivers Nore and Barrow, which unite a little above New Ross, and proceed in a very copious stream to Dunbrody, where being joined by the river Suir, they run in a south-east direction, and, passing by Passage and Duncannon fort, discharge themselves into the ocean at Hook tower.\*

The county of Wexford had been generally noted for the peaceable disposition of its inhabitants, and a chaste administration of justice, which might be justly imputed to the comfort, and the constant occupation, which its very extensive and flourishing agriculture affords to the farmers and the peasantry, and to the number of gentlemen who reside on their estates. While many counties in Ireland were disgraced by nocturnal robbery and assassination, committed by defenders and united Irishmen, for five years previous to 1797, it was the pride and the boast of the Wexford gentlemen, that their county remained in perfect tranquillity.† But in the autumn and winter of the year 1797, and in the spring of the ensuing year, as there were well grounded suspicions that the mass of the people began to be infected by those baneful principles, which have since proved so fatal to the kingdom, that pikes had been manufactured, that clubs had been formed, in which illegal oaths had been administered, meetings of the magistrates were held in different parts of the county, to take into consideration the necessity of proclaiming those districts, where symptoms of disturbance had appeared.

From the beginning of the year 1797, it was perceived by some magistrates of discernment, that the lower classes of the people were very unwilling to pay their debts, or to fulfil any engagements: That they appeared furly when called on to do so; and they were heard, when angry,  
or

\* See Plates, No. I. II. III.

† The only instance to the contrary that occurred there some years were the white boys in the year 1774, and the defenders who appeared there in 1793; but the latter were soon suppressed.

or drunk, to hint on such occasions, that they would soon have an opportunity of being revenged. They were seen to remain later than usual at fairs and markets, and in publick houses, and to confer together in whispers.

At a meeting of the magistrates held at Gorey, the twentieth day of November, 1797, such strong proofs appeared, that a spirit of disaffection had existed some time in certain districts, that nineteen parishes were proclaimed; which circumstance alarmed the priests of those parishes, and their congregations, as they found that the progress of their rebellious designs would be impeded, if the civil magistrate was empowered to act with additional energy under the insurrection law. They therefore assembled at their respective chapels, and in an address, which they universally adopted, besought the earl of Mountnorris to avert that measure, as it would cover them with a suspicion of disloyalty and disaffection, which they by no means merited: And as his lordship, and seven more magistrates of the county, spoke and voted against proclaiming those parishes, they entreated him and them, to meet them at their respective chapels, that they might take the oath of allegiance, to clear themselves from that imputation; and his lordship, and those magistrates, having accordingly attended them, they all, at their respective altars, swore an oath of allegiance, agreeable to a form previously agreed upon.\*

So deep was the disguise of the popish multitude, and their priests, that the protestant ministers, churchwardens, and parishioners of some parishes, were prevailed on by them, to sign certificates of their loyalty and peaceable deportment, in order to prevent the adoption of that salutary coercion, which would have checked their dangerous designs; yet those very priests, and their flocks, displayed the most bitter and unrelenting enmity against those ministers† and their congregations, in the month of May, and hunted them like wild beasts.

At the meeting held at Gorey, eight magistrates, including Lord Mountnorris, voted and spoke vehemently against proclaiming the nineteen parishes, from a persuasion that the popish inhabitants and their priests were perfectly

\* See in appendix, No. XVII. the address to his lordship, and the oath of allegiance which they all adopted, and the names of the priests and their respective parishes.

† See in appendix, No. XVII. the certificates of some parishes, which I happened to obtain.









A MAP.  
of the Southern part of the County of  
WEXFORD



perfectly innocent ; and yet they were as obnoxious to that ferocious and sanguinary spirit which broke forth in the month of May, as those who wished to enforce that measure.

The symptoms of rebellion were so evident and alarming in the month of April, that twenty-seven magistrates assembled at Enniscorthy, on the twenty-fifth of that month, and agreed that the whole county should be proclaimed, and it accordingly took place on the twenty-seventh ; but Mr. Joshua Pouden strenuously urged an exemption from its operation for that town, from a conviction of the loyalty of its inhabitants ; and Mr. Alcock of Wilton, from the same motive, solicited a similar privilege for his tenants ; though the sequel proved that they were deceived.

This procedure was adopted, in consequence of their having discovered that great quantities of pikes had been made, and of their having detected blacksmiths in the act of fabricating them.

Mr. Hawtrey White, captain of the Ballaghkeene yeomen cavalry, obtained the following information, and communicated it to government, so early as the month of November, 1797 : Their manner of assembling : Their frequent meetings : Their mode of collecting money in their respective parishes : That it was to be applied to the purpose of purchasing arms and ammunition, and of seducing the military : That an attack on the city of Dublin was meditated : That the popish priests were deeply concerned in the rebellion ; and that whenever it would break-out, religion would have the chief influence in it.

Many other priests and their congregations followed the example of those who took oaths of allegiance, on the twenty-sixth of November, 1797, having solicited the magistrates to give them the same opportunity of exculpating themselves.

In the month of February, 1798, some of the principal popish farmers of the parish of Kilrush, solicited Charles Dawson, esquire, of Charles-Fort, near Ferns,\* a magistrate, to attend them at their chapel for that purpose ; and he complied with their wishes, on the ensuing Sunday, when he was assisted by the reverend Edanus Murphy, their parish priest, and his coadjutor. The latter, in a long harangue from the altar, expatiated on the virtues of his present majesty, the wisdom and lenity of his

T t

government,

\* See Plate II. 6.



government, and recommended to them a steady and unshaken fidelity to both. He at the same time appointed three days for them to assemble at different places in the parish, to take and subscribe the oath of allegiance, before Mr. Dawson, which they accordingly did; and father Murphy was present at one of their meetings.

The same priest and his flock assembled again on the twenty-eighth of January, 1798, in their chapel, expressing their abhorrence of the barbarous outrages lately committed, and of the dangerous conspiracies formed by traitors and rebels, styling themselves united Irishmen; and declaring their unalterable attachment to their beloved sovereign, and to our happy constitution. It was signed by Edanus Murphy, and five hundred and fourteen of his parishioners, and published in the *Dublin Journal* on the third day of March, 1798, after having been presented to the viceroy.

Notwithstanding such unequivocal testimonies of their loyalty, Mr. Dawson had strong reasons for thinking that a storm was gathering, as the people assembled privately, and many pikes had been manufactured in the parish, subsequent to the administration of oaths at the chapel. He therefore prevailed on some of his tenants, partly by threats, and partly by persuasion, to make a full confession of their guilt, and to deliver up their arms, which they accordingly did; and next day, a great number of people followed their example, in acknowledging their delusion, in surrendering pikes, and in soliciting protections, which they obtained; though these very people had a few days before taken oaths of allegiance, and had signed an address to the viceroy.

On this discovery, Mr. Dawson, alarmed at the perilous state of the country, repaired on the twentieth of May to Wexford, where he and twenty-nine magistrates assembled; and published notices, exhorting all the people in general to come in, to take oaths of allegiance, to confess their errors, and to accept the protection which they then offered them. This produced the desired effect; for the magistrates continued the entire week to receive great numbers of people, who seemed very penitent, having confessed their errors; the committees before whom they had been sworn; and the blacksmiths who had made their pikes, of which they surrendered great quantities.

The

The same protections were granted in the parishes of Enniscorthy, Templehambo, Ferns,\* Newtown-barry† and Camolin,‡ where the respective parish priests attended, and exhorted their flocks to testify their loyalty, and to renounce their errors; and this continued till the day before the rebellion broke out, and in most of the parishes in that county they followed their example.

The priests and their congregations in the parish of Monomolin, took oaths of allegiance, surrendered their arms, and received protections, on the week preceding the rebellion, and sent a loyal address to the viceroy.

Great numbers of people in the parish of Kilscoran, attended by two priests, continued to take oaths of allegiance on Saturday, Sunday and Monday, previous to the thirtieth of May. Above one thousand persons did the like in the parish of Taghmon, the week preceding the rebellion, and two hundred even so late as the morning of Whitfunday.

The protections granted to the persons who took such oaths, were found afterwards in the pockets of numbers of them who fell in the rebellion.

On the twelfth of April, 1797, many parish priests and their congregations addressed lord Camden in terms strongly expressive of their loyalty, and on this occasion they all adopted one form of address.||

As the earl of Mountnorris had always been peculiarly attentive to the interest of the Roman catholics, and had endeavoured to awaken a sense of duty in them, at this alarming period, they solicited him to present them to the viceroy, which he accordingly did.

The reverend Dudley Colclough, a magistrate, administered oaths of allegiance in the parish of Templehambo, to some hundreds of people, who surrendered their pikes, and on doing so received protections.

Sir Frederick Flood and Henry Brownrigg, esquire, did the like in the parish of Camolin, where the priests attended.

The following letter § published in the Dublin Journal of May twenty-sixth, shews how much the magistrates were imposed on.

T t 2

It

\* Plate II. 6.

† Ibid. 5.

‡ Ibid.

|| See in Appendix No. XVII. the names of the priests, their parishes and their addresses.

§ Camolin, May 24th.

“ I have the satisfaction of informing you, that the measures of government have been attended with the happiest effects. In this parish, many hundred pikes have been given up within

It was observed, that in the town of Camolin, a number of priests used frequently to meet, dine together, and hold private conferences for some months previous to the rebellion.

At Enniscorthy, the two Mr. Poundens sat for an entire week, previous to Whitsunday, giving protections to the people, in consequence of their having taken the oaths, and surrendered their arms. These proceedings took place in the presence of three priests,\* who to give a greater appearance of sanctity to them, insisted that the people should be sworn on a popish manual; and yet so little regard had their flock for the sacred obligation of an oath, that some of these protections were found in the pockets of rebels, who were killed on the Monday following, when they attacked the town of Enniscorthy.

In the parish of Ferns, oaths were administered to the inhabitants of it, by Isaac Cornock, esquire, and the reverend Mr. Turner† of Ballingale, both magistrates, until the evening before the rebellion broke out.

Some of them denied, that they had ever seen a pike, or taken the united Irishmen's oath; but on being refused protections, and threatened with the severity of the law, they acknowledged both; and said, that they had procured those weapons to protect themselves against orangemen, who they heard would soon rise and exterminate the Roman catholics. A few of them owned, that the purport of their oath was, to join the French, and to kill all loyal subjects, and such persons as would not join them; and on being urged to declare whom they meant by loyal persons, they said protestants.

Mr. Hawtrey White of Peppard's castle,‡ in the parish of Donoughmore, an active magistrate, knowing that rebellious principles had been widely diffused, and had taken deep root in the minds of the people, pre-  
vailed

within these few days to sir Frederick Flood and Henry Brownrigg, esquire, magistrates; and the unfortunate people are crowding in with the fullest confession, and throwing themselves on the mercy of government. I have been myself an eye-witness to the sense of guilt and contrition in the deluded peasantry, against whom such baneful arts have been exerted."

\* It was observed, that a priest retired with some of the parishioners, and whispered them sometime before they took the oath.

† Mr. Turner, before whom they swore those oaths on Saturday, was murdered by them next morning.

‡ Plate III. 1.



vailed on the following priests, and the most respectable farmers of their congregations, to assemble at his house, on Saturday, the nineteenth day of May, for the purpose of admonishing them, on the alarming state of the country: Father Nicholas Redmond, parish priest of Donoughmore, father Michael Murphy, of \* Ballycanew, father Michael Lacy, of † Kilmuckridge. He informed them of his having received certain intelligence, that secret meetings of the people had been frequently held, in which treasonable oaths had been administered, and that great quantities of pikes had been made in their parishes, and in all the adjacent country; and he pressed them to use their utmost exertions, by exhortations from the altar, to check their deluded congregations, in their career to destruction; but they and their parishioners, declared in the most solemn manner, that they were positively ignorant of the alarming circumstances which he stated, and that they had never seen a pike; though Mr. White had positive information, that some of the farmers who had made such declarations of their innocence, were possessed of considerable quantities of those weapons. They all departed, making strong professions of loyalty, and expressing great surprise and concern at what they had heard. Next day these priests exhorted their flocks from the altar, to conduct themselves peaceably, and to act with fidelity towards the government; and they, as if deeply impressed with the admonitions of their spiritual pastors, continued the entire week to surrender pikes, and to swear oaths of allegiance before magistrates, and to receive protections.† Though the mass of the people gave such unequivocal testimonies of their sincere intention to preserve social order, the following circumstance raised many ominous doubts and conjectures in the minds of his majesty's loyal subjects: That the popish multitude resorted to their chapels, much oftener than usual, for some weeks before the rebellion broke out, to exercise their devotions, and to confess to their respective parish priests, not only in the county of Wexford, but in many other parts of the province of Leinster.

For some months previous to it, doctor Caulfield, the popish bishop, and a number of priests, used frequently to meet, and dine at the house of Peter Redmond, at Enniscorthy, where they held secret conferences.

By

\* Plate II. 6.

† Plate III. 2.

‡ Mr. White had undoubted information at that time, that these priests were deeply and actively engaged in the cause of the union. Michael Murphy was killed at the battle of Arklow.

By such profound dissimulation, covered over with the broad mantle of religion, the priests and their congregations lulled the government, and the magistrates, into a state of supine and fatal security; and prevented them from adopting such vigorous measures, and salutary precautions, as were necessary to prevent the execution of their nefarious designs. They therefore formed their destructive plans, with the silence and secrecy of moles, and started forth, suddenly, with the fury and fierceness of tygers. The delusive stillness that preceded the insurrection in the county of Wexford, resembled a calm in one of the tropical regions, which is suddenly succeeded by a hurricane, that spreads universal desolation.\*

When this dreadful volcano burst forth, which has brought irreparable calamities, and indelible disgrace on that once-happy and opulent portion of the kingdom of Ireland, there were no other troops in the county of Wexford, but the North Cork militia, consisting of but three hundred men; and they did not arrive there till the twenty-sixth of April. Their head-quarters were in Wexford, where three companies of them were stationed; the remainder were quartered at Gorey, Enniscorthy, and Ferns. § Two thousand troops, properly cantoned in it, would have awed the rebels into obedience, and have prevented the possibility of a rising; but the solemnity and sacredness of oaths, and the earnestness of protestations, banished all suspicion on the part of the government, the magistrates, and the loyal subjects; though the subversion of the former, and the extirpation of the latter, had been some months concerted.

The following reason is to be assigned, for the zeal which the leaders of rebellion in the county of Wexford displayed in organizing and arming the people, and in practising the arts of deception on the government: lord Edward Fitzgerald had laid a plan, that a few fast-sailing French frigates, should come to Wexford, filled with arms and ammunition, with

\* But, as we often see, against some storm,  
A silence in the heavens, the rack stand still,  
The bold winds speechless, and the orb below  
As hush as death; anon, the dreadful thunder,  
Doth rend the region —

SHAKSPEARE.

§ Plate II. 4.

with officers and Irishmen, and persons capable of drilling men. § In consequence of this, their expectations of their arrival were such, that the Wexford rebels mistook our frigates for French, when they appeared on their coast.

It was the intention of the Irish directory, that the insurrection should take place at one and the same time, all over Ireland; but the following circumstances disconcerted their scheme, and prevented the accomplishment of it: The arrest of the representatives for the province of Leinster, at Oliver Bond's, and afterwards of lord Edward Fitzgerald, the two Sheares, Neilson, and some other leaders; and as their successors disagreed about the time of rising, it is certain that it was not determined on till a short time before it was to take place in Dublin and its vicinity.

It was not communicated to the Wexford leaders till the twenty-fifth of May, and it required some time to apprize the different captains of it, that they might prepare their corps to act in concert. For these reasons, the general insurrection in that county did not take place till Whit Sunday, the twenty-seventh of May, 1798.

But the zeal of father John Murphy,\* of Boulavogue chapel, in the parish of Kilcormick, was so intemperate, that he began his military career at six o'clock on Saturday evening the twenty-sixth of May; and considering the time of its duration, and the limits to which it was confined, we must allow that it was as destructive as that of Attila, Gengis Kan, or Tamerlane. His father was a petty farmer at Tincurry, in the parish of Ferns, where he was educated at a hedge-school, kept by a man of the name of Gun. It appears by his testimonium and diploma, † that he received holy orders at Seville in Spain, in the year 1785; and, I presume, that he graduated there as a doctor of divinity, as he assumes that title in his journal, ‡ which he dropped in his retreat from Vinegar-hill, and which was found by captain Hugh Moore of the 5th dragoons, aid-de-camp to general Needham.

As one Webster, a protestant neighbour of doctor Murphy, was returning from Gorey, he met him near Boulavogue, about four o'clock on Saturday the twenty-sixth of May, and was saluted by him with great cordiality;

§ Report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. XVI. page 136.

\* See the oath of allegiance which he took, and his address to lord Mountnorris, with other priests, Appendix, No. XVII.

† See Appendix, No. XVIII. 1.

‡ Ibid.



cordiality; and yet, in about three hours after, the doctor was at the head of a numerous party of rebels, who burned the houses of Webster,§ and his brother, and many of his protestant neighbours.

The doctor collected his forces by lighting a fire on a hill called Corrigrua,\* which signal was answered by another fire on an eminence contiguous to his own house, at Boulavogue; soon after which father Murphy set out on his crusade, at the head of a numerous band of followers.†

These outrages, the first symptoms of open rebellion, were communicated to the garrison of Enniscorthy,‡ in the following manner: A party of these rebels attacked the house of the widow Piper, at Tincurry, four miles from that town, wounded her in a desperate manner, murdered her nephew, a young man of the name of Candy, and wounded her daughter, a married woman far gone with child, having broke her arm. || Her other daughter, having narrowly escaped by leaping out of a window, mounted a horse, galloped off to Enniscorthy, and informed the garrison quartered there of these atrocities, at seven o'clock in the evening.

About the hour of eleven o'clock that night, the Enniscorthy and Healthfield yeomen cavalry, commanded by captain Richards and captain Grogan, proceeded to Tincurry, to disperse the rebels; and on their arrival there, found all the circumstances of atrocity related by the poor female fugitive to be strictly true; and they were also informed by her mother, that the assassins principally concerned in them, were one Fitzpatrick, and the Bulgers, a popish family, her near neighbours, with whom she had always lived in the closest friendship; and that their enmity could have arisen from no other motive, but because she was of the protestant religion, and that her two sons were in the service as yeomen.

Soon after the yeomanry returned to Enniscorthy, they were alarmed a second time, by the arrival of a young man of the name of Webster, who informed them that his father's house at Garrybritt, about five miles off, had been set on fire by a party of rebels, and that he made his escape after having rushed through the flames. On this intelligence, captains Richards and Grogan set out a second time with their corps of cavalry, in pursuit of the rebels; and on their arrival at Garrybritt, found the house

§ See in Appendix, No. XVIII. 2. the affidavit of Samuel Whealey.

\* Plate II. 7.

† Ibid.

‡ Plate III. 2

|| These atrocities were proved at the spring assizes of Wexford in 1801, on the trial of Patrick Bulger, one of the assassins that perpetrated them; and, having been convicted of them, he was condemned to be hanged, and his body was ordered to be hung in chains on Vinegar-hill.

house of the two Websters, brothers, John and Robert, in flames, and the two daughters of one of them, both handsome and young, having narrowly escaped, were sitting in their shifts, in an orchard near the house, shivering with cold. Their father, a man of considerable substance, was in a moment reduced to poverty.

Captains Richards and Grogan saw all the protestant houses, as far as their sight could extend, in a state of conflagration; and having received undoubted information that father Murphy was at the head of the rebels who were thus spreading devastation, they, in the first instance, repaired to his house, where they discovered that he, conscious that his nefarious conduct would provoke the vengeance of the magistrates and the military, had concealed his furniture in a pit in an adjacent field, before he had set out on his campaign; and all the rebels who attended him followed his example.

They therefore set fire to father Murphy's house, as a punishment for the atrocities which he and his followers had perpetrated. Some persons have asserted that the yeomen were the aggressors on this occasion, and that father Murphy would not have embarked in the rebellion, if he had not been provoked by the burning of his house and his chapel; but the facts which I have related are a sufficient refutation of this; and the affidavits of two rebel leaders of the names of Rossiter and Crawley,\* remove all doubts on it.

In justice to captain Richards, I think it right to say, that he would not suffer any of his party to burn father Murphy's chapel, or to insult his vestments, which were found in the pit† near his house; but that, on the contrary, he insisted that nothing of the kind should be done, having said, "Punish the man, but do not mock or insult his religion."

The yeomen cavalry, in their progress that night, overtook some of the rebels in arms, whom they put to death, and burned some of their houses, which their inmates had deserted, and from which the furniture had been removed and conceal

Many particulars of the destructive career of that sacerdotal hero, during that night and next day, have been verified by the affidavit of Samuel

U u

Whealey,

\* See Appendix, No. XVIII. 3.

† They found there his testimonium and diploma.

Whealey, a farmer of that parish.\* Having burnt every protestant house in the parish of Kilcormick, and murdered such of their inmates as he could seize, he proceeded to a place called the Harrow, where he engaged and defeated a party of the Camolin yeomen cavalry, having killed lieutenant Bookey, who commanded it, and Mr. John Donovan, one of the privates; after which he burned the house of Rockspring,|| belonging to the former.

When lieutenant Bookey set out with his troop, he left a guard in his house, consisting of five Roman catholic servants, and two protestants, Jacob Ward and Samuel Hawkins. Between twelve and one o'clock in the morning, about five hundred rebels, headed by father Murphy, surrounded the house of Rockspring, on which the five papists deserted, and the two protestants were left alone, with four guns, to defend the house. The rebels called to them to deliver up their arms, which the two protestants said they would do, and immediately discharged four guns at them; and they continued to load and fire at them with all possible celerity. The rebels, incensed at their spirited conduct, threw stones at the windows, fired into them with their muskets, and at last broke open the front door with a sledge. As some of the assailants had fallen by the fire of the besieged, others, dreading the same fate, were heard to cry out, "Let us retreat, before more of us are killed."

The rebels having entered the house, got lights, and assembled in the hall; on which the two protestants ceased firing, and placed themselves on the head of the stairs, with their muskets, to prevent their foes from ascending. Father Murphy ordered some of his men to go up stairs, and learn who the persons were that had the audacity to oppose him; but having hesitated to obey his commands, he drew his sword, and threatened them instantly with death. Two of them having attempted to comply, were shot before they proceeded far, and tumbled down among their comrades. As the last resource, to be revenged of the besieged, they set fire to the house; yet the two protestants, with the most deliberate valour, continued to charge and fire, till the floor, a prey to the flames, began to crack under them; on which they repaired to the upper story, but even there they were much scorched with the flames, and almost stifled

\* See Appendix, No. XVIII. 2.

|| Plate II. 7.



filled with smoke. But as they ceased to fire, the rebels imagined they were suffocated or consumed, and that they had obtained ample revenge; and fearing that the dawn, which was not far distant, would expose them to the yeomanry of Enniscorthy who had been scouring the country, they retreated, by which the lives of these two brave men were preserved.

As the murder of the reverend doctor Burrowes, rector of Kilmuckridge, and the burning of his glebe-house at Kyle,\* were marked with circumstances of peculiar atrocity, I shall give a minute description of them, as related to me by his widow and children.|| Some of his protestant parishioners, dreading that they would fall a prey to the sanguinary rage of father Murphy, took refuge in the house of Kyle, on Saturday evening. One Murphy, though an united Irishman, had candour and humanity enough to inform Mr. Burrowes, about eleven o'clock that night, that his house would be attacked early next morning by a party of rebels. In consequence of this information, he, his family, and his parishioners sat up all night, and barricaded the lower part of the house, which was attacked at sun-rise by about five hundred rebels.

It was vigorously defended for some time, many shots having been fired by the assailants and the besieged. At last, the rebels set fire to the out-offices, which were quickly consumed, and soon after to the dwelling-house, which in a short time was in a state of conflagration. The rapid progress of the flames in the latter was imputed to some unctuous combustible matter applied to the doors and windows of the house, which the rebels frequently used in the course of the rebellion.

The besieged, being in danger of suffocation from the thickness of the smoke, resolved to quit the house, however perilous it might be; and they were encouraged to do so by doctor Murphy, who assured them, that they should not be injured, if they surrendered themselves without any further resistance. Relying on his promise, they quitted the house, on which they treacherously murdered Mr. Burrowes, and seven of his parishioners; and gave his son, a youth of sixteen years,† so severe a wound in the belly with a pike, that for some time he lay motionless and

U u 2

apparently

\* See Plate III. 2.

|| The most material of them have been verified by the affidavit of his eldest son. See Appendix, No. XVIII. 4.

† This amiable youth languished and died of that wound in the autumn of 1800.

apparently dead. Mrs. Burrowes, her four children, and Miss Clifford, her niece, continued for twelve hours to weep over the mangled bodies of her husband and his seven parishioners, and to console and administer relief to her son, who was in excruciating agonies, and bleeding so copiously, that every moment she expected his dissolution.

The horror of the scene was heightened by the house in a state of conflagration, discharging immense volumes of flame and smoke, and emitting such heat, that the unfortunate sufferers could scarce endure it. All her household furniture, and her clothes, except what she and her children wore, were destroyed by the fire.

In the evening, she, her children, and niece, repaired to a wretched inn at Oulart, about half a mile off, with her son, who was carried on a door. These unfortunate sufferers remained there till Tuesday the twenty-ninth day of May, and during that time her son did not receive any medical assistance. They were escorted by a party of rebels to Castle-anneley, the seat of Mr. Clifford, above five miles off, where they were kept as prisoners, till the town of Wexford was taken from the rebels.\*

While Mr. Burrowes's house was in flames, Thomas Foxton, one of his protestant parishioners, who sought an asylum in his house, concealed himself in an oven, to escape the sanguinary rage of the rebels, and he remained there till their departure. By skulking in places of concealment, he contrived to evade their researches, till after the king's troops got possession of Wexford; when he, half famished, and attended by his wife and three young children, was met between Inch and Gorey by a flying party of rebels, who put him to death. His afflicted wife carried his body, on her back, two miles to the church of Inch, to be buried. An instance of piety which deserves to be recorded! †

Though the popish inhabitants of Kilrush had continued to take oaths of allegiance, and to surrender pikes to Mr. Dawson, of Charles-fort, for a week preceding Whitfunday, he had such strong doubts of their sincerity, that he kept in his house by night, ten of his protestant parishioners, well armed, for his protection. Having dismissed them on that morning, he

\* See in Appendix, No XVIII. 4. the affidavit of T. C. Burrowes.

† Richard, the brother of Thomas Foxton, and William Edwards who escaped, and who were examined as witnesses the sixteenth of November, 1798, on the trial of Peter Crowley, one of father Murphy's gang, proved that they heard some of the rebels say, "That all protestants ought to be killed, as they were not christened."

he was preparing to attend his family to church, consisting of Mrs. Dawson, two daughters, his son of the age of sixteen, and a miss Reade, when a man, who was under obligations to him, arrived at his house, and informed him, that he had just come from a large body of people, who had risen the night before, had burned many houses, and had committed various enormities, which he enumerated, and that they were resolved to carry every thing before them; that they were determined to compel Mr. Dawson to join them, and co-operate with them; and that they would murder him, and his family, if he refused to comply. Mr. Dawson boldly declared, that he would submit to die, sooner than violate his allegiance to his king. He immediately sent a person to collect his protestant guards, but, alas! no more than one of them, his gamekeeper, could be found;\* and a few minutes after he arrived, a thousand rebels surrounded his house, and set fire to it and his out-offices, which were soon in flames. Mrs. Dawson, her daughter, and miss Reade, in the greatest consternation, made their escape out of a window. Mr. Dawson fled into his hall, as it was the most defensible part of his house. Soon after the front door fell in, and he received a musket ball in his breast. He could have shot the man who fired at him; but perceiving his family in the hands of the rebels, he feared that they would instantly have fallen a prey to their savage revenge.

As the flames began to rage in every part of his house, he fled into his lawn, where he was surrounded by a large body of them, who were proceeding to assassinate him; but some of them interfered, and said, it would answer their purpose much better, to take him with them, and make him act as their commander. He shewed them his wound, which bled copiously, and assured them it would soon occasion his dissolution; and they seemed so much convinced of it, that they left him. He then proceeded through a plantation of trees to a tenant's house. His son, of whose safety he had despaired, arrived there soon after, breathless and faint from running. He had fallen into the hands of the rebels, who were on the point of murdering him. They procured horses, and repaired to the town of Ferns, two miles off. In their way thither, they perceived  
all

\* This man's name was John Willis, and he was murdered that morning by one Arthur Murphy, his neighbour, and apparently his friend.



all the protestant houses on fire, in every direction, as far as their sight could extend. The protestant inhabitants of Ferns,\* alarmed at such appearances, and expecting that the town would be attacked by a numerous body of rebels, who were assembled in its vicinity, retreated to Enniscorthy,† six miles distant, escorted by a detachment of the North Cork militia, and the Scarawallh yeomanry, commanded by captain Cornock; and Mr. Dawson, and his son joined them. Mrs. Dawson and her family repaired to Newtownbarry,‡ five miles off, under the protection of the yeomanry cavalry of that town; and next day, escorted by them, they went to Enniscorthy, which was nine miles off.

The houses and property of all the inhabitants of the town of Ferns were plundered or destroyed, when they fled to Enniscorthy. The base ingratitude of the popish multitude towards doctor Cleaver, bishop of Ferns, deserves peculiar attention. That amiable prelate, as noted for his great piety and extensive learning, as for his mildness and humility, resided constantly in his diocese, which was by far the best regulated in the kingdom. In the course of a few years, he had provided for above twenty curates, without any other recommendation but their own merit; in consequence of which, his clergy were distinguished for their unre-mitted practice of every religious and moral duty.

His lordship and Mrs. Cleaver, were singularly charitable and humane to all the lower class of people in his neighbourhood. He paid an apothecary in Ferns 30*l.* a-year, to attend his labourers; and he regularly employed a physician when they were afflicted with maladies of a dangerous nature.

He supplied them with clothes and blankets every winter; and with provisions at Christmas.

And yet, horrid to relate! those very labourers plundered his house of every valuable article in it, on the morning of Whitfunday, and openly avowed their thirst for the blood of him and Mrs. Cleaver. An orphan, whom he had found naked, and starving, at the age of seven years, and whom he had fed, clothed, and instructed, for six years, in his palace, was the leader of these savages, shewed them every precious article of furniture, and assisted them in breaking open the cellar. He used to preside

\* See Plate II. 6 and 7.

† See Plate III. 2.

‡ See Plate II. 5.

preside at the head of the table, and his toast was, "Damnation to all bishops!" Some of his lordship's English maidservants were eye-witnesses of these scenes of brutal ferocity.

A rebel, taken in arms, near Scarawallh-bridge,\* in the month of June, was asked, Why they did not destroy the bishop's palace, when they plundered it? and he answered, that father John Murphy, of Boulavogue, meant to keep it for himself.

Notwithstanding the assurances of father Michael Murphy, and father Michael Lacy, and their flock, on the nineteenth of May, to Mr. White, at Peppard's castle, of their fidelity to government, and their total ignorance of a conspiracy; the insurrection was as general, and as destructive, in the parish of Kilmuckridge,† near which it lies, on Whitsunday the twenty-seventh of May, as in the parish of Kilcormuck. Mr. White's house was plundered on that day by his own tenants and neighbours, who had a short time before surrendered their pikes, and taken oaths of allegiance, as a proof of their sincerity. Two of the former, for whom he had a strong predilection, were the first who began to pillage. One of them, of the name of Brien, was so great a favourite with him, that though he discovered sometime before, that he was concerned in the conspiracy, he rebuked him privately, and would not proceed against him with that rigour, which the law required; and yet, he frequently pierced the portrait of Mr. White with a pike, and lamented that he had not the original. He entered the apartment of Mrs. White, his sister, an aged lady, and told her, she must quit the house; and he was soon after followed by a young woman, armed with a pike, who gave her the same orders. Mr. White is captain of the Ballakeen cavalry; and it was very fortunate that he had assembled his corps at Gorey, on Saturday the twenty-sixth of May; for it has been since discovered, that it was the intention of the rebels, to have cut them off, singly, in their respective houses, that night.

In the parish of Camolin, they had surrendered many hundred pikes, and continued to confess their guilt with apparent contrition, and to take oaths of allegiance in the presence of a priest, father Francis Kavanagh, till the eve of the rebellion; but on Whitsunday they rose in mass, armed with pikes and guns, vowed vengeance against the protestants as orange-men,

\* Plate II. 8.

† Plate III. 2.

men, proceeded to plunder and demolish their houses, and to kill some, and to take others prisoners.

The reverend Mr. Owen, the parish minister, having fled, was taken prisoner near Gorey, where he was confined ten days, during which time he was often urged to become a convert to popery; but having refused, they knocked him down, stripped him of his clothes, and gave him some ragged garments to hide his nakedness, wounded him with pikes, and sent him barefooted to Wexford gaol, with some other prisoners. Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark, a popish gentleman, was captain of the guard who conducted them, though he had taken the oath of allegiance, and had been a member of the Shelmalier yeomanry.

Early on the morning of Whit Sunday, captain White, having been informed that the rebels had risen the preceding night in great force, and were committing great outrages, proceeded to the place where they were said to be assembled, with his own corps, and that of lord Courtown's. On his arrival there he found the intelligence which he had received to be true: He pursued the insurgents, which he could easily do, as their destructive progress was marked by the houses of protestants in a state of conflagration. He ordered some of the stragglers whom he found in arms to be put to death. One of them, whose life was saved, confessed to captain White, that the party whom they pursued was headed by the reverend John Murphy, of the parish of Kilcormuck; that they were determined to burn the house, and take the life of every protestant that came in their way; that the inhabitants of the country for some miles round were to assemble that night at Oulart, and were to plunder and burn all the protestant houses that occurred in their way thither. Captain White's party pursued the rebels within six miles of Wexford, in hopes of being able to engage them; but when they were within a musket shot of them they halted, and faced about to give them battle; at the same time a party of them formed at each side of the road, with a view of surrounding them. The rebels amounted to about four thousand, and the yeomen cavalry, who were armed only with pistols and sabres, did not exceed eighty; and as they were enclosed in a narrow road, where they could not act, captain White very prudently ordered them to retreat. He then recommended to his yeomen to get their families into Gorey\* as fast as possible.

He



He accompanied Mr. D'Arcy, a member of his corps, within a mile of Ballynahown,\* his country seat, and advised him to send his mother, a venerable old lady, into that town, to escape the savage fury of the rebels; but before he could effect it, he was shot near his house, by a rebel of the name of Whelan, who was attached to father John Murphy, as his aide-de camp.† This young gentleman was possessed of a large estate, and had very honourable connections, as his mother is aunt to the marquis of Ely, and sister to general Tottenham. From a desire to serve his king and country, he entered as a private into the Ballaghkeene cavalry. Captain White then repaired to Island,‡ the seat of Mr. Bolton, within two miles of Kyle, and recommended to him to repair immediately to Gorey, for protection. Mr. Bolton, and his family, consisting of Mrs. Bolton and ten children, succeeded in escaping to Gorey, but were stopped in their way by a party of rebels, who disarmed, and were on the point of murdering them and their servants.§ On that morning the houses of Mr. D'Arcy and Mr. Bolton were plundered and burnt. Captain White was induced to go to the house of Kyle, by the great volume of smoke which issued from it; and on his arrival there, he beheld that heart-rending scene of misery which I have already described. At some distance from the house, he met William Edwards, one of Mr. Burrowes's protestant guards, whom the rebels had left for dead; but as they had not touched any vital part, he rose, as if from a trance, and through excessive weakness, tottered every step in endeavouring to make his escape. His arm was broke; he had many ghastly wounds, and he was covered with blood.

On the sixteenth of November, 1798, Peter Crowley was tried and convicted at Wexford, of having been actively concerned in this woeful scene, on the evidence of Richard Foxton and William Edwards; and they proved that some of the rebels declared at Kyle, that all protestants should be killed, as they were not christians; and that Mr. Burrowes cried out for mercy when he surrendered himself to father Murphy, but was immediately butchered.

X x

Mr. White

\* See Plate III. 2.

† This was proved on the trial of the rebel general Roche, which began the seventeenth of December, 1798, at Wexford.

‡ Plate III. 2.

§ See in Appendix, No. XVIII. 5. the affidavit of George Williams, giving an account of the destructive rage of the rebels on the morning of Whitfunday.

Mr. White made many attempts to go to his own house ; but as all the avenues to it were occupied by detachments of the rebels, who afterwards plundered it, he retreated to Gorey, and had many narrow escapes in doing so. In his way thither, he beheld the houses of protestants on fire, in every direction. I shall refer the reader to the affidavit of George and Elizabeth Williams, for the scene of desolation which the country, for many miles round, exhibited on Whitfunday.\* Mr. serjeant Stanley arrived at Gorey, from Dublin, on Saturday the twenty-sixth day of May, in his way to Cork, where he was to hold a special commission. Captain White sent six yeomen cavalry to escort him as far as Enniscorthy. Two of them, George Greenly and James Shaw, stopped, on their return, at their own houses, where they were murdered. Margaret Greenly, the sister of the former, on hearing that her brother had fallen into the hands of the rebels, fled to his assistance, in hopes of deprecating their anger, but they barbarously murdered her. Shaw was desperately wounded, and carried to his bed, with a prospect of his recovery ; but the rebels returned in a fortnight, and butchered him with ferocious cruelty : They spared the house, because his mother was a papist.†

As father Michael Murphy, who acted with such profound dissimulation, made a conspicuous figure in the rebellion, I shall say a few words on his origin and progress through life. He was born at Kilnew, near Kilmuckridge,‡ of mean parents, and was bred at a hedge school at Oulart, by one Prendergast, an itinerant pedagogue ; and having received holy orders, he went to Bourdeaux, recommended to the Abbé Glynn, president of the Irish college there, by the reverend James Caulfield, then parish priest of New Ross, but now popish bishop of Ferns, which appears by the following letter :

“ Reverend Sir,

Ross, October 23d, 1785.

“ The reverend Michael Murphy, a subject of the diocese, and ordained a priest last Whitsuntide, now bound for your city, for the purpose of prosecuting his studies of philosophy and theology, craves a line from me in

\* Appendix, No. XVIII. 5.

† Michael Fitzpatrick, who headed the gang of assassins that murdered him, was convicted of that crime at Wexford, the twenty-eighth of September, 1799, and hanged.

‡ See Plate III. 2.

in his favour to you ; I can only say, he is well recommended to me, as a sober, regular, well-behaved man ; and if it is convenient to you, I shall esteem your accommodating him for the above end. I believe he is the last of the set that applied to me, wherefore I hope I shall not have occasion to trouble you again for some years.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JAMES CAULFIELD."

At his return from France, he became an officiating priest at Ballycanew, and behaved himself there with very great propriety, till the rebellion broke out ; but, under the veil of sanctity, he concealed a furious and sanguinary spirit, which displayed itself on the morning of Whitsunday ; when, at the head of a numerous party of his parishioners, whom his evangelical instructions had converted into robbers and assassins, he proceeded towards Oulart, burning the houses of protestants, and murdering such of their inhabitants as could not escape.

I have been well assured, that he narrowly escaped from the destructive spirit of French republicanism, when his order was on the point of being annihilated in France ; and yet he manifested a strong predilection for the principles of that nation, and a desire to join them, should they land in Ireland.

The most memorable event occasioned by the fanatical rage of the rebels on Whitsunday, was the defeat of a detachment of the North Cork regiment at Oulart, near Kilmuckridge,\* of which the afflicted family of the reverend Mr. Burrowes were eye-witnesses, a few hours after their own catastrophe happened ; and as it was in a great measure the cause of the dreadful scenes of carnage and plunder which soon after happened in the county of Wexford, I think it proper to give the reader a circumstantial account of it.

On the morning of Whitsunday the twenty-seventh of May, 1798, at an early hour, the town of Wexford was alarmed by the arrival of Edward Turner of Newfort,† esquire, a magistrate, who informed the officer commanding the garrison, that his house had been beset that morning by a large body of insurgents, who had seized the pikes which they had sur-

X x 2

rendered

\* Plate III. 2.

† Ibid. III. 4.



rendered to him a few days before, after having taken oaths of allegiance, and that they were assembling in great numbers.

The garrison consisted of part of the North Cork militia, captain Boyd's yeomen cavalry, and doctor Jacob's yeomen infantry. A detachment of the cavalry was ordered to scour the country; and about the hour of eleven in the forenoon, one hundred and nine picked men of the North Cork, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Foote, marched out to attack the insurgents; and on their march towards Oulart,\* they were joined by colonel Lehunte's yeomen cavalry. From that time the situation of the town was truly distressing: The rebels were understood to be in considerable force; and the anxiety of the inhabitants for the fate of the brave men who marched out to oppose them, was aggravated by the reports of the horrid atrocities they had committed in their progress through the country; for between two and three o'clock they had received intelligence at Wexford, of the murder of Mr. D'Arcy, the reverend Mr. Burrowes, and the burning of their respective houses.

All was solemn silence and anxious expectation! but still encouraging accounts were received of the North Cork militia, before whom the rebels were said to be flying in every direction. But this delusive hope was of short duration; for about the hour of four o'clock, Mr. Perceval, the high sheriff, rode into town, with the melancholy account of their total defeat and destruction; and soon after lieutenant-colonel Foote, and one serjeant, the wretched remains of that fine and valiant body of men, were seen pensively riding over the bridge, and approaching the town: And now the solemn silence of that awful morning was succeeded by a truly heart-rending scene. Most of the North Cork, who fell in the action at Oulart, were married men; and as soon as their fate was known, their widows and orphans ran into the streets, filling the air with their cries, dismaying every heart, and piercing every soul with shrieks of anguish and despair.

This fatal affair took place at Oulart, about eight miles off, where the rebels, to the number of five thousand, were posted on the side of a hill. A detachment of them descended from it, apparently with a design to engage the king's troops; though this turned out in the event to be but a stratagem,

\* Plate III. 2.

stratagem, for the purpose of furrounding and surprising them. The rebels, having been broken and dispersed by a general volley, fled up the hill towards the main body, and were pursued by the North Cork militia, who were broken into small parties during the pursuit, from the number of hedges which they had to clamber over. In the mean time, father John Murphy, who commanded the rebels, sent numbers of them circuitously under cover of the hedges, to attack the militia on either flank, and in the rear, while the main body charged them in front. This artifice succeeded, for they were furrounded, overpowered by numbers, and the entire party was cut to pieces, except the lieutenant-colonel, a serjeant, and three privates. They were attended by colonel Lehunte's corps of yeomen cavalry, in which there were twenty-four Roman catholicks; and of these, twenty deserted to the rebels on that morning before the action began, which contributed to their success.

This action was thus described to me by persons of veracity, who were spectators of it. Lieutenant-colonel Foote has given the following relation of it in a letter to a friend: "I marched to a hill called Oulart, where between four and five thousand rebels were posted. From their great superiority of numbers, it was not my intention to have attacked them, unless some unforeseen favourable circumstances would warrant that measure; however, my officers were of a contrary opinion. I met here part of a yeoman cavalry corps, about sixteen; the remainder, with their serjeant, having that morning joined the rebels. I halted with this corps, while I sent a note by their trumpeter to Wexford, with orders for two officers and forty men to march thence to us to support our detachment; apprehending that the rebels, from their numbers, might intercept our retreat. Afterwards, when I joined the party, I found that they were moved forward by the officer next in command; and the soldiers cried out, that they would beat the rebels out of the field. By this movement we were immediately engaged with the rebels, who fired from behind the hedges, without shewing any regular front. We beat their advanced party from one hedge to another, which they had successively occupied, and fired from on us, killing great numbers of them, till they retreated in much disorder to the main body, which consisted mostly of pikemen. I considered this a favourable opportunity of forming the detachment, for the purpose of retreating, or of receiving the enemy in a good position; and  
I used

I used every exertion to effect it ; but unfortunately the too great ardour of the men and officers could not be restrained. They rushed forward, were surrounded, and overpowered by numbers. They displayed great valour and intrepidity, and killed a great number of the rebels.\* Of this detachment, none have as yet returned to Wexford, but myself, a serjeant, and three privates. I received a wound from a pike in my breast, a slight one in my arm, and several bruises and contusions."

The colonel had a faithful servant, who had lived eighteen years with him ; and who, regardless of his own danger, remained close to him during the action, and often warned him that the rebels were taking aim at him, but he was soon shot himself.

It appears, that the rebels were rendered bold and desperate by intoxication ; and that from twelve to fifteen of them singled out and attacked each of the soldiers, who did not resign their lives but at a dear rate to their assailants.

Lieutenant Ware, nephew to lieutenant-colonel Foote, a young gentleman just of age, and possessed of a good landed property, was on the point of making his escape on horseback, after the dispersion of his party ; when a small boy, one of the band of music, who had been wounded, called out to him, and implored him to save his life ; on which Mr. Ware stopped his horse, and humanely endeavoured to raise him on his saddle, and to carry him off ; but before he could accomplish his benevolent design, he was dragged from his horse by a rebel, with a hook annexed to his pike, and was immediately butchered.

The officers who fell in this unfortunate affair were, major Lombard, the honourable captain De Courcy, lieutenants Williams, Ware, Barry, and ensign Keogh.

Whitfunday, the day after this defeat, the servant of one of the officers who fell, having been warmly attached to his master, went to Oulart, to have his body interred ; but the rebels murdered him, as soon as they discovered his generous design. The subsequent success of the rebels in the county of Wexford, arose, in a great measure, from the arms and ammunition which they obtained, and the confidence with which they were inspired by this victory over the king's troops, whom they had hitherto considered as invincible, however inferior their numbers might have been. All the night after this action, the rebels continued to burn the houses, and

\* The rebels have said, that they lost but seven men killed.



and destroy the property of protestants, and to murder such of them as fell into their hands.\*

The day after the action at Oulart, orders, written in red ink, were issued by father John Murphy, and dispersed over all the adjacent country, commanding, at the peril of their lives, all persons capable of bearing arms, to join his army forthwith, for the purpose of attacking Enniscorthy; at the same time, the old men were ordered to bury the dead.

Two persons, employed in that task, found some remains of life in one of the Cork soldiers, and one of them conveyed him to his pig-stye, with the humane intention of restoring him, if possible. By supplying him with nourishment, he recovered the use of his speech, and had every symptom of convalescence: He said that his name was Sullivan. The merit of his preserver was the greater, as the crime of rescuing a soldier or a yeoman from destruction, if known, would inevitably have occasioned his own.

A ruffian of the name of Rosterson, having heard of this act of humanity, repaired to the house of the person who performed it, and censured him for it as a criminal act. He said in his defence, "That the poor patient was a good Roman catholicick;" but the savage retorted, "That his religion was no excuse, as he was a soldier;" and he instantly plunged his pike into his body.

As soon as the garrison of Gorey heard of the defeat of the North Cork at Oulart, and of the immense numbers who were flocking to the standard of father John Murphy, they, despairing of being able to maintain their position against so great a superiority of numbers, retreated to Arklow, and were followed by all the protestants of the town, and the adjacent country, who dreaded the sanguinary rage of the rebels. They, with infirmity and decrepitude in their train, and with little or no means of subsistence, presented a woeful spectacle; and as all the houses of Arklow were occupied by the military and yeomen, these poor fugitives suffered very great distress, sleeping in barns and out-offices, and even in ditches.

On Tuesday the twenty-ninth of May, major Hardy, who commanded at Arklow, ordered the garrison to return to Gorey; by which they gained  
some

\* For a description of their atrocities, see Samuel Whealey's affidavit in Appendix, No. XVIII. 2.

some fame, and rendered the most important service, in repulsing a numerous body of rebels who attacked that town on the thirtieth of May.

The murder of the reverend Francis Turner of Ballingale,\* about three miles from Ferns, and rector of Edermine, was attended with circumstances of peculiar atrocity. On the morning of Whitfunday, a party of about three hundred assassins, headed by Denis Carthy and James Maher, set out from the house of William Carthy of Ballycarney,† uncle of the former, and declared their intention of putting him to death in the presence of Mrs. Carthy, who endeavoured to dissuade them from it, affirming that Mr. Turner was universally esteemed and respected. The house was defended for some time by him, and eight of his protestant parishioners, who had sought an asylum in it. Mr. Turner, soon after the attack was made, received a shot in his jaw, which entirely disabled him from attending to the defence of his house. As it was double, and the assailants seemed to direct all their fury against its front, the besieged, after the death of Mr. Turner, paid no attention to the rear, into which the rebels entered, having been admitted, it is said, by the treachery of the butler.

After having murdered Mr. Turner, and five of his protestant parishioners, they set fire to his dwelling-house and out-offices, in which the bodies of the deceased were consumed. An assassin of the name of William Beaghan, insultingly flourished the blade of a scythe over the dead body of Mr. Turner, and uttered some expressions indicative of savage joy.

In front of the house, they ran a pike through the neck of William Christian, one of Mr. Turner's protestant guards; and while the weapon was infixed in the wound, they shook his head very violently, to increase the agony of his pain; and when his body fell on the ground, they raised it up on their pikes, and tossed it in the air, to extinguish any remains of life which might have been in it.

After the perpetration of this horrid deed, Denis Carthy and James Maher boasted at their return to the house of William Carthy, of having executed it; and the latter openly declared, that a quantity of blood which appeared on his breeches, was that of the reverend Mr. Turner.

Thus this worthy gentleman, whose benevolence and amiable manners had justly entitled him to universal love and esteem, and whose mind was highly adorned with profound and elegant learning, fell a prey to the  
fanatical

\* Plate II. 7.

† Ibid.

fanatical rage of a popish rabble, headed by his tenants and neighbours, whom he had never failed to treat with kindness and beneficence.

The principal leader in this atrocious act was Michael Keogh, Mr. Turner's proctor, who had been raised to a state of comfort and affluence from downright poverty, by his kindness and generosity.

The circumstances attending this tragical affair were related to me by his two nephews, and a servant of the late Mr. Turner, who were eye-witnesses of them ; and most of them were verified by affidavit.\*

One of the former, of the age of twelve years, sometime after this melancholy event, went to the garden of his deceased uncle to pull some fruit, when he was insulted by a rebel boy about fifteen years old, who attempted to expel him from it ; having declared, that he had no right to be there, as his family had informed him that the garden was his property.

The mass of the people must have been universally filled with an idea of exterminating all those who were connected with England by religion, interest, or consanguinity, and of appropriating this island exclusively to themselves, when a boy of that age made so open and prompt an avowal of it.

The singular fortitude and integrity of Mrs. Cambia Carthy, wife of William Carthy, in prosecuting James Maher and Denis Carthy, her husband's nephew, justly entitle her to universal esteem and admiration. She is daughter of surgeon Maw of Gorey, and of the protestant religion. When these ruffians deliberately expressed their design of murdering Mr. Turner, on the morning of Whitsunday, she endeavoured to dissuade them from it, and afterwards, she appeared as a witness against them on their trial ; though, by doing so, she was sure of provoking the vengeance of all her husband's relations, who were of the popish persuasion, and most of whom were deeply and actively concerned in the rebellion.

On the murder of the reverend Mr. Burrowes at Kyle, his widow and her family were conveyed to Oulart, and afterwards to Castle-annesley,† the seat of Mr. Clifford, who was her brother ; and Mrs. D'Arcy, his

Y y

mother-

\* See in Appendix, No. XVIII. 6. the affidavit of John Horton, James Doyle, and Cambia Carthy.

† Plate III. 2.



mother-in-law, repaired there also, expecting to find security and some consolation under the roof of so near a relation ; but, alas ! they soon discovered that it was as much the house of woe as their own mansions.

Having heard of the calamities which had befallen his sister's family, Mr. Clifford went to Oulart, on the twenty-seventh of May, to relieve them; but finding that the rebels were in possession of it, he endeavoured to make his escape ; and in doing so, one of the rebels fired a pistol at him, and wounded him in the shoulder.

On Wednesday the thirtieth of May, he resolved to go to Kyle, to secure such part of his sister's property as had not been plundered ; but thinking that the protection of the parish priest would be necessary for his safety, he repaired to the house of father Michael Lacy \* for that purpose. As soon as he arrived there, another man of the name of Lacy fired four shots at him with a musket, but fortunately missed him ; yet Mr. Clifford continued all the time on his knees, imploring mercy from the savage. Lacy then gave the musket to a man of the name of Bulger, whom he knew to be a better marksman than himself, and he fired, and gave him a desperate wound in the head, as the charge consisted of slugs and horse-nails. On falling to the ground, the rebels beat him in a most cruel manner, and dislocated his shoulder, so that they left him for dead. They then shot his faithful attendant, a protestant servant, who had lived twenty-five years in his family.

As this amiable gentleman was distinguished for general benevolence, and every good quality that could endear, it was believed that he had not an enemy on earth ; but his religion was his only crime. Mr. Clifford, who might have soothed the anguish of his aged mother-in-law, Mrs. D'Arcy, and Mrs. Burrowes and her five orphans, was conveyed, with his poor servant, on a car to his house, where he continued delirious, and in convulsions for a month ; during which time his afflicted wife and six children daily expected his dissolution ; and to heighten their distress, the house was occupied by a party of rebel guards, who were daily relieved from a neighbouring camp at Upton, || the seat of Mr.

\* Father Lacy, the priest, might have saved his life by the turn of his finger.

|| See Plate III. 1, 2.







Gen.<sup>l</sup> Sir Ja.<sup>s</sup> Duff & Loftus advanced by the Ferns Road  
when the latter turned the left at A. by the Road to the  
Fields B. the Dotted line represents the advance of the Rebels.  
C. The point at which Lieu.<sup>t</sup> Gen.<sup>l</sup> Lake began the attack.

Scale of  $\frac{1}{2}$  a Mile

10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 160 Yards

A MAP  
of ENNISCORTHY  
and  
VINEGAR HILL

where the Rebels were posted  
previous to the Action on the 21<sup>st</sup> of June  
1798

By Alex.<sup>r</sup> Taylor  
Cap.<sup>n</sup> in His Majesty's  
Royal Engineers.



Mr. James White. While they continued prisoners at Castle-annefley, their food was so bad, that they were often on the point of starving.

The inhabitants of the country contiguous to Carnew,\* nine miles from Gorey, collected in such numbers on the twenty-seventh of May, under the auspices of father Michael Murphy, that they had the confidence to attack that town.

On that morning, the garrison, consisting of a company of the Antrim militia, commanded by captain Rowan, two corps of yeomen infantry, and one of cavalry, making in the whole about two hundred men, having received intelligence that they were approaching the town, marched out, met, and engaged them, at a place called Bullinrush, killed nine, and took two prisoners, and dispersed the remainder, who fled to Ferns, † possessed at that time by the rebels. The garrison had the mortification to behold all the loyalists houses in flames, as far as they could see.

While the infantry were resting themselves, a detachment of captain Wainright's troop, who had been on an out-post, were driven in about four o'clock in the afternoon, by the main body of the rebels from Ferns, who were advancing to renew the engagement.

The little garrison formed and marched to attack them on Kitthomashill, ‡ where they were judiciously posted. The rebels having been broken in about a quarter of an hour by the fire of the infantry, were charged by the cavalry, § though up a steep hill, and dispersed in all directions. In the pursuit, about one hundred and fifty of them were killed ; and of the garrison but one man was slightly wounded. They took a great number of horses, some of which had belonged to the unfortunate Mr. Turner, who was that day murdered at Ballingale. There were three priests in that action, one of whom was the famous father Michael Murphy, killed at the battle of Arklow on the ninth of June.

On Friday following, the first of June, the unfortunate colonel Walpole marched into Carnew, and reconnoitred the rebels, posted on Ballymore-hills, twice before the fatal fourth of June.

The rebellious inhabitants of the country, encouraged by the success of father John Murphy against the North Cork regiment, flocked to his standard at Oulart in such numbers, that he resolved to attack the town

Y y 2

of

\* See Plate II. 4. ‡ Ibid. 6, 7. † Near Slievebuoy mountain, Plate II. 5.

§ The Shilela cavalry, commanded by captain Wainright, earl Fitzwilliam's agent, who in various actions shewed great valour and skill.

of Enniscorthy, \* about six miles distant, on Monday morning the twenty-eighth day of May; but first I think it right to give the reader an account of the garrison which defended it.

Captains. Subalterns. Serjeants. Drummers. Rank and file.

North Cork militia.

Captain Snowe's company,	1	1	3	2	56
Captain De Courcy's company,	0	1	2	1	24
	—	—	—	—	—

Total of the North Cork,	1	2	5	3	80
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Enniscorthy infantry.

Captain Pounden,	-	1	2	2	1	50
Do. supplementary,	-	0	1	3	0	57

Scarawalsh infantry.

Captain Cornock,	-	1	2	3	1	60
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Enniscorthy cavalry.

Captain Richards,	-	1	2	2	1	50
	—	—	—	—	—	—

Total	4	9	15	6	297
	—	—	—	—	—

Trumpeter.

Officers names.

North Cork, captain Snowe, lieutenant Bowen, ensign Harman.

Enniscorthy, infantry, captain Pounden, lieutenants Drury and Hunt.

Supplementary, lieutenant Pounden.

Scarawalsh infantry, captain Cornock, lieutenants Carden and Rudd.

Lieutenant Spring on half-pay, and formerly lieutenant of the 63d regiment, joined the troops as a volunteer.

Enniscorthy † is a market, a post, and a borough town, which returned two members to parliament. It is divided into two parts by the river Slaney, over which there is a stone-bridge. ‡ The market-house, the court-house, and the principal streets are on the south side of it. Two suburbs called Templeshannon || and Drumgoold § lie on the north side, and at the foot of Vinegar-hill, a mountain which is quite close to the town. It is about twelve miles from the town of Wexford, sixteen from Ross, eighteen from Gorey, eight from Taghmon, six from Ferns, and nine and three quarters from Newtown-barry. As the tide ebbs and flows

\* Plate III. 2.

† Plate IV.

‡ Ibid. 4.

|| Ibid. 5.

§ Ibid. 6.

flows to it, which makes the river navigable for barges of some burden, it was a place of considerable trade; and the inhabitants were between four and five thousand, before the defolating spirit of rebellion banished or destroyed a great portion of them.

Information having been received that James Lacy, a shopkeeper, was at the head of a traitorous conspiracy, he suddenly disappeared. On searching his house, some treasonable papers were found in it; which exasperated the yeomen so much, that some of them rushed into it and destroyed a great part of the furniture. This man was afterwards commissary general of the rebel army, on Vinegar-hill; and his brother, a priest, frequently attended the camp there, and said mass for the rebels.

On Saturday evening, the twenty-sixth of May, captain Pounden and the reverend Mr. Handcock, both magistrates, agreed on the expediency of seizing and laying under requisition all the gunpowder to be found in the shops; not only to prevent its falling into the hands of the rebels, but to supply the loyalists, should there be a deficiency of it. That night the garrison lay on their arms in the streets, and the necessary guards and patrols were established.

From Saturday evening till Monday morning, protestant families, in great numbers, were coming into the town, flying from the fanatical vengeance of the rebels, and bringing their children, their baggage, and their furniture on cars.

On that evening a handsome young woman, of the name of Piper, came galloping at full speed into the town, with horror and fright in her countenance, and crying out, " Murder! Murder!" and saying, that the massacre had begun. I have already related the cruelty of the rebels towards her family at Tincurry.

About seven o'clock on Monday morning, the twenty-eighth day of May, a man arrived there, and informed the garrison, that they would be attacked before three o'clock in the afternoon; and at that time the troops were much exhausted in mind and body, from being constantly on their arms, from supplying patrols and videttes, and from scouring the country; and soon after captain Snowe received a letter from lieutenant-colonel Foote, with an account of the defeat of the North-Cork at Oulart. Captain Ogle, of Belview,\* now member for the city of Dublin, marched

\* Plate III. 4.



marched to the relief of the garrison on Sunday morning, with a numerous corps of infantry; but having received intelligence that his own country was disturbed, he was under the necessity of returning to it, accompanied by the Healthfield corps of cavalry, commanded by captain John Grogan.

On Monday morning the twenty-eighth day of May, about nine o'clock, the drums beat to arms, as a report was spread, that the rebels were advancing towards the town in great force. The different positions and rallying posts were immediately assigned to the garrison. The North Cork occupied the bridge, the Enniscorthy cavalry the street leading to it from the town, the Enniscorthy and Scarawallh infantry the Duffrey-gate-hill,\* at the Carlow road. A considerable guard was posted in the market house, where the arms and ammunition were lodged, and some suspicious persons were confined; and another in the castle, where some notorious rebels were in strict custody.

About half an hour before the enemy appeared, a rebel spy, with a white cotton jacket, and a white hat with a broad green band, was seized near the town, and as a rebel commission was found in his pocket, he was hanged.

At length, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the videttes at the Duffrey-gate came galloping in, and announced, that the rebels who had assembled at Bally-orle hill, which is on the north east side of the town, and about two miles distant from it, were advancing on the Newtown-barry road, in an immense column, which extended a mile in length, and was so thick, as to fill up the road.

Some officers in the garrison, who had seen a great deal of actual service, declared that their number was between five and six thousand. They staid at Bally-orle hill till father John Murphy said mass for them.

In the course of the morning they set fire to some houses, in hopes of drawing the garrison out of the town.

As many avenues led into it, it would have been impossible for the yeomanry to occupy them for its defence, from the paucity of their numbers, should the rebels be allowed to approach it. For this reason, captains Cornock and Pouden led their corps forward, in a line about four hundred yards from the Duffrey-gate; on which the rebel column halted

\* Plate IV. 2, 3.

halted about the same distance from them. Soon after, three rebel leaders\* who were on horseback, with drawn swords, began to move among them, and to give orders; on which great numbers of the rebels filed off in the fields on the right and left, to the distance of about half a mile from the main body; which they did with a design of outflanking the yeomen, of cutting them off from the town, and of entering it by the different avenues which led into it. After this movement, having advanced a little, they drove a number of horses on the road against the loyalists for the purpose of throwing them into confusion. They then fired a general volley, both from the main body and the flanks; by which lieutenants Hunt and Pounden were mortally, and captain Cornock slightly wounded, and some of the privates were killed and wounded. One Thompson, who had volunteered among the supplementary yeomen, received a spent ball in the neck, which he extracted, and fired at the enemy.† The yeomen returned the fire, with considerable effect. The rebels still advanced, firing at the same time from behind the hedges, with such steadiness and celerity, that captain Drury, who had served the whole of the American war, and who was in the action that day, declared, he had never experienced a heavier or better-directed fire. As the county of Wexford abounds with water-fowl, the occupation of a fowler is so profitable, that numbers of the lower class of people are not only expert in the use of fire arms, but excellent marksmen.

As the rebels still continued to advance, and to extend their wings, for the purpose of surrounding the yeomen, the latter retreated near the town, and sent to captain Snowe, who guarded the bridge, where he was supported by the cavalry commanded by captain Richards, to request he would reinforce them with the North Cork, and he accordingly repaired to the Duffrey-gate, attended by the cavalry, to support the yeomanry; but as a detachment of them were between him and the enemy, and exactly in his line of fire, he could not do any material service, without running a risk of injuring the loyalists; and, as apprehensions were entertained that the rebels would cross the river to attack Templehannon, he repaired to his former post at the bridge, and at the same time, ordered

\* Two of these were father John Murphy, and Roche, colonel Lehunte's permanent serjeant.

† An officer, who assisted him in extracting it, assured me of this.

dered the cavalry to cover his retreat, as a large body of the enemy had come near his last position. Captain Richards then charged and dispersed them, but in effecting it, nine of his men were killed, and three wounded; and sixteen of his horses were either killed or so severely wounded, as to be unfit for service.

The high clay banks, improperly called in Ireland hedges, formed the fences of the town-fields round Enniscorthy, and afforded breast-works to the rebel marksmen, behind which they fired with security and deliberation on the loyalists.

At last, the yeomen infantry, perceiving that they must soon be surrounded, and cut off by the long extended wings of the enemy, while the main body engaged them, divided themselves into small parties, and occupied the different avenues which led into the town, where they made a most gallant defence, having killed great numbers of the rebels; though they suffered much from the treachery of the disloyal inhabitants, who not only fired at them from the windows, but their fanaticism was such, that they set fire to their own houses, to annoy the yeomen; for, in a short time, three large suburbs, called Guttle-street, Drumgoold, and Irish-street,\* and two lanes in the centre of the town, were in flames; yet the loyalists were so confident of success, from having completely repulsed the rebels, that they gave three cheers. The enemy, defeated in the many attempts which they made on the north and west side of the town, made an effort to cross the river, about a quarter of a mile above the bridge, where there is an island, in which they succeeded; but were soon repulsed by captain Richards's corps, part of whom fired at them with carbines, from a place about one hundred yards above the glebe house, and killed great numbers; at the same time they were severely galled by the North Cork on the bridge.

They then attempted to cross the river higher up, out of the reach of the fire of the North Cork. On this, captain Snowe detached lieutenant Prior, with a serjeant and sixteen men of his corps, to oppose them, which they did most effectually; for having taken post behind a hedge, they continued to kill great numbers of them, till their ammunition was expended. Soon after captain Cornock came to captain Snowe at the bridge, bleeding copiously, from a pike wound he had received in the neck, having the crown of his hat cleft from a blow of a pike, and demanded a reinforcement, as the rebels, under cover of the

\* See Plate IV. 3.



the smoke, had forced into the town in considerable numbers, at the Duffrey-gate and Irish-street. At the same time the disaffected inhabitants fired on the yeomen from their windows. One column of them attacked captain Pouden's, the other captain Cornock's corps, which had suffered materially. The streets were entirely involved in smoke, so that the yeomen could not perceive the rebels till they were charged by their pikes. The flames from the houses at each side of the street were so great, as to unite over their heads, and to form an arch. Their hair was singed; the bear skin in their caps was burnt. The loyalists, bravely disputing every inch of ground, retreated to the market-house,\* an open space, like a square, where they made a determined stand, and killed great numbers of the enemy. By this effort the loyalists turned the scale, and drove the rebels completely out of the town, the streets of which at each side of the river presented an awful scene of conflagration. While the troops were thus engaged in the south side of the town, another body of the rebels crossed the river, about three quarters of a mile above the bridge, but were soon routed by captain Snowe, on which occasion his men shewed great dexterity, as marksmen, having seldom failed to bring down such individual rebels as they aimed at. Captain Snowe then ordered captain Richards to charge them, which he did most effectually, but with the loss of two men killed, and some wounded.

As a party of the rebels which came from Vinegar-hill towards the glebe still remained unaffailed, and their numbers seemed to increase, they were attacked by captain Drury, with half a company of the North Cork, and he dispersed them with considerable slaughter. Thus ended an action which lasted more than three hours, fought on a very hot day, and in the midst of a burning town, the disaffected inhabitants of which set fire to their own houses, to annoy the loyalists, and fired on them from their windows. In this the yeomen and protestant inhabitants performed prodigies of valour, in support of the constitution in church and state, and in defence of their property and their families. They lost near one third of their number, which did not exceed three hundred, and the rebels whom they encountered, were said by some to amount to five thousand, by others to six thousand.

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*A return*

\* See Plate IV. 4.

*A return of the killed and wounded in defence of the town of Enniscorthy, on Monday the twenty-eighth day of May, 1798.*

	KILLED.					WOUNDED.		
	Officers.	Serjeants.			Privates.	Officers.	Priv.	
North Cork militia,	0	-	1	-	-	3	0	3
Scarawalsh infantry,	1	-	2	-	-	17	1	3
Enniscorthy infantry,	1	-	0	-	-	6	0	4
Supplementary infantry,	1	-	0	-	-	30	0	0
Enniscorthy cavalry,	0	-	0	-	-	11	0	6
	—	—	—	—	—		—	—
Total, 1 captain,	3	subalterns 3	1 drum.		67	1	16	

The rebels killed in cold blood most of those who had been wounded.

Captain John Pouden, who commanded the supplementary yeomen, lieutenant Hunt of the Enniscorthy infantry, and lieutenant Carden of the Scarawalsh infantry, were killed. The latter, who had served with reputation as an officer during the whole of the American war, was shot from the window of one Denny an apothecary, it is said, by one Barnet his servant. In the number of the killed and wounded, I have not inserted a great many protestants who suddenly joined the troops with guns, pistols, pikes or swords, and of whom many fell in the action.

Of the garrison eighty-eight were killed and wounded ; and deducting seven of the North Cork, there remain eighty-one loyal protestants who bled that day in defence of the constitution in church and state.

It was generally believed, that not less than five hundred of the rebels were killed or wounded. The banks of the river, and the island in it were strewed with their dead bodies, and numbers of them fell in the streets ; but it was observed that the disaffected inhabitants were always ready to drag them into their houses, whenever they could get a safe opportunity, that the sight of them might not discourage their surviving friends. To keep up their courage, every artifice was used ; for even women, as if insensible of their danger, were seen in the midst of the carnage, administering whiskey to their rebel friends.

When the action terminated, the rebels were completely routed and expelled from the town ; however, the loyalists did not think it tenable for the following reasons : It was in a state of conflagration ; and the rebels, who continued to hover round it, would have attacked it in the night, and would have been assisted by the Roman catholick inhabitants, who

who were very numerous: As there were many avenues leading to the town, and as the loyalists, under arms, had lost near one third of their number, which did not originally exceed three hundred, they must have been overpowered and massacred in the night. The officers therefore, after mature deliberation, resolved to abandon the town, and to march to Wexford, on the east side of the river by St. John's;\* but, from the suddenness of the retreat, only a few of the protestant inhabitants could attend them; and they could carry with them no other comforts or necessities but the wearing apparel which they wore. Imagination cannot form a more tragical scene than the melancholy train of loyal fugitives, of whom some were so feeble from their wounds, from sickness, the tenderness of old age, or infancy, that they could not have effected their escape, had not the yeomen cavalry mounted them on their horses. Some parents were reduced to the dreadful necessity of leaving their infants in cottages, on the road side, having, at the same time, but a faint hope of ever seeing them again.

As they travelled to Wexford, the rebels fired at them from the opposite side of the river, wherever they could get an opening.

Such of the loyal inhabitants as were unable to join their departing friends, took a melancholy farewell of them, and waited the fatal hour, when they were to fall victims to the fanatical vengeance of the rebels, who, when they got possession of the town, proceeded with savage delight, to commit unbounded carnage and plunder. The following extract of a letter written by a very respectable beneficed clergyman, the reverend Mr. Handcock, rector of Kilcormick, who fought with the king's troops in defence of the town, will give the reader a perfect idea of the sufferings of the protestant inhabitants on that day:

“ Finding that we could no longer keep our ground, I rushed singly through the streets, with a blunderbuss cocked, and presenting it at every person who looked at me, running for my life, but without the faintest hope of saving it, or that of my family, yet determined to share their fate, and with great difficulty getting into my house, locked and barricadoed by the frightened inmates, I dragged my wife down stairs with my children, just as they sat in her sick room; † and observing which way the fugitives were moving out of the town, I forced them along with the

Z z 2

tragical

\* Plate IV. 4.

† She lay in but two days before.



tragical cavalcade, until my wife, overpowered with terror and the heat of the flames, fell 'on a burning pile of rubbish, where, unable myself from fatigue to raise her, she would have been suffocated or trampled to death, had not a gallant fellow of the North Cork militia, wounded, and scarce able to drag his legs after him, assisted me, swearing the Munster oath, "By J—s, you did not forsake us, and I will not desert you." The poor fellow accordingly stuck by us till we arrived at Wexford.

In return for this, having got my wife and children behind or before mounted yeomen,\* I procured a horse for his wife, and carried his musket as far as I was able. When we came within three or four miles of Wexford, we were met by the yeoman cavalry of it, who turned out, on hearing our disaster, to cover our retreat.

The rebel army having got possession of the town, broke open the gaol and liberated all the prisoners. They then proceeded to burn and destroy every house belonging to a protestant of any distinction. Before sun-set the principal part of the town was in flames; and, late in the evening, a great number of old men, women and children, of the protestant religion, fled into the adjoining woods, lest they should perish in the flames, or by the sanguinary rage of the rebels. Such of them as were not fortunate enough to make their escape, were massacred. The rebels having broke open the cellars, continued to commit every wanton cruelty and barbarous excess, which savage ferocity, heightened by fanaticism and ebriety, could dictate.

When they entered the town, some ladies of distinguished beauty, wild with horror and affright, waded over the river Slaney at the risk of their lives, with one child on their back, and another in their arms. Numbers of both sexes fled to the wood of St. John's,† better known by the name of Ring-wood, where they passed the whole night, petrified with horror, at hearing shots constantly fired, the shouts of the rebels, and the groans of the dying. They kept a gloomy silence, not venturing to speak to each other, lest they should be discovered.

The rebels having heard next day, that a number of protestants were in the wood, sent a party, well armed, to scour it; and they killed such  
of

\* Many of the mounted yeomen, though overcome with fatigue, walked the whole way, and gave their horses to the fugitives.

† Plate III. 2.

of them as were not fortunate enough to make their escape. They continued for some days after, to beat it as closely as a pack of fox-hounds would.

A party of ladies who fled towards the river, when the rebels entered the town, informed me, that several shots were fired at them; and that in their retreat, they met a boy about sixteen years old, armed with a pike, who approached them with a stern air; on which they asked him, if he was going to kill them? and he said, "No; but it is no matter where you go, for you will all be killed."

As soon as the rebels began to enter the town, many of the Roman catholic inhabitants frequently exclaimed, particularly the women, "That they would have no heresy amongst them; that they would put an end to hereticks; and that they would have all or none."

They murdered Richard Whaley, a locksmith, near one hundred years old, as soon as they entered the town; and Edward Sly, a protestant, was shot by his neighbour William Lee, when he was kindly reaching him a quart of beer. Numbers were dragged from their houses, and barbarously massacred in the presence of their wives and children.

The town, the morning after the rebels got possession of it, presented a dreadful scene of carnage and conflagration; many bodies were lying dead in the streets, and others groaning in the agonies of death; some parts of the town were entirely consumed, and in others the flames continued to rage with inextinguishable fury; no less than four hundred and seventy-eight dwelling-houses and cabins were burned in the town and its suburbs, besides a great number of stores, malt-houses, and out-offices.

Early next morning, the rebels formed a camp on Vinegar-hill, made entrenchments round it, and placed some batteries in them. They then stationed a large garrison in the town, which was relieved every day by an officer's guard from the camp. Such great numbers of the lower class of people from the adjacent country flocked to their camp, that it soon consisted of at least ten thousand men. They posted strong picquet guards, centinels, and videts, in all the avenues leading to the town, and for some miles round it.

They then proceeded to destroy the church of Enniscorthy, and having pulled down the organ, the pews, the communion table, and reading desk, they burned them to ashes before the church-door, where they  
tore

tore the bibles and the prayer-books; and then proceeded to demolish the remainder of the inside part, leaving nothing but the roof and the bare walls. They took down the bell, and mounted it between two beams on Vinegar-hill, for the purpose of marking the progress of time, and of alarming the camp in case of surprise.

They committed such protestants as were not fortunate enough to retreat to Wexford with the loyalists, or to escape into the woods, to a prison on the hill, formed by the walls of an old wind-mill, and then proceeded to try them by a court-martial, which sat constantly for that purpose. The only charge against them was, their being orangemen, which was synonymous with protestant.\*

On the morning of Tuesday the twenty-ninth of May, they put to death twenty-four persons of the established church, by shooting some, and piking others in front of the rebel line, of whom one was Mr. Henry Hatton, portrieve of the town of Enniscorthy, an innocent unoffending gentleman.† They burned the glebe-house of Enniscorthy to ashes; but converted the out-offices into stores for holding provisions and arms for the camp.

A committee of twelve, consisting of some rebel officers and three priests; viz. fathers Roche, Kearns and Clinch, and at times father John Murphy, continued constantly to sit, and to superintend and regulate the concerns of the camp, and the newly-established republick. When the business of the day was over, they dined together at a table, regularly furnished with the best viands which the country could afford, and with delicious wines taken from the cellars of the neighbouring gentlemen.

They sent gangs of assassins round all the adjacent country, commanded by rebel officers, in quest of protestants, who seized such of them as could not make their escape, and committed them to prisons at the foot of the hill, or in the town. I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XIX. ‡ for the mode in which this infamous business was conducted, and for some of

\* See in Appendix, No. XIX. 8. the confession of James Beaghan.

† For a description of this horrid scene, see Appendix, No. XIX. in the affidavits of Catherine Heydon, Benjamin Warren, Richard Sterne, Robert Whitney, Margaret Hunt, Edward Stacey, and Apn Piper.

‡ See extracts from the trials of Thomas Clooney, James Beaghan, William Fenlon, Andrew Farrell, and Nicholas Walfsh.



of the atrocities which were perpetrated by the rebels while they continued in possession of Vinegar-hill.

The walls of an old windmill on the top of the hill served as a fold to contain the victims who supplied the sacrifice of the day; and when the rebel ranks were on parade, they were led forth and butchered in their presence, and as a regale to them; and what was very singular, the executioners often knelt down, crossed themselves, and said a prayer, before they immolated the victims, who were frequently almost famished before they were led to execution, from the bad and scanty food with which they were supplied.

The camp was constantly attended by from ten to twenty priests, who daily said mass at the head of each rebel column, and afterwards pronounced an exhortation to animate them in the extirpation of heresy, and in the exclusive establishment of their own, the only true orthodox faith.

Mr. Stephen Ram, of Ramsfort, in the county of Wexford, brother-in-law to lord Courtown, who is deservedly loved and revered by his tenants, informed me, that such of them as were of the Roman catholic religion, and had been unfortunately concerned in the rebellion, were very communicative to him, and informed him, that they entered into it at the instigation of their priests; that it was usual in the rebel camp, for the priest of each parish to call over the names of his own parishioners; and that his coadjutor did so, if he was prevented from age, infirmity, or any other cause.

Commissaries were appointed in every parish to provide provisions for the camp, according to the directions of the committee, or the commander in chief, and each of the commissaries had a certain number of pikemen under his command.

The commander in chief, at each camp, gave written orders to the commissaries to supply the different rebel corps or individuals with provisions, of which I give the reader copies of some originals which fell into my hands.

“ The commander in chief requests commissary Brennan to give bread for forty men to captain Devereux’s corps.

June 15th, 1798.

Lacken-hill.

ROCHE.” \*

\* This was father Philip Roche.

“ Mr. John Brennan,

“ Please to send dinner for twelve men belonging to Jeremiah Fitzhenry.

18th June, 1798.

ROCHE.”

“ Permit Tom Harper and another man to pass for food for eight men to commissary Brennan.

June 19th, 1798.

ROCHE.”

Whenever any of the country commissaries sent provisions or cattle into one of the camps, they obtained receipts for them from the commissary general, as appears by the following :

“ Received from Mr. John Brennan,\* seventeen bullocks, to keep at grafs till called for. June 18th, 1798, first year of liberty.

STEPHEN MYLER.”

General Roche received the following present from a man of the name of Murphy, who acted as steward in the camp, and wished to ingratiate himself with the commander in chief, as appears by the following letter :

“ Sir,

“ I have sent you a cask of wine, a barrel of beer, eighteen loaves of bread, two sheep of the best sort, one loaf of bread, and two fowl for your own use.

From your friend and humble servant,

PATRICK MURPHY, steward.”

This camp, which was the grand rendezvous of the rebels, sent large detachments to those who fought the different battles in the county of Wexford. Their tents were formed of carpets, quilts, sheets, blankets, window curtains, and various articles of furniture which they had seized in protestant houses.

Mrs. M.† a respectable gentlewoman, who remained the entire night of Monday the twenty-eighth of May, 1798, in Ringwood, gave me the following relation of the dangers and distresses which she and her husband suffered. It will serve to shew the savage and sanguinary disposition of the rebels.

Mr. Bennett, of Birmount,§ lay concealed in the wood that night. Next morning, about seven o'clock, when we were almost sinking with cold

\* He had been a member of the Healthfield cavalry, and in violation of his oath of allegiance deserted and joined the rebels.

† This is not really the initial letter of her name, which I conceal, lest it might expose her to rebel vengeance.

§ Plate III. 3.

cold and hunger, he kindly invited us to his house, which lay close to the river Slaney, at the opposite side of it. Having gone there, about seven o'clock in the evening, a woman came to us, trembling with fear, and said, "That the rebels were approaching in all directions to burn the house, and to murder us." Mr. Bennett hid himself in his garden. We were advised to get some green boughs, as the emblem of rebellion, and to go out to meet them; and having accordingly done so, they desired us not to be frightened, as they never injured women; and they asked us if we were christians, (meaning Roman catholics,) and very fortunately we told them we were. They informed us, that they had just killed Mr. Edward White\* of Roxana, and his son, who lived near Vinegar-hill; having, as they said, searched his house for arms and orangemen. Having found Mr. M. in the garden, they presented their firelocks, and were on the point of shooting him; but said they must suspend his execution till their officer, who was absent, arrived. They took him off, mounted behind one of them; when they fortunately met a rebel, who had a particular regard for Mr. M., and who galloped off speedily to Vinegar-hill camp, and procured him a protection from father John Murphy, who was then commander in chief there.

"On Thursday I went to Vinegar-hill, in hopes of getting a protection from father Philip Roche,|| a rebel chieftain, and in our way thither, we saw the bodies of Mr. White and his son, lying dead and naked in the lawn before his house; for the rebels would not suffer them to be buried.

"In our way to Enniscorthy, we saw twelve dead bodies lying on the road; and on entering the town, we were filled with horror at beholding a great number of them in the streets.

"The camp at Vinegar-hill presented a dreadful scene of confusion and uproar. A number of female rebels, more vehement than the male, were marching out to meet the army from Newtown-barry. This was a large body which father Roche led from Vinegar-hill to the attack of that town, which took place the first of June. Great numbers of women

3 A

were

\* This aged gentleman had been always friendly to the Roman catholics. His son was almost an idiot. The rebels made them kneel in a potatoe trench, shot them, and some days after covered them lightly with earth. They murdered on Vinegar-hill his brother, Mr. John White of Whitefield, a magistrate, and very far advanced in years.

|| Edward Roche was the lay-general.



were in the camp. Some men were employed in killing cattle, and in boiling them in pieces in large copper brewing pans; others were drinking, cursing, and swearing; many of them were playing on various musical instruments, which they had acquired by plunder in the adjacent protestant houses; and this produced a most disagreeable and barbarous diffonance.

“ At last I met father Roche in Enniscorthy, and he gave me a protection, not only for Mr. M. but one for Mr. Bennett’s house, in the following words, which was posted up in the hall: “ No man to molest this house, or its inhabitants, on pain of death!”

“ However, next day, a rebel guard came to Mr. Bennett’s, and compelled him and Mr. M. to go before the parish priest of Bree, in order to send them to the attack on Ross; but Mr. John Devereux, a rebel captain, on seeing Roche’s protection discharged him; and soon after father John Sutton of Enniscorthy, and a Mr. William Barker, a rebel general, gave them protections, and certified that they had been tried by a court-martial, and acquitted.

“ We then repaired to Mr. Joshua Lett’s, a mile beyond Enniscorthy, where we staid some days. During our residence there, we daily saw great crowds of rebels, who often boasted of the number of protestants they had put to death, and even in what manner they had piked them. They said, “ That Cork and Limerick had capitulated to them: That Dublin was surrounded by forty thousand united Irishmen: That the whole kingdom would soon be in their possession; and that there should be no other religion but the Roman catholic.” They compelled us to go to mass, which we did to preserve our lives.

“ At last, the rebels, having discovered that Mr. M. was concealed in Mr. Joshua Lett’s house, threatened to demolish it, unless he was instantly dismissed. As Mr. Lett was obliged to comply with this mandate, we repaired to Mr. Fitzhenry’s of Ballymacus,\* about five miles off. In our way thither, we met many parties of rebels, who would have put Mr. M. to death, but for the priest’s protection; for which they shewed the utmost respect. This shews the great influence of the sacerdotal order, and how easily they might have prevented the massacres of protestants.

“ We

\* Plate III. 3.

“ We were there but a few hours, when a rebel guard arrived, and carried us back to Enniscorthy, where Mr. M. was put into a guard-house, containing about a dozen unfortunate protestants, who were shot or piked next day in the camp. I was then desired to apply to one of their officers, named Morgan Byrne, whom I found sitting in their committee-room, at a long table, with many books and papers before him. Father Kearns was at the head of the table, round which all the members of the committee sat. On representing my situation, and that of Mr. M. Mr. Patrick Sutton, who was a general among them, said, “ He would do his utmost to serve Mr. M. and me ;” and Mr. Morgan Byrne\* said “ He would spare his life, provided he would join and fight with them ; but on no other condition.”

“ Unheard-of barbarities were committed at Enniscorthy, Vinegar-hill, and in all the adjacent country, before the rebels were subdued and driven from them.

“ The pikemen would often shew us their pikes all stained with blood, and boast of having murdered our friends and neighbours.”

Every morning when the rebels paraded on Vinegar-hill, they put to death from fifteen to thirty protestants in their presence as an amusement to them ; and this was done with the solemnity of an execution under a judicial sentence.

Samuel Goodison, a farmer, worth 400l. a-year, of the protestant religion, was universally esteemed for his good moral character. He and his family, consisting of a wife and nine children, remained in Ringwood on the night of the twenty-eighth of May, to escape the fanatical rage of the rebels. On Tuesday morning, they repaired to St. John's,† the seat of doctor Hill, on the Slaney, who offered to let them remain there ; but Goodison said, he had such warm friends among the Roman catholics, that he was sure of getting a protection from them, if he could arrive with safety at Enniscorthy. He left his family at a mill, within a quarter of a mile of the town ; and having advanced a short way, he was overwhelmed with joy at meeting his neighbour and particular friend, Luke Byrne ;\* but that sanguinary ruffian shot him instantly, instead of affording him that protection which he solicited. A respectable gentlewoman of Enniscorthy

3 A 2

corthy

† See Plate III. 2.

\* The loyal subjects called this fellow Santerre, and his father Luke Byrne, who was more sanguinary, Marat.

corthy heard him boast afterwards, that he never eat so sweet a breakfast, as he had that morning, for that he had killed Samuel Goodison and William Carroll.

John Stillman, eighty years old, who had served as a foldier the greater part of his life, and George Saunders, seventy years old, slept all Monday night in Ringwood; and having come out of it about twelve o'clock, next morning, they were shot on the road leading to Enniscorthy. Saunders died instantly. Stillman continued alive till next day, and was able to sit up. A rebel out-post, of about twenty men, amused themselves with ridiculing, insulting, and torturing him. They often asked him in irony, (as he was a protestant) Whether he would have a priest? They had but one ball among them, and they fired it five or six times through his body, while prostrate on the ground; and yet he was alive next day. He had but one eye, which they put out with a pike. At length they put him to death. Afterwards the rebels were known to call him their plaything, in conversation at Enniscorthy; and to declare, he was so tough an old fellow, that they had great difficulty in putting him to death.

I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XIX. 1. for the sufferings of Benjamin Warren, a protestant yeoman, and the scene of carnage which he beheld on Vinegar-hill. I saw his wounds in August, 1798. His body had been perforated with pikes in many places.

When the town was evacuated on Monday the twenty-eighth of May, Richard Sterne, a sickly old man, his wife, his son far gone in a consumption, and a grandchild, five years old, on his back, endeavoured to retreat to Wexford with the protestant fugitives, but being unable to accompany them, they concealed themselves in a wood, where they remained four days and four nights, and must have starved, but that they received a few potatoes and about a pint of milk from a fisherman.

I shall refer the reader also to his affidavit, Appendix, No. XIX. 2. for an account of his sufferings, and of some of the horrors practised at Vinegar-hill.

In Appendix, No. XIX. 3. the reader will see an account of the murder of the reverend Mr. Heydon, in the streets of Enniscorthy, who was venerable for his piety and his years, being near eighty years old.

I have



I have been assured that the rebels would not suffer his body to be interred for some days, and that a great part of it was devoured by pigs.

Richard Sterne was a prisoner in Mr. Beale's barn, at the foot of Vinegar-hill, where he saw numbers of his fellow-prisoners tried and condemned by a rebel court-martial (at which one Lawrence Power was president) for being orangemen, or protestants, which were synonymous. Lawrence Power was afterwards taken in Dublin, tried, convicted, and hanged. Richard Sterne, being examined on his trial, deposed, that he saw many persons led to execution under the judgment of that court; and that he saw one Murtagh Keane shoot Thomas Simpson and Jeremiah Smyth, soon after Lawrence Power had pronounced the sentence.

I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XIX. 4. for the barbarous treatment which Edward Stacey, a protestant farmer, of Tomgar, received from four ruffians, who were sent from the camp in quest of protestants. I saw the wound which he received, soon after it was healed.

The gangs of pikemen who were sent to roam the country in quest of protestants, to supply the grand slaughter-house at Vinegar-hill, could not restrain their thirst for blood, and often killed their prisoners on the spot where they seized them, though contrary to the orders of their leaders.

For the sufferings of lieutenant Hunt, of the Enniscorthy yeomen infantry, see Appendix, No. XIX. 5.

On the thirtieth day of May, William Neal, Henry and Bryan, his sons, were seized at their house at Ballybrennan, by a band of assassins, who were sent from the camp in search of protestants, and were conveyed to Vinegar-hill camp. Michael Maddock and Joseph Murphy were leaders of the party. The former called them orangemen, meaning protestants, and wanted to kill them as such, but was over-ruled by some others of the band. Bryan Neal offered them his horse and cow to liberate them; but Maddock said, "That the cattle of all orangemen belonged to them already."

When they arrived on Vinegar-hill, Murphy said he would not bring them any more orangemen unless they put them to death directly: On which a conference was held, when the father and the two sons were immediately condemned. They first led out to execution Bryan, who begged they would shoot him, instead of torturing him with pikes.

One

One of the rebels said he should not die so easy a death, and instantly struck him on the head with a carpenter's adz, which made him stagger a few yards; but he was soon brought back, when one of them stabbed him in the side with a spear, another in the neck, and a third shoved them aside and shot him. William, the father, who was then brought forth, solicited to be shot; and having complied with his request, they put him on his knees. The executioner missed fire at him three times; on which father Roche, the general, who attended the execution, desired him to try whether his firelock would go off in the air. He accordingly tried, and it succeeded. Father Roche then gave him a protection, and ordered him to be discharged; having imputed his escape to divine Providence. Murphy and Maddock were near neighbours, and supposed to be the intimate friends of the Neal family, who had no suspicion that they had harboured such sanguinary hatred against them, on account of their being of the protestant persuasion.\* William Neal had another son burnt at the barn of Scullabogue.

Charles Davis, a glazier of Enniscorthy, and of the protestant religion, fought against the rebels in defence of that town; but was afterwards made a prisoner, and conveyed to Vinegar-hill by a party of rebels, who informed him, that as he was an orangemen, he would be put to death. On his arrival in the camp, he saw about forty bodies lying dead, quite naked, and very much mangled with pikes; among which he perceived the body of Mr. Henry Hatton, portrieve of the town of Enniscorthy.

The rebels desired him, insultingly, to lay his hand on his deceased friends, whom they called hereticks; and told him, that all the hereticks in the kingdom should share the same fate. They then put him on his knees, in the midst of the dead bodies, and shot him through the body and the arm, and gave him several pike wounds; after which they buried him, covering his body lightly with fods. He lay in that situation from seven o'clock in the evening till five next morning, when he found a dog, who had scraped away the fods, licking his wounds. A party of rebels, who were near the grave, perceiving the motion of his body,

\* These facts were verified by oath, on the trials of Murphy and Maddock, held at Ross, the thirteenth and twenty-fourth of August, 1798, by order of lieutenant-general Hulse; also, by affidavit, sworn before D. Colclough, esquire, by William Neal, the twenty-fourth July, 1798.

body, exclaimed, " The dead is coming to life ; and that Davis should have a priest, as he could not obtain salvation without one." Father Sutton, of Enniscorthy, \* who was in the camp, administered the rites of his church to him, and told him he was sorry to see him in that situation ; but as there was no prospect of his recovery, he was glad that he was to die under his hands. He was then delivered to his wife, who conveyed him to his own house, where, with the aid of medical assistance, he recovered. These facts have been verified by affidavit, and are universally known. Charles Davis, who is now living, shewed me his wounds.

John Mooney, servant to doctor Hill, and a protestant, was taken prisoner, and conducted to the wind-mill prison, on the top of Vinegar-hill, the thirty-first day of May ; and found there sixteen protestant prisoners, with some of whom he had been long acquainted. They were desired to prepare for death ; and soon after a ruffian entered the prison with a drawn hanger, and began to torture the prisoners by way of amusement ; but the rebel centinel stopped him, and said, that as they were to die soon, it was cruel to torment them. In a few minutes one of the prisoners was dragged out of the mill door, and shot ; and soon after the remainder were executed in the same manner. Among them there was a well-dressed respectable looking man, and his son, a boy about thirteen years old. The father seemed to bear his approaching dissolution with great fortitude, supposing that they would not injure his son, on account of his tender age ; but what agonizing pangs must he have felt, when his child was butchered in his presence ! and he, when led out to execution, was obliged to step over his bleeding corpse, which fell across the door.

Mooney, the last person taken out, was placed by the sixteen dead bodies ; and the executioner, whose name was Byrne, desired him to turn his back to him, (which the victims were often compelled to do ; ) but Mooney refused to do so, having said, that he was not afraid to face a bullet. The executioner, who was very ragged, advanced, with his musket presented, within twelve paces of him, when Mooney desired him to stop ; and taking off his coat, waistcoat and hat, which were  
new,

\* This priest might have saved any person he chose, and was daily attending the camp.



new, threw them to him, desired him to take them for his trouble ; and requested he would approach nearer to him, and do his business properly. The executioner, struck with his fortitude, said it was an undoubted proof of his innocence ; and declared he would have nothing to do with him. On this, one Murtagh Brien, alias Kane, a sanguinary monster, and the common executioner, rose from his knees, (for the rebels commonly knelt and prayed before or during the execution,) and insisted on putting Mooney to death, and presented a blunderbuss for that purpose ; but Byrne interfered, and swore he would blow out the brains of any person who would attempt to injure him ; and he immediately dismissed him.

Papists of the meanest situation, even beggars, have been known to save protestants when they chose.

Mooney was seized by a party of rebels two or three days after, and they were on the point of putting him to death, for having, as they said, often enquired for and opened the letters of father Sutton at Enniscorthy, before the insurrection took place, in order to obtain information relative to the rebellion ; but that priest, who happened to come up when the charge was made, acquitted him of it.

The rebels made a constant practice of violating women who fell into their hands. In consequence of which, a rebel general, Patrick Sutton, issued the following proclamation :

#### PROCLAMATION.

“ Whereas information has been received that many outrages are committing through the country on the wives and daughters of several people : This is therefore to desire and command all officers to use every exertion to apprehend and bring into Vinegar-hill camp each and every person who shall be found guilty of such offences, that they may be dealt with accordingly.

Given under my hand at Vinegar-hill camp, this 17th day of June, 1798, the first year of liberty.

PATRICK SUTTON, commander in chief.”

Patrick Conners was peculiarly the object of popish vengeance, for the following reasons : Having married a protestant wife, he was constantly urged by his popish neighbours and his parish priest, to make her change her

her religion ; but he refused to interfere about her mode of worship. At last, he was so much disgusted and shocked at their bitter and unremitting reproaches, that he became a convert to the protestant faith. In consequence of this he was denounced by his parish priest, who laid his flock under a prohibition not to deal with him. This interdict reduced him to poverty, from having obtained a good livelihood as a shopkeeper in the town of Enniscorthy.

On the thirtieth of May, 1798, he, his wife and daughter, were taken to the camp of Vinegar-hill, where the rebel troops were drawn up at parade in the form of a half moon. Conners, John Plunket, and James Rigley, two more protestants, were led out in front of them to be executed. James D'Arcy, a corn factor, in good circumstances, who volunteered in this bloody business, stepped forward from the line, with a horse pistol, and shot them one after another, charging the pistol with great deliberation, and saying between each murder, " I will now do your business." His daughter, Mary Conners, was offered ten guineas if she would not prosecute ; but she declared, that she would not sell the blood of her father.

The poor old widow of Conners was holding him by the arm when they shot him ; and, on falling, he pulled her to the ground. On rising, she exclaimed, " You had now better put me to death !" and the brutal savage was on the point of doing so, but other rebels, more humane, prevented him.

These facts were proved at Wexford, on the trial of D'Arcy, the sixteenth of November 1798, when he was convicted and hanged.

D'Arcy bore a very good character previous to this atrocious act.

It appears that many Roman catholics, who had led irreproachable lives, and were esteemed for their moral conduct prior to the rebellion, embued their hands in human blood, without any horror or remorse, during the course of it, as their feelings had been blunted by fanaticism.

Edward St. Leger, a protestant, was taken prisoner and conducted to the old mill on Vinegar-hill, by a party of rebels, on the first day of June, 1798, but was released soon after at the intercession of one Fenlon. As he was leaving the prison, he saw a man sitting on the ground, with no other clothes than a piece of a ragged blanket thrown over him. He presented a most ghastly appearance, as his eyes were out, his

head and body were much swollen, and his cheeks were covered with ulcers. On St. Leger's exclaiming, "What a miserable object!" he attempted to speak, but uttered some inarticulate sounds, which he could not understand; for which reason, he believed, that his tongue had been cut out. An armed rebel who was near, and seemed to be guarding him, told St. Leger, that he was under punishment, and spoke something of slow death; meaning, as he verily believed, that the unfortunate wretch was condemned to suffer a slow death.

Unwilling to disgust the reader, I will give him a circumstantial account of but a few of the various cruelties practised on the victims who were immolated on Vinegar hill by these ferocious fanatics; had they been perpetrated by the dregs of the people, some allowance might have been made for the force of religious bigotry on the minds of the vulgar herd; but we have to lament, that many persons whose birth, education, or opulence, raised them far above that description, were present at, or were consenting to, the perpetration of these atrocities; for we find that they were constantly in the rebel camps where they daily took place, and that they could have prevented them is unquestionable; for no instance that I could discover ever occurred, that the personal interference or the written protection of a rebel officer, or one of their priests, did not save the life of a person destined for destruction.

Mr. William Barker, a brewer and a merchant of Enniscorthy, was a general in the camp: Mr. Patrick Sutton, formerly a merchant, and well educated, held that rank; and his two sons, one of whom was educated for the bar, were officers there: One Kelly, an opulent farmer near that town, a rebel officer, who has been hanged: The bloody Luke Byrne, a maltster, and his two sons, in opulent circumstances: Messrs. Codd|| and Walsh, shopkeepers, and reputed rich: Marineth, a farmer, was wealthy: Andrew Farrell was in good circumstances, yet he was active in promoting the massacres: Jeremiah Fitzhenry, married to John Colclough's sister, was of the ancient family of the Fitzhenry's, in the county of Wexford: John Colclough, of a family highly respectable, who often represented the county, was well educated and in good circumstances, and yet disgraced

\* See Appendix, No. XIX. 6.

|| Francis Codd, another person of the same name, was very loyal.



disgraced himself by yielding to the influence of fanaticism. He was the only papist that I could learn of his family. Messrs. Garret and William Byrne were rebel chieftains, and attended the camps.

The reverend Mr. Pentland and Mr. Trocke, clergymen of the established church, were put to death on Vinegar-hill, on Tuesday the twenty-ninth of May, with about thirty protestants more.

Luke Byrne, an opulent farmer and brewer of Enniscorthy, though advanced in years, was remarkably cruel and sanguinary; and his two sons, Morgan and Mogue, were little less so. His brother frequently acted the part of executioner on Vinegar-hill.

William Carroll, a tanner, of the protestant persuasion, who had always lived on terms of the warmest friendship with Luke Byrne, accosted him in the street of Enniscorthy, when he was at the head of a party of rebels; but Byrne drew his sword, prostrated him with a blow of it, and ordered the pikemen, whom he commanded, to dispatch him; and they instantly perforated his body with pikes. This honest and industrious man left a widow and eight children.

It is surprising how wanton the rebels were in committing cruelties. On Thursday the thirty first of May, John Doyle saw a wounded man lying in the streets at Enniscorthy, and approaching him, said, in a strain of irony, mingled with cruelty, "What a pity it is you are not more alive!" and then stabbed him several times with a pike, and turned over his body. Doyle was convicted of that crime before a court-martial, on the twentieth of July 1799.

Thomas Clooney, a farmer, was worth several thousand pounds. His son was aid-de-camp to a rebel general at Ross, and was shot there. Fenlon, a schoolmaster, a young man of pleasing manners, and a genteel appearance, and Furlong, a rich farmer, were both rebel captains. Robert, John and Denis Carthy, very opulent farmers, and well educated, were deeply concerned in the rebellion. Their nephew Denis was stained with the blood of the reverend Mr. Turner, murdered on Whitsunday. William Lacy, a shopkeeper at Enniscorthy, and brother to father Michael Lacy, (who used to say mass there for the rebels,) was commissary general in the camp on Vinegar-hill. William Devereux of Taghmon, was in opulent circumstances. Messrs. John and Edward Hay, actively concerned in the rebellion, were of an ancient popish family, and were extremely well educated.

A barbarous murder committed by the former, with all the coolness of deliberation, proves how far fanaticism can extinguish all religious and moral principle. A protestant boy, known by the name of Grey Thomas, who lived at Newcastle, near the house of Mr. John Hay, was murdered by him on Vinegar-hill.\*

Mr. Hay was thoroughly convinced that every true protestant was sincerely attached to the constitution in church and state, and would oppose the views of the united Irishmen, who were desirous of separating Ireland from England; of forming in it a republick under the auspices of France; and of totally extinguishing the protestant religion, which they regarded as a pestilent heresy.

Thomas Smythson, verified upon oath, on the trial of Edward Roche, a rebel general, at Wexford, the circumstances attending the death of Grey Thomas; and that he heard John Hay declare, in the rebel camp, "That they never could have luck while there were protestants among them."

On the same trial, which began the seventeenth of December, 1798, Thomas Hatchell proved, that Mr. John Hay proposed on Vinegar-hill the massacre of all protestants; and both these witnesses proved that Edward Roche opposed his sanguinary proposal.

There were commonly twenty priests in the camp,† and they never interfered for the preservation of protestant lives, except in behalf of a person who happened to be the peculiar object of their regard, or in whose safety they were deeply interested. On the contrary, it appears that numbers of them daily said mass at the head of the rebel lines, and exhorted the rebels to extirpate hereticks or orangemen, which appellations they gave to protestants.‡ Some persons have endeavoured to palliate the atrocities committed by the rebels, by saying, "That their sanguinary rage was not directed against protestants as such, but merely against a political sect of them called orangemen." This plea could be urged with much less colour in the county of Wexford than elsewhere; because there were no orangemen there, nor was there even an attempt to institute an Orange

\* See Appendix, No. XIX 7.

† The reader will find this verified by different affidavits in the Appendix.

‡ See the affidavits of Richard Sterne, Richard Grandy, William Fleming, and Andrew Sheppard, in Appendixes, No. XIX and XX.

Orange lodge in it till the North Cork came into it, and they did not arrive there till the twenty-sixth of April.

A few days after, a serjeant Jeffars attempted to make a few orangemen among the lowest mechanicks at Enniscorthy; but as soon as captain Snowe discovered it he checked and prevented him. The truth is, that the appellation of orangemen was adopted to disguise the sanguinary and intolerant principles of popery against every other sect of christians,\* and which has on most occasions characterized it; but this thin disguise was seen through; for on many occasions, not only the infuriate savages, but even their priests denounced them as protestants, and the carnage of them was indiscriminate. Not only those of superior rank, whose elevated situation might have excited their envy, and whose wealth might have tempted their rapacity, fell a prey to their fanatical fury; but the inhabitants of the humble abodes of industry were equally obnoxious to it; though they had never heard the word orangemen till they were denounced as such by their assassins.

I could not ascertain the number of protestants who were massacred in the rebel camp on Vinegar-hill and its vicinity; but I have been assured that they exceeded five hundred. Among these there were men of landed property, magistrates, clergymen, merchants, farmers, labourers and mechanicks. I have obtained the names of as many as I could of the protestants who were murdered in the county of Wexford at large, but I could not procure the whole. It will be found, with the parishes or townlands to which they belonged, in Appendix, No. XIX. 9.

The doctrine of exclusive salvation in the Romish church, from which this sanguinary spirit flows, is inculcated in the koran of Mahomet. Ockley, in his history of the Saracens,† tells us, that the Turks say, agreeable to this doctrine, that every person who is not of their religion is an enemy to God; and that when they are fighting against such, they are fighting in the cause of God.

The savage delight which the rebels took in the effusion of human blood on Vinegar-hill, resembles the conduct of Mahomet, when he conquered and took possession of Constantinople, in the year 1452, as related

\* See James Beaghan's confession, Appendix, No. XIX. 8.

† Vol. I. pages 198, 228.



related by Knowles, in the following words of his celebrated history of the Turks :

“ That he, as a proud conqueror, with great triumph, entered the city  
 “ of Constantinople, then desolated, and void of all christian inhabitants ;  
 “ and there, after the manner of the Turkish kings, made a sumptuous  
 “ and royal feast unto his bashaws and great captains ; when, after he  
 “ had surcharged himself with excess of meat and drink, he caused divers  
 “ of the chief christian captives, both men and women, (of whom many  
 “ were of the late emperor’s line and race) to be in his presence put to  
 “ death, as he with his Turks sat banqueting, deeming his feast much  
 “ more stately, by such effusion of christian blood ; which manner of ex-  
 “ ceeding cruelty he daily used, until such time as he had destroyed all  
 “ the Grecian nobility that were in his power, with the chief of the late  
 “ Constantinopolitan citizens.”

The Celts, who covered a great part of the European continent, imolated human victims to the Deity ; and the Irish, who are of that race, follow the same practice, and both on the score of religion ; but the former did so as Pagans, the latter as Christians. The Auto da Fés, which continued till within a few years in Spain and Portugal, were also regarded as offerings to the Deity.

The sufferings of Mr. George Horneck and his family, a very respectable farmer, of Girrane in the county of Wexford, merit a circumstantial relation. From considerable opulence, he was reduced to very great indigence by the rebellion. He had three sons, remarkably handsome, and esteemed for their good deportment. One of the name of George, had been bred in the university of Dublin, and was enrolled in Mr. Ogle’s corps ; another, called Robert, was bound to an apothecary, in Enniscorthy. They shewed great valour in defence of that town, but were overtaken and seized in their retreat towards Wexford by a party of rebels commanded by Robert Carthy, of Ballyhogue,\* who put George to a cruel death. They conducted Robert to the camp at Vinegar-hill, as a prisoner. The rebels then sent to his father, who, with other protestants, was keeping garrison at the house of the reverend John Richards, of Grange,† a clergyman of the established religion, to inform him, that if he  
 would

\* A family distinguished for their rebellious principles.

† See Plate III. 2.

would surrender his arms, they would save the life of his son, who would be permitted to serve in their army. But the father refused to comply; having given as a reason, that he had taken an oath of allegiance, and swore not to surrender them to any person but to the government. At the same time he implored them to be merciful to his son. Next day the rebels stripped him naked and shot him in their camp. As he betrayed some symptoms of life after he fell, they knocked him in the head with the but-end of a fire-lock; and yet this unfortunate young man recovered about midnight, and though quite naked and covered with blood, and ghastly wounds, he crept to the foot of Vinegar-hill, waded over the river Slaney; and, though much exhausted, he walked to his father's house, which was seven miles off; on approaching it he was buoyed up with the fond hope of finding an asylum there from the rebel blood-hounds; but, alas! how severe was his disappointment on finding it deserted by his family, who had fled for protection to Ross, whither he endeavoured to follow them; but was intercepted by a party of rebels, who murdered him and threw his body into a gravel pit.

Mr. Charles Cooper, son-in-law of George Horneck, who, as a yeoman, had assisted in the defence of Enniscorthy, was seized with three other loyal fugitives, at Castle-bridge, and massacred. As many victims, whom the rebels apparently put to death, had afterwards recovered and made their escape, they tied together with a rope the bodies of these four men. Philip Horneck, the brother of George, fell into the hands of the rebels at Alderstown, the house of Mr. John Glascott, whence they conveyed him to their camp at Carrickbyrne, where they murdered him, and then quartered and burned his body. In his last moments they insultingly asked him, whether he remembered the white-boys on the ninth of June 1775? That banditti infested that year, not only the county of Wexford, but many other parts of Leinster and Munster.

On the night of the above day a party of them attacked and attempted to enter the house of George Horneck; when he and his brother Philip bravely defended it, repulsed the banditti and killed one of them. That event excited the most implacable vengeance in the breasts of those ferocious fanaticks, against this loyal but unfortunate family.\*

John

\* These facts relative to the Horneck family are substantiated by affidavit, sworn by George Horneck before Standish Lowcay, a magistrate, the third of October 1798.

John Coffey, an old sickly man, was taken in a chaise near Vinegar-hill and led as a prisoner to the rebel camp. On being asked, whether he was a Roman catholick? he answered in the affirmative; but he was also required to prove himself such by crossing himself and saying some popish prayers, which very fortunately for him he could do, though a protestant: for they would have put him to death if he had failed.

Two or three days before the rebellion broke out, father Roche, the priest, who became afterwards a general, waited on the reverend Mr. Richards, of Grange, his neighbour, gave him some arms which he said had been surrendered to him; and at the same time assured him that nothing was to be feared as the people were loyal and peaceable. When the insurrection took place sixteen protestant families fled to the house of Grange,\* and kept garrison there. Father Roche, in two or three days after his pacifick assurances to Mr. Richards, went to his house with two men more, and promised him, that neither his person or property should be injured, provided he delivered to him the Horneck family and the protestant tenants of captain Blacker; but if he refused, that his house would be immediately attacked by five thousand men, with two pieces of cannon; but Mr. Richards rejected this infamous proposal with laudable fortitude, and in about ten minutes after, he and his little garrison, on sixteen cars, set out for Ross,† where they arrived with safety; though they had a narrow escape from a body of rebels posted on a neighbouring hill.‡

I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XIX. 10. for the sufferings of George Piper and his family, and his assassination on Vinegar-hill, and the abominable conduct of father Redmond, of the parish of Ferns, who not only refused him a protection when in the hands of the assassins, or to rescue him from them, which he might easily have done; but, according to his wife's affidavit, he was instrumental in sending him there.

It often happened that one protestant was compelled to kill another: Thus George Walker, parish clerk of Ballycanew church, was compelled to shoot John Coburne, a butcher, of the protestant religion, and of the

\* Plate III. 2.

† Plate III. 5.

‡ Verified by Horneck's affidavit before quoted.



the same parish, on Vinegar-hill.\* It is surprising how active and unrelenting the popish priests are, in representing the protestant religion as an abominable heresy, which, they say, never fails to bring the divine anger on its professors.

Samuel Hendrick was married to a popish wife by the reverend Mr. Handcock, rector of the parish of Kilcormuck, in which the nuptials were celebrated. On the twenty-ninth of May, having been taken prisoner by a party of assassins who were sent from Vinegar-hill in quest of protestants, he prevailed on them to conduct him to the reverend father Patrick Quigley, parish priest of Clone, hoping that he would save his life by giving him a protection; but he informed him, that his marriage was null and void: that it only served the purpose of gratifying a brutal passion; and he refused to grant him a protection, until he was married by a priest. To preserve his life then, he was under the necessity of being married a second time by father Quigley, and of paying him one guinea for celebrating the marriage rites.†

The reader will see some shocking instances of rebel atrocity in the affidavit of Robert Whitrey, in Appendix, No. XIX. 11, 12.

I shall refer him also, for specimens of cruelty practised on Vinegar-hill, to extracts from the trials of Thomas Clooney, William Fenlon, Andrew Farrel, Nicholas Walsh, and James Beaghan, in the same Appendix, and No. 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17.

I shall now proceed to give an account of two attacks which were made by the garrison of Vinegar-hill, on Borris,‡ the seat of Mr. Kavenagh, in the county of Carlow.

### ATTACK ON BORRIS.

Mr. Kavenagh,|| of Borris, having been distinguished for his loyalty, and his activity as a magistrate, was peculiarly the object of rebel vengeance; and as his beautiful seat was but fourteen miles from Vinegar-hill, but ten miles from Lacken, and not far distant from the Roar,§ a

3 C

populous

\* This was verified by the affidavit of Cobourne's widow, in No. 390 of the archives of the house of commons.

† Verified by affidavit sworn the 25th day of March, 1799, before A. Jacob. See Appendix, No. XIX. 12.

‡ Plate II. 6. 7.

|| A gentleman lineally descended from the kings of Ireland, and first cousin to the earl of Ormond.

§ Plate VII. 3.

populous and rebellious district in the county of Kilkenny, his situation was serious and alarming.

The system of free quarters had been enforced with considerable strictness in the county of Kilkenny, in the month of May; and, by the orders of general sir Charles Asgill, it was soon to be extended to the county of Carlow, unless the deluded inhabitants precluded the necessity of it, by a speedy surrender of their arms, of which they were well known to possess large quantities. The general's orders, and the exertions of the gentlemen of that county, had made the surrender of pikes rather general; but it was checked by an order from the directory in Dublin, which was printed and circulated by their captains and serjeants. It exhorted them, by no means to give up their arms, as an insurrection was immediately to take place.

It providentially happened, that Mr. Kavenagh's corps of yeomanry, though on permanent duty, was assembled early on the morning of the twenty-fifth of May, for the purpose of arresting all the disaffected blacksmiths in their district; and as their exertions in that service was attended with considerable success, it occasioned a great spirit of commotion in the neighbourhood; which induced captain Kavenagh to keep his corps together, as he had every reason to think that his post would be attacked that night; and which the rebellious inhabitants were induced to undertake from the following motives: The orders of their directory for a general insurrection: The great quantity of pikes and pike-handles surrendered to the captain, and known to be in his possession: The plunder of his house, and the hopes with which the leaders inspired their deluded followers, that they would not meet with resistance.

The house of Borris was attacked on the night of the twenty-fifth of May, by a party of about five thousand rebels, who were received with very great spirit by the Borris corps, who repulsed them; but not until they had broke open the lower windows of the house, which were but slightly barred, and rescued the blacksmiths who were confined in it. It was believed that not less than fifty rebels were killed and wounded on that occasion.

The exertions of the yeomanry corps of the neighbourhood, for three or four days, completely cleared the country of the most active rebels,  
and

and their leaders, who joined their associates in the county of Wexford, where they carried every thing before them.

The post of Borris having been reinforced with thirty of the 9th dragoons, and twenty-four of the Donegal militia, and as captain Kavenagh's corps consisted of thirty-five mounted, and twenty-two dismounted cavalry, the garrison remained unmolested till the twelfth of June, though not far distant from some of the strong rebel camps.

On the day before, sir Charles Apgill, by concerted movements of the troops in his district, surrounded and dispersed the rebel camps formed in that disaffected district, the Roar, opposite to Ross, after having shot many of the assassins who composed it.

The events of that day, and the submission of the adjoining district, had lulled the garrison of Borris into a security, which was near proving fatal to them; for about one o'clock on the next day, they received an account, that great multitudes of rebels were pouring down from the different passes through the mountains, which separated that post from their camps in the county of Wexford.

At that time the small garrison was weakened by the absence of every officer but one, as they were engaged with several of their men in different duties in the adjacent country. The rapid movements of the enemy allowed no time for calling them in; for in less than two hours after the notice of their approach, they filled the town of Borris, and set fire to all the houses in it belonging to Mr. Kavenagh and his yeomen; they, however, met with a gallant resistance at the mansion-house of Borris, though its garrison was reduced to twenty of the Donegal, and seventeen of the yeomanry, including their serjeants, who commanded them. The rebels had a howitzer, which they brought to bear upon the house, but were unable to batter it. They were commanded by father Kearns, a priest, and a noted rebel leader, who was afterwards hanged at Edenderry. Seven rebels were found dead on the spot; but it has been since learned, that they carried off many of their killed and wounded on cars, and that they threw many of the former into the burning houses; only one of the garrison, a Donegal soldier, was killed, and two were wounded.

One of the rebels who was wounded, and could not retreat, proved to be a tenant of Mr. Kavenagh, who lived close to his house, and to whom



he had been singularly kind. On being asked why he embarked in this treasonable enterprize, he confessed, that he was tempted to do so, by a promise of obtaining a portion of his estate.\*

Several persons who were engaged in this attack, assigned the following reasons for it: That it was partly undertaken at the instigation of the rebels of the neighbourhood, who breathed revenge in consequence of having been driven from their homes, and had fled to the Wexford camps: They had earnest hopes also of seizing a large quantity of ammunition; for they had heard, that it was a depôt, in consequence of some artillery chests which had been left there by a regiment who had marched through it; and it was their intention on seizing it, and the arms of the garrison, to have proceeded across the rivers Barrow and Nore, at Ennistague, and to have assisted in the projected renewal of an attack on Ross, by advancing against it on the Kilkenny side, or Rossbercon; a march in which they had little reason to doubt of being joined by the whole country through which they passed. From that day, the operations of the rebels were confined to the county of Wexford.

About the sixteenth of June, a detachment of the garrison of Ross, proceeded by a circuitous march to Graignemanagh, in the county of Kilkenny, a most rebellious district, and blew up the bridge there.

The day after the rebels got possession of Enniscorthy, they formed a camp on the mountain of Forth, commonly called the Three Rock mountain, with a view of attacking Wexford, which is within three miles of it.

I have already delineated the procession of a body of rebels from Enniscorthy to that mountain, headed by father John Murphy, with a large crucifix in his arms.†

But previous to my entering on a description of the events which took place at Wexford, I think it right to give the reader a short historical and geographical account of that town.

Wexford || is a sea port, borough, market, and corporate town, and rather populous for its size. It is the chief in the county of the same name, and the third largest in the province of Leinster. It is governed by

\* See the affidavit of John Semple on this affair, in Appendix, No. XIX. 18.

† See Richard Sterne's affidavit, in Appendix, No. XIX. 2.

|| Plate III. 6. and Plate VI.

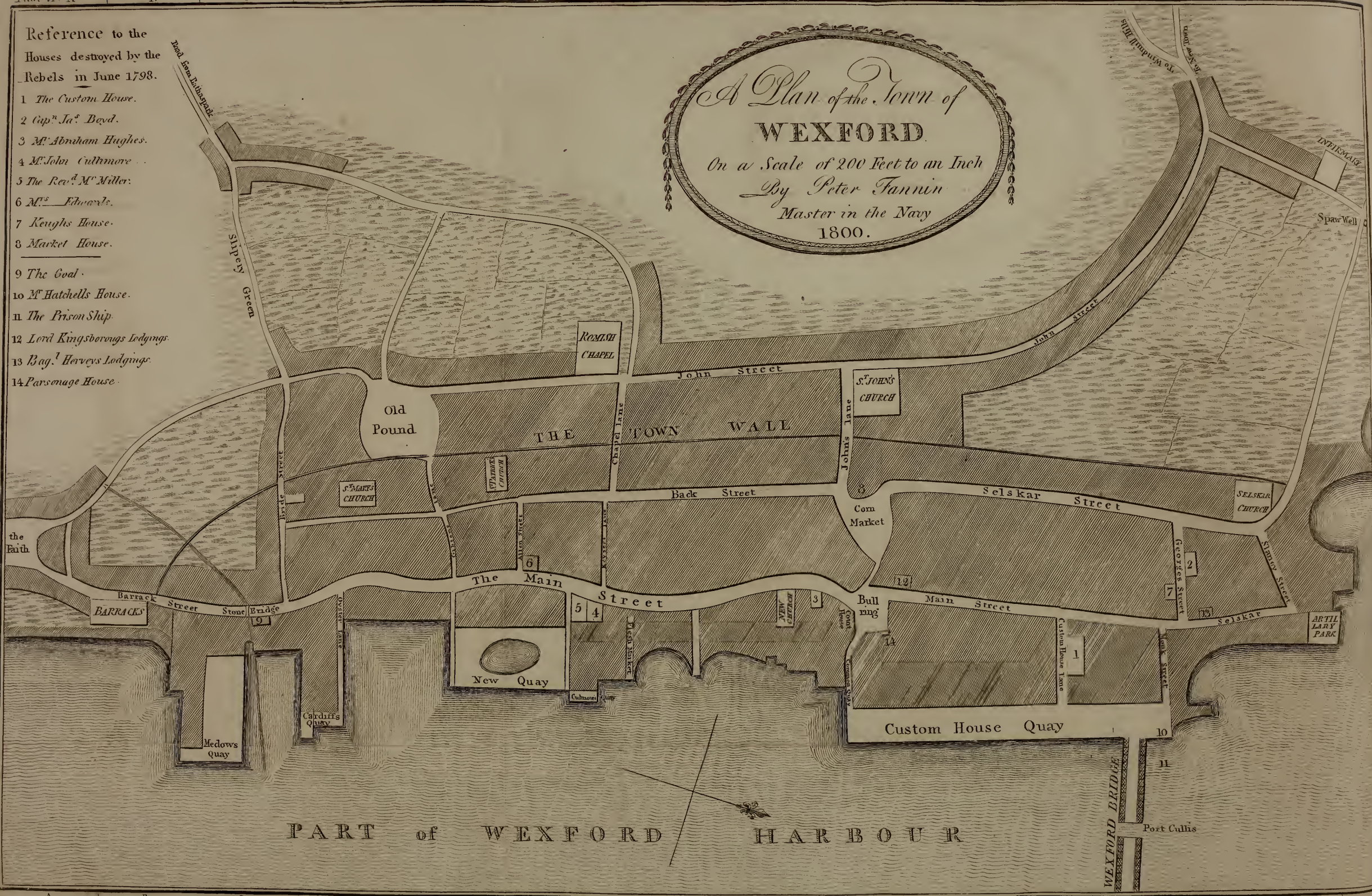




Reference to the  
Houses destroyed by the  
Rebels in June 1798.

- 1 The Custom House.
- 2 Cap<sup>n</sup> Ja<sup>s</sup> Boyd.
- 3 M<sup>r</sup> Abraham Hughes.
- 4 M<sup>r</sup> John Culmored.
- 5 The Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Miller.
- 6 M<sup>r</sup> Edwards.
- 7 Keighs House.
- 8 Market House.
- 9 The Goal.
- 10 M<sup>r</sup> Hatchells House.
- 11 The Prison Ship.
- 12 Lord Kingsboroughs Lodgings.
- 13 Bag<sup>g</sup> Herveys Lodgings.
- 14 Parsonage House.

*A Plan of the Town of*  
**WEXFORD**  
*On a Scale of 200 Feet to an Inch*  
*By Peter Fannin*  
*Master in the Navy*  
1800.





by a mayor, recorder and bailiffs. It is the shire and assizes town, and gives the title of earl, as does Waterford also, to the noble family of Talbot, who are earls of Shrewsbury in England. It returned two members to parliament. It is seated on a bay in the Irish channel, at the mouth of the river Slaney. The harbour, though capacious, is shallow. It is formed by two necks of land, with an entrance half a mile broad, and was formerly defended by two forts, one at the extremity of each isthmus, called fort Marget, and fort Rosslare; but as its entrance is obstructed by sand banks, ships drawing more than ten feet water seldom enter it. Ships of greater magnitude load and unload three miles from the town, near the south side of the haven, where there is sufficient depth of water, but no shelter from the south winds. Wexford was originally fortified by the Danes, and improved and enlarged by the first English settlers in the twelfth century, who took it from the Easterlings, after a siege of four days, on the fourth of May 1170. It was besieged by Cromwell, the first of October 1649, and having been betrayed by captain James Stafford, commandant of the castle, it was taken by storm, and sir Edward Butler, the governor, and two thousand soldiers, were put to the sword.

Large vestiges of the town-walls are still visible, and the four gates which led to it remained, until lately, almost perfect. The town is irregularly built, and the streets are narrow. There is a large and elegant new church in it. Four religious houses were erected there at a very early period. First, a priory of regular canons, supposed to have been founded by the Danes, and is called the priory of St. Peter, and saint Paul of Selfker.\* Its prior sat in parliament as a baron. The church still remains, with a large steeple in the centre.

Second, the priory of St. John and St. Bridget,† for knights hospitallers, founded in the twelfth century, by William Marshall, earl of Pembroke. There remains yet part of the old church, without the walls, which has been since converted into a Roman catholick chapel.

Third, the grey friars had a convent there in the thirteenth century, built in the reign of Henry III.

Fourth, St. Mary Magdalen,‡ a leper hospital, erected in the year 1408, the tenth of Henry IV.

\* Plate VI. O.

† Ibid. K.

‡ Ibid. D.

The trade of Wexford is not very extensive. It consists chiefly in barley and malt, of which it exports large quantities ; and in beer, beef, hides, tallow and butter. In 1763 it contained one thousand three hundred houses, of which six hundred and fifty were slated. In 1783 it had one thousand four hundred and twelve. But its chief boast and ornament is a magnificent wooden bridge over the river Slaney, which was built by Mr. Samuel Cox, an American, who erected those of Derry, Waterford, Portumna and Ross. It is one thousand five hundred and fifty-four feet long, and thirty-four broad, standing on seventy-five piers of piles of six uprights each, with a portcullis or draw-bridge for vessels to pass through. It was begun June the twelfth 1794, and was finished in February 1795, and stands in twenty feet water. This magnificent bridge was built by a subscription of 14,000*l*.

The general rising of the rebels, the defeat of the North Cork detachment at Oulart, and the taking of Enniscorthy, had spread so great an alarm, that two hundred of the Donegal regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, arrived at Wexford on the twenty-seventh day of May, to strengthen the garrison there, consisting of the remainder of the North Cork, which did not amount to three hundred effective men : the Healthfield and Enniscorthy cavalry, captain Ogle's infantry, the Enniscorthy infantry, and the Wexford infantry, commanded by doctor Jacob, the Scarawalsh infantry, and the Wexford and Taghmon cavalry. As an additional reinforcement to the garrison, a detachment of the Meath regiment and four officers, under the command of captain Adams, and one corporal and seventeen gunners of the royal artillery, with two howitzers, commanded by lieutenant Birch, marched from Duncannon fort for Wexford on Tuesday the twenty-ninth day of May.

The first night they arrived at Taghmon,\* where they expected to be reinforced by eighty of the thirteenth regiment, under major Scott, and four companies of the Meath regiment, commanded by the earl of Beftive. Though these troops did not arrive in time to join them, the Meath detachment set out on their march, near two hours before day, having been encouraged so to do by the country people, who gave them  
the

\* See Plate III. 6.

the most solemn assurances that they would not be molested on their march; though in doing so they had no other design but to expose them to a numerous body of rebels who lay in ambush for them.

When they arrived within four miles of Wexford, having seen ten or twelve men on an eminence near the road, they prepared for action; but after some time, not perceiving an enemy, they renewed their march. Having arrived near the mountain of Forth,† three miles from Wexford, where the rebel camp was formed, they were surrounded on all sides by a great number of rebels, who raised a white flag, and soon after began a very severe fire, accompanied by the most dreadful yells.

The militia, panick struck by the numbers of the enemy and the darkness of the night, betook themselves to flight; in consequence of which eighty-nine of the privates and three officers, including captain Adams, who commanded, were cut to pieces; and of the artillery, four gunners were killed; a corporal and eleven men were taken prisoners, and the howitzers and ammunition fell into the hands of the rebels. As soon as they had taken the artillery men they were proceeding to put them to death; but a rebel having asked them of what religion they were, a gunner of the name of Duncannon, answered, that they were Roman catholics, which saved their lives; though in fact six of them were protestants. Duncannon being a papist knew the object of the question.||

Lieutenant Birch, of the Royal Irish artillery, who commanded a detachment of that corps, gave an account of that disastrous affair in the following letter to major Stewart of his own regiment:

“ Sir, Duncannon-fort, 23d of July, 1798.

“ Some time since I related to lieutenant-general Stratton the circumstances which produced the loss of the howitzers under my command, in the most collected manner I could.

“ On Tuesday the twenty-ninth of May I left this, with two howitzers, one corporal and seventeen gunners, sixty-six privates of the Meath regiment, and four officers, under the command of captain Adams. At Taghmon we understood we were to be reinforced by eighty of the thirteenth regiment, under major Scott, and four companies of the Meath, under lord Beftive, from Waterford. Major-general Fawcett joined us, but

† Plate III. 6, 7. See a description of it, Appendix XXI. 3.

|| See Andrew Sheppard's affidavit in Appendix, No. XX. 1.



but the other troops not arriving we proceeded on our march to Wexford. We were given to understand by every one we met on our march that we should meet with no opposition between us and Wexford; and having no suspicion that the rebels were assembled so near us, we were not ordered to take any caution against a surprise. Within four miles of Wexford, we perceived about ten or twelve men assembled on a hill, near the road, on which we prepared for action; but after remaining in that situation some time, perceiving no further appearance of opposition, we were ordered to limber up and proceed. Having proceeded some distance, at the foot of a high mountain we were suddenly attacked by several thousands of the rebels, who supported a sharp fire, with loud shouts on all sides, against us; before they opened their fire they hoisted a white flag and two or three hats on very long poles, for a few seconds. After the first fire the militia betook themselves to flight, having thrown down most of their arms. We in vain attempted to prepare again for action, but our horses, which were not trained to fire, grew furious and unmanageable, so that it was impossible to do any thing; and they threw us into such instant confusion, that, with the sudden flight of the infantry, we found it utterly impossible to spike the howitzers. Three of the Meath officers, with most of their men, were killed, and one taken. On our part, besides the howitzers, four gunners were killed; one corporal, eleven gunners, taken; two of whom were afterwards killed at Ross, the rest have arrived here safe; two gunners and myself escaped."

This victory, and the acquisition of so large a quantity of arms and ammunition, inspired the rebels with boldness, and induced great numbers to flock to their standard; but nothing contributed so much to this as the fanaticism which the priests kindled in the ignorant multitude, by assuring them in their sermons and exhortations which they constantly preached in their camps, that it was the will of God to root out heresy; and to give their holy religion an ascendancy, was manifest, by his enabling them, who were unprovided with arms, and ignorant of the use of them, to overthrow the soldiers of an heretical government, who were well armed and disciplined; and they frequently took musketballs out of their pockets and assured them that they had been hit by them in battle; but that the balls of hereticks could make no impression

on

on them, nor upon any true Roman catholick, who was fortified by faith. At the same time, they assured the misguided multitude, that they could discomfit and disperse the heretick troops, by throwing chaff or sand at them.\* The gunners, whom the rebels took prisoners, were compelled to serve in their army.

Major-general Fawcett marched from Duncannon-fort† to Taghmon,‡ with eighty of the thirteenth regiment, and a party of the Meath, to support the detachment under captain Adams; but, on hearing of their defeat, he returned. As soon as lieutenant-colonel Maxwell was informed of that event, he marched out with two hundred of the Donegal regiment, and about one hundred and fifty yeomen cavalry, to support the thirteenth regiment, who were expected that morning at Wexford. When he arrived at the foot of the Forth || mountain, near the place where the detachment of the Meath regiment was cut to pieces, he was attacked by a numerous body of rebels, who maintained a heavy fire on his party, from behind rocks, hedges and houses, which lay at the foot of the mountain; and they discharged some shots at them from the howitzers, which they had taken that morning. For the purpose of embarrassing our troops, they drove a number of horses along the road amongst them, which, in some measure, produced the desired effect; and the confusion was very much encreased by the precipitate retreat of the cavalry, who, pent up in a narrow road, where they could not form or render any possible service, and at the same time exposed to the enemy's fire, found it necessary, for their safety, to fly to Wexford. On this a great body of the rebels rushed down from the mountain, with a view of cutting off the retreat of the remainder of the troops, and which they would have effected, but that the Donegal regiment repulsed them by a heavy and well-directed fire. At last, colonel Maxwell, perceiving that he would risk much, and that no possible advantage could be derived from maintaining his post against so great a superiority of numbers, ordered a retreat. In this action, lieutenant-colonel Watson, formerly of the sixty-fifth regiment, who had retired to Wexford, and who volunteered on this occasion, lost his life, and some privates of the Donegal were killed and wounded.

3 D

On

\* Appendix, No. XX. See the affidavits of Fleming, Sheppard, Grandy, and Sterne.

† Plate III. 9.

‡ Ibid. 6.

|| Ibid. 6, 7.

On Monday the twenty-eighth day of May, the military, and loyal inhabitants of Wexford, began to put it in a state of defence, by forming barriers at the different avenues leading to it, through which no person was allowed to go, without a pass obtained from the chief magistrate of the town, or one of the officers on guard. The barriers consisted of walls rudely made of large stones, with an interval in the centre, which was filled up with large blocks of timber, occasionally removed, to let the cavalry, patrols and videttes, pass and repass. On Tuesday the twenty-ninth of May, a detachment of the Donegal regiment, and some yeomen corps, marched in. On Wednesday the thirtieth of May, about four o'clock in the morning, the drums beat to arms, on receiving intelligence, that a detachment of the Meath regiment had been cut off; at which the people, being much alarmed, ran about the town in great confusion, and numbers of them went on board vessels in the river, sailed out of gun-shot, and remained at anchor, waiting the event of an attack, which they expected would be made on the town. The consternation was much increased by the following circumstances: At a very early hour they beheld the remote end of the wooden bridge in a state of conflagration, and the flames advanced so rapidly, that it would have been soon consumed, if the inhabitants of Wexford had not extinguished them. It was set on fire by a body of rebels, whose design in destroying it was, to prevent the garrison from receiving a reinforcement of troops, and to cut off their retreat when they should be attacked by the rebel army encamped on the mountain of Forth.

Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, after he returned, held a council of war, when it was resolved to evacuate the town, as not tenable, for the following reasons: The rebels encamped on the Three Rock mountain\*, not less in number than ten thousand, and emboldened by their recent victories, and the large quantity of arms and ammunition which they had acquired, meditated an immediate attack on Wexford, and had even put themselves in motion for that purpose; and it is well known, that its rebellious inhabitants, who had been some time organized, and were well supplied with arms and ammunition, would have fired on the garrison from the windows, while they were defending themselves from the rebels outside; of which they had some convincing proofs.

Two

\* See a description of the camp there. Appendix, XX. 3.



Two persons were discovered with arms and ammunition in a house near one of the barriers, where a cannon was planted, ready to fire on the gunners. A person who was sent out of town to reconnoitre, the evening before it was evacuated, was fired at from a house in John-street, as he was returning. The garrison were so much afraid that the disloyal inhabitants, following the example of those at Enniscorthy, would set fire to the town, while they were engaged in its defence, that the mayor would not permit the bakers to heat their ovens, in consequence of which the troops were in the utmost distress for want of bread: Provisions were apparently so scarce, that the king's troops were almost starved; and yet as soon as the rebels entered the town, long tables, well served with food, were laid for them in the streets.

Many of the soldiers, who composed the garrison, were dispirited by the repeated advantages obtained by the rebels, particularly over the Meath regiment, and by the retreat of the Donegal regiment that morning from the mountain of Forth. Some of them were mutinous, and refused to do duty. The consternation began to grow general through the garrison.

Some gentlemen of consequence went to the gaol to liberate Mr. Bagenal Harvey; but he, perceiving that the rebels, whose cause he had espoused, were on the point of gaining the town, refused to accept their offer.

On the evacuation of the town by our troops, and before Bagenal Harvey had quitted the gaol, or had taken an open and decided part in supporting the rebellion, he consulted Gladwin the gaoler, whom he considered a man of integrity, what line of conduct he would advise him to pursue; and he proposed, that they should both steal privately out of town, and go to Duncannon fort; and at the same time he assured him, that if he would surrender himself to the general officer who commanded there, and make a complete and unequivocal renunciation of his errors, it would remove every stain and suspicion which his former conduct had brought upon his character; but unfortunately for him, Mrs. Dixon entering the gaol at that moment, he related to her what Gladwin had said; on which she declared, "That as he had begun the business with them, he must go through with it;" which induced him, wavering at that moment, to preponderate on the side of rebellion.

As this gentleman made a conspicuous figure in the rebellion, in consequence of which his life and property were forfeited to the laws of his country, I shall say something of his character and situation in life.

He was of a very respectable protestant family in the county of Wexford, and inherited an estate of above 2000l. a year from his father, which he had increased considerably by his œconomy. He received the rudiments of his education in Trinity College, Dublin, and was afterwards called to the Irish bar, which he attended during his father's life. His figure was small, and his countenance, though ugly and rather mean, was expressive. He was universally allowed to be a man of humanity, and of the strictest honour and integrity. His first cousin was married to general Keugh, another rebel chieftain, whose friendship he warmly cultivated, and to whose house he resorted whenever he went to Wexford. His political opinions, like those of his friend, were founded on principles of metaphysical abstraction, which often end in the destruction of those who cherish them, in the subversion of all social order, the degradation of greatness, and the plunder of wealth. He naturally had a discontent and gloominess of mind, which made him prone to find fault with the forms of our excellent constitution, which he wished to reform. Constantly associating with men who openly professed similar principles, but who, different from him, were actuated by the malignant hope of rising to wealth and consideration from obscurity and poverty, during a season of general confusion; from a moderate reformist, he gradually became an inveterate anarchist and a rebel. He lived at Bargo, in the barony of Forth. §

In consequence of information given by Anthony Perry, of Inch, to the magistrates at Gorey, on the twenty-third of May, Mr. Harvey was taken and committed to the gaol of Wexford, on the Saturday night following, at eleven o'clock; and in consequence of charges made by the same person, Mr. James Boyd arrested at day-break, on Whitsunday, Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark,\* eight miles from Wexford, and lodged him in the county gaol.

When Mr. Boyd first appeared, Fitzgerald laid his hand on his breast, and made the most solemn assurance of unfeigned loyalty; yet a great quantity of pikes were found in his parlour, ready mounted, and fit for service. Edward Hay slept in the same bed-chamber with him.

After

\* Plate III. 4.

§ Ibid. 8, 9.

After his arrest, he affected many delays, in hopes of being rescued by the rebels, who had risen, and were approaching his house in great numbers; but Mr. Boyd compelled him by menaces to set out for Wexford.

On the same day Mr. Boyd arrested and committed Mr. John Colclough, of Ballyteigue,\* in the barony of Forth, eleven miles from Wexford. They were all bailed the day before the evacuation of that town; but it was at the same time agreed, that one of them should remain in prison, as a hostage for the rest, and that fell to the lot of Mr. Harvey.

But to return to the evacuation of Wexford, which took place the thirtieth of May. The necessity of that measure was fully proved by the following circumstance: That all the popish inhabitants of Wexford, with but few exceptions, displayed their rebellious principles in the most sanguine manner, as soon as the king's troops left it, and produced great quantities of arms, which they would have turned against them, if the town had been attacked.

Such was the zeal of the rebels, that some of them endeavoured to seduce the soldiers of the Donegal regiment, during the short time they were in Wexford;† and one of them, in the suburb through which they retreated, brought to his door two loaded muskets, to fire at the column when they were at some distance, but a Donegal soldier, whom he did not perceive, happened to be near, and shot him.

The evacuation of the town, which for prudential reasons was not announced till the troops began their march, threw its loyal inhabitants into the utmost consternation. Those who foresaw that the event must have taken place, embarked a day or two before, in such vessels as they could procure; but those who had no intimation of it till the retreat began, got on board, precipitately, any vessels, even without decks, which happened to be near the shore. Some protestants, of active and approved loyalty, dreading the immediate vengeance of the rebels, waded up to their middle, to small boats, in which they were to be carried to ships or sloops; and the boatmen, in many instances, exacted three or four guineas for conveying them but one or two hundred yards. Those whom

infirmity

\* Plate III. 10.

† Matthew Murphy, and others, were tried by a court martial the 31st of March 1800, for having tried to seduce the Donegal regiment at Wexford.



infirmity or the want of money precluded from the hope of escaping by sea, abandoned themselves to despair, dreading the fate of the Enniscorthy loyalists.

Part of the garrison marched out of the barrier rather irregularly, and with precipitation, about an hour before the main body, consisting of the following troops: The Scarawalsh infantry, commanded by captain Cornock; and some loyalists in coloured clothes. Part of the North Cork who were at the barrier, perceiving them, exclaimed "What! the yeomanry and loyalists who fought with us at Enniscorthy are retreating, and some of the yeomen of this town have united with the rebels: We won't stay here to be sacrificed;" on which they suddenly joined them. Captain Snowe, of the North Cork, endeavoured to make them return; but finding that he could not influence them, thought it his duty to head them, not only to prevent them from committing outrages, but for their own preservation, to keep them in a state of subordination.

This party amounted to about two hundred, including the soldiers of the North Cork. The main body of the garrison, consisting of the Donnegal militia, part of the North Cork, and many corps of yeomen infantry and cavalry, followed in about an hour after, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Maxwell.

When the first party had advanced about four miles, they were informed that a large body of rebels lay in wait for them, at a small village called Maglafs,\* in the barony of Forth, about two miles farther on. They, therefore, by the advice of captain Cornock, took a circuitous road towards the sea, and avoided them, which was very fortunate, as they might have been overpowered by the superiority of their numbers.

Disappointed of their object, the greater part of the rebels dispersed; however, about five hundred of them, who remained in a strong position at Maglafs, attempted to oppose colonel Maxwell's party, who routed and killed a good many of them.

About seven miles from Wexford, captain Snowe overtook Mr. John Colclough and his wife in a phaeton; and as he, from residing in that country, and from being a rebel chieftain, had great influence there, the captain resolved to detain him as a hostage, to prevent any attack from

\* Plate III. 8.

from being made on his detachment in their retreat. During their march, large bodies of rebels frequently appeared behind the hedges, ready to oppose them; and whenever that happened, captain Snowe obliged Mr. Colclough to stand up in his phaeton, as a token of amity; at other times Mr. Colclough waved his hat in the air, on which the rebels dispersed, which evinced the great respect they bore him.

He had been liberated the day before at Wexford, and said, he was going to his house at Ballyteigue, in the barony of Forth; though, in fact, he was proceeding to join the rebels; yet, with singular dissimulation, he, standing in his phaeton, drank the king's health, and said, "Captain Snowe, remember that I am a loyal subject: I was committed on a charge grounded on the malicious information of a villain."

Next day Mrs. Colclough triumphantly entered Wexford, which was in possession of the rebels, in her phaeton, adorned with green emblems.

They compelled Mr. Colclough to accompany them to the river Scarpas\*, where the tide being full, which made it impassable, they were under the necessity of making a detour of at least ten miles.||

About six miles from Duncannon fort,† when it was extremely dark, they were attacked and fired on in the rear, by a party of rebel horse, commanded by John Murphy, of Loughnageer, who afterwards headed the Rossgarland corps of rebels, and was concerned in burning the barn at Scullabogue. The soldiers, after firing a few random shots, were panic struck, and fled to Taylor's-town bridge; on which having thronged in great numbers, they were very much exposed to a heavy fire from the rebels, who were posted on an adjacent furze brake on a hill.

Many persons were killed on the bridge, and among them two women, one a soldier's wife, the other a beautiful young girl, extremely well dressed, who was the daughter of an Enniscorthy loyalist, and had retreated with them from that town.

About fifty of the North Cork, and the yeomanry, were taken prisoners, and a good many were killed. James Neale, one of the band of musick, his wife, and another woman, who became their prisoners, were perforated with pikes in a most barbarous manner. After having stripped them of the principal part of their clothes, their bodies were conveyed to a newly ploughed field, and covered lightly with fods.

Neale's.

\* Plate III. 8, 9.

|| Ibid. 9.

† They retreated by Bridgetown, Baldwinstown, and Duncormuck, Plate III. 9.

Neale's wife, in whom life was not quite extinguished, recovered in the night, and removed the sods; and finding her husband's bloody shirt and waistcoat, she covered herself with them, and crept to Tintern, from whence she was sent on a car to Duncannon-fort, and from thence to Waterford, where she was completely cured in the hospital. Her legs, thighs and arms, had many pike wounds; and her head was swollen and ulcerated with them.†

As captain Snowe's party, attacked in a strange country and during a dark night, were panick-struck and dispersed, he was left quite alone, and arrived at Duncannon-fort about seven in the morning, after having experienced various dangers and distresses, and overcome with fatigue and hunger. Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell's party retreated by Maglafs, Bridgetown, Baldwinstown, and Duncormuck, and the pass of the Scar, at Barriet's-town; where, having been obstructed by the tide, they halted some time to refresh the troops, and went thence to Duncannon-fort by Foulkes's mill. Thus the retreat of the garrison of Wexford was in a great measure performed, during a dark night, in a country whose inhabitants were hostile, and in a state of insurrection; yet in the course of their march of eighteen hours, they had not received any nourishment.

Before I proceed to give the reader a description of the entry of the rebels into the town of Wexford, of which they got possession the thirtieth of May, and of the events which occurred there, I shall endeavour to give him an idea of their different strong posts and encampments, and of the objects which they were desirous of attaining; and in this, their plans appear to have been systematick, and guided by policy and fore-sight.

Confident of success, from their recent victories, and the numerous hordes assembled on the mountain of Fort and Vinegar-hill; and as multitudes were hourly flocking to their standard, they divided their army into three divisions.||

One

† She was far gone with child; yet she was delivered at the usual time, and the child is living.

|| The zeal and policy, with which the rebellion in the county of Wexford was conducted, arose from a plan, which lord Edward Fitzgerald had formed, of landing there a few troops from France, with a number of good officers, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition, in a few remarkably fast sailing frigates.

Report of the Secret Committee, Appendix, XVI. p. 136.



One, under the command of Bagenal Harvey, and father Philip Roche, of Poulpeasty, in the parish of Killan, was to form a camp on Carrick-byrne-hill,\* for the purpose of attacking the town of New Ross. Another, under father Kearns, captain Doyle, and captain Redmond, nephew of father Redmond, parish priest of Ferns, marched to Vinegar-hill, from whence they were to proceed to take Newtown-barry.† The third, commanded by Anthony Perry of Inch, father Michael Murphy of Ballycanoe, and father John Murphy of Boulavogue, was destined to attack Gorey; and having taken it, to march to Dublin.

### BATTLE OF NEWTOWN-BARRY.

By taking Newtown-barry they would completely command the river Slaney, having previously gained Enniscorthy and Wexford, situated on it; besides the advantage of possessing the harbour of the latter.

Newtown-barry is on the river Slaney, at the entrance of a deep defile, surrounded with very high and steep mountains; and, being on the principal road which leads to the counties of Carlow and Kildare, it would open a communication, and afford a perfect co-operation with the rebels in those counties, and enable them to prevent the arrival of reinforcements or the conveyance of ammunition to the king's troops from that quarter. The acquisition of Old Ross,‡ would give them the command of a very fine navigable river, and open a communication with the county of Kilkenny rebels; besides, it is now well known, that most of the disaffected inhabitants of Munster would have risen in mass, as soon as that town had fallen into their hands.

The towns of Gorey,|| Arklow,§ and Wicklow, were so thinly garrisoned, that the leaders of the third column were confident of proceeding to Dublin, without any material impediment. They knew also that immense numbers would flock to their standard in their progress; and that the rebels in the metropolis, (with whom they held a constant communication) bold, numerous, well-armed, and organized, would rise on their approach.

Government having received intelligence of the intended attack on Newtown-barry, colonel L'Estrange was sent to defend it on the thirtieth of May, with a detachment of the King's county militia, a few dragoons, and two battalion guns; the whole, including two corps of yeomen, one infantry, the other cavalry, amounting to about three hundred and sixty. As the inhabitants had been in constant expectation for some days of an attack from the rebels encamped on Vinegar-hill, all the avenues to the town had been occupied by patrols, both day and

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night,

\* Plate III. 5.

† Plate II. 5.

‡ Plate VII. 5.

|| Plate II. 4, 5.

§ Ibid. 1.

night, to prevent a surprise. On the evening of the thirty-first of May, they were suddenly alarmed by the arrival of a young woman in the town, with the utmost precipitation, and crying out, "Here they are! here they are!" She had been a prisoner to the rebels on Vinegar-hill, where she was so unfortunate as to see her two brothers put to death, with extreme torture. In the frenzy of grief, she, at the risk of her life, seized and mounted a horse, and was so lucky as to make her escape, though closely pursued.

Next day, the first of June, colonel L'Estrange went out with a party of dragoons to reconnoitre, in the direction of Vinegar-hill. When he advanced about three miles, he perceived the rebels approaching in great force, and so concealed by a thick wood, and large hedge-rows, that he suddenly found himself in the midst of them. After exchanging a few shots, he returned to the town, and made the best disposition he could for its defence. Soon after the enemy began to advance in two large columns, one at each side of the river, and under cover of very thick woods, which are on high hills that surround the town. As they approached, they communicated with each other, by loud shouts and yells, which served as signals to announce the moment of attack.

About three o'clock, the rebels fired some round and some cannister shot into the town, which obliged the out-posts to retreat into it. As colonel L'Estrange perceived a design in the rebel column at the opposite side of the river to get on his rear, and to surround him, and as his small force would be insufficient to guard the different avenues leading to the town, after consulting with his officers, he resolved to abandon it, and to take possession of a rising ground, which commanded it; and by doing so, he strengthened his force by its concentration.

The rebels, imagining that the king's troops, intimidated by their numbers, had fled, rushed into the town, and proceeded to plunder and burn it. The yeomen, enraged at seeing their families and their property in such imminent danger, applied to captain Kerr, who commanded the yeomen cavalry, to lead them on; saying, that they would conquer or die. He asked permission to do so, and obtained it.

Assisted by lieutenant-colonel Westenra, and major Marley, they immediately advanced into the town, which was full of rebels, who were plundering and burning it; and who would have completely demolished it,

it, but that a few loyal subjects, by keeping up a constant fire from their houses, retarded and checked their destructive progress. While the rebels were thus engaged, our troops attacked them with a heavy fire of grape-shot and musketry, which routed them so completely, that they fled in every direction; on which the cavalry charged, and killed great numbers of them; having pursued them about three miles on the Enniscorthy road. Another large body of them, who took a different direction, re-assembled on a hill over the town, but were charged and routed by the cavalry, who cut down great numbers of them in the fields adjacent to it. On that occasion the yeomen acted with singular valour. The number killed was about four hundred, and among them two priests, who were dressed in their vestments. This defeat was peculiarly mortifying to the rebels, from the great numbers which they had in the action; for father Roche, the general, who commanded there, owned afterwards, when a prisoner at Wexford, that most of the men encamped at Vinegar-hill were engaged in the attack on Newtown-barry.

Father Redmond, parish-priest of Ferns, led his parishioners to that action, in which numbers of them were killed. He was tried for it, but acquitted, because people were afraid to prosecute; of which colonel St. Leger, president of the court martial, assured me; and some persons, who saw him at their head, informed me of it.

An immense body of rebels marched from the camp on the mountain of Forth, near Wexford, on the thirtieth of May, to assist those who were in the vicinity of Gorey\* in attacking it. They encamped the first night at Oulart,† with an intent the next day to take post in two divisions, one on Ballymore‡ mountain, the other on Ballymenane-hill;§ and, after having formed a junction, to have attacked that town. Captain White, of the Ballaghkeene cavalry, who commanded the garrison of Gorey, having heard of their approach, marched out on the morning of the first day of June, with twenty-five of the Antrim, twenty-five of the North Cork, twenty dismounted yeomen of the Gorey corps, and detachments of the Ballaghkeene, Gorey and Camolin cavalry, and attacked the Ballymenane division, about two miles from Gorey, on the Ballycanoe-road.|| After sustaining the fire of the infantry for about a quarter of

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\* See Plate II. 4.    † Plate III. 2.    ‡ Plate II. 6, 7.    § Plate II. 5.    || Plate II. 6.



an hour, they were broken and fled; on which the cavalry charged and killed about two hundred of them.

It was very fortunate that this action took place before a junction could be formed. As soon as it began, Fitzgerald, Perry and Roche, rebel generals, who commanded the Ballymenane division, rode off to call up the other; but the deroute took place before it could arrive. On being dispersed, they joined the other party on Ballymore-hills, meditating an attack on Gorey.

On Whitsunday a horse patrol from Gorey took three rebels in arms in the adjacent country, and hanged them in the town. They owned in their last moments that they were incited by their priest to enter into the rebellion.

Intelligence having been communicated to government, that the same body of rebels, with a large reinforcement from Vinegar-hill, meditated another attack on Gorey, to oppose them, general Loftus was ordered to proceed from Dublin to Rathdrum, in the county of Wicklow, the twenty-ninth of May, with two hundred of the Dunbarton fencible infantry, and fifty of the 5th dragoon guards, which detachment was commanded by lieutenant-colonel Scott, who, on the following day, cleared the woods of Donane and the Devil's-glynn of the banditti which had attacked Newtown-mount-kennedy the preceding day.

General Loftus, after having made such arrangements as the nature of the circumstances would admit for the defence of Wicklow and Rathdrum, proceeded to Arklow, agreeably to subsequent orders received from general Lake.

On the second of June, he was informed by letter from general Lake, that general Eustace and colonel Walpole would join him with some troops for the purpose of co-operating with him.

On the evening of the second of June, general Loftus, having been informed that colonel Walpole was actually arrived at Carnew,\* sent an express to him with orders to join him next morning at Gorey.

I think it right to inform the reader, that lieutenant-colonel Walpole was sent from Dublin with orders to join general Loftus with what troops he could procure from general Dundas at Naas, Kilcullen and Balinglass; and that he marched with five hundred men obtained from him,

\* Plate II. 4.

him, with two six-pounders and a howitzer, by Baltinglafs and Tinahely,\* to Carnew. He was not vested with any command, and received no other orders but to march the troops to Gorey, and to leave them under the command of general Loftus.

When colonel Scott's detachment, consisting of two hundred fencible infantry, fifty dragoons, one hundred men drawn from the Antrim regiment, and two curricule guns, were moving from Arklow on the morning of the third of June, general Loftus received a letter from colonel Walpole, stating, that he thought Carnew a much better place to attack the rebels, posted on Ballymore hill, from, than Gorey;† that he had reconnoitred them twice, and had got the best information of their designs; that his force was able to beat the whole rebel army, and that therefore he would not move his troops from Carnew, but that he would himself meet general Loftus at Wicklow.

The general having consulted with colonel Scott and captain Ormsby, it was agreed, that he must have meant Arklow. Colonel Scott therefore moved forward with his detachment towards Gorey; general Loftus having sent an express to colonel Walpole to meet him at that town, leaving Arklow in charge of the yeomen.

General Loftus received a second letter from colonel Walpole, excusing himself for not coming, and saying, that he had received the best information concerning the rebels, and had reconnoitred them himself; however, on the evening of the third of June, colonel Walpole arrived at Gorey, with part of his troops; for, notwithstanding the peremptory orders he had received to bring the whole of them, he left two companies of infantry at Carnew.

Colonel Walpole, though not vested with any command, being too eager for fame, and desirous of enjoying the principal merit of any action that might be achieved, was rather forward and decided in giving his opinion; and though the officers who were his superiors, not only in rank and authority, but in knowledge and experience, did not implicitly yield to it, they paid some deference to him, on account of his confidential situation in the castle of Dublin, and the opportunity it afforded him of acquiring the best information. He said, he had obtained orders to col-  
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\* Plate II. 1.

† Ibid. 4, 5.

lect the troops which he had under his command, and to proceed to the county of Wexford, to co-operate with him, and general Eustace, who, he said, was in the front of Gorey, towards Wexford; but unfortunately for general Loftus, it happened that general Johnson, finding himself in an alarming and critical situation at Ros, detained general Eustace there, for the purpose of availing himself of his assistance.

At their first interview, colonel Walpole said, that he supposed general Loftus would attack the rebels next morning; and that he hoped he would afterwards march, or permit him to march, to Enniscorthy; and after having taken that town, to proceed to Wexford.

In consequence of this extraordinary conversation, general Loftus took colonel Scott and captain Ormsby, of the Wexford regiment aside, and lamented to them, that such a man as colonel Walpole was sent to act with him, as he was known to possess the confidence of the lord lieutenant, but shewed a downright unwillingness to obey general Loftus's orders. It was then settled, that colonel Walpole should not be permitted to march to Enniscorthy, until they had received some information from general Eustace; but that, as colonel Walpole seemed so decided on attacking the rebels on Ballymore-hill, from his knowledge of their position, he agreed, that they should do so in conjunction next morning, provided it appeared feasible on reconnoitring them.

General Loftus then made the following arrangements for that purpose:

At nine o'clock on the morning of the fourth of June, lieutenant-colonel Walpole was to march with the main body of the troops, two six-pounders and a howitzer, towards Ballymore, by Clogh,\* where he was to be joined by one hundred men whom he had left at Carnew. The garrison of that town were to take post at Camolin,† three miles from Gorey, and to wait for further orders.

Lord Ancram was directed to march from Newtownbarry, fifteen miles distant from Gorey, with two hundred and fifty of the king's county militia, and his own detachment of dragoons, and to take post at Scarawalsh-bridge, twelve miles from Gorey, there to observe the motions of the enemy on Vinegar-hill; and if he received no orders before the afternoon, he was to meet colonel Walpole at Ferns.‡

Lieutenant

\* Plate II. 5.

† Ibid. 6.

‡ Ibid. 6, 7.



Lieutenant-colonel Scott, with two hundred of the Dunbarton fencibles and fifty of the 5th dragoons, under the command of general Loftus, moved towards Ballymore, by Ballycanew,\* to the left of colonel Walpole, in a southern direction. These two roads diverge soon after you leave Gorey, and, at the distance of about five miles from that town, there is a communication between them by a cross road running from east to west, and not far from Ballymore, where the two detachments were to have united and to have reconnoitred the rebels.

Captain Mc. Manus, with one hundred of the Antrim militia regiment, was posted between Gorey and Ballycanew, near a cross road which led to Clogh, to be ready to protect Gorey, or to support colonel Scott or colonel Walpole, as the occasion might require. Colonel Walpole was protected on the left by the general himself, with colonel Scott and his party, a little more than a mile and a half distant from him. On his right, within a mile and a half, he had upwards of one hundred light infantry ordered from Carnew, who were to wait his further orders. General Loftus gave him twelve yeomen gentlemen as guides, and took ten himself for the same purpose.

General Loftus desired him to proceed with the utmost caution, and to let him know how he went on. The two roads on which general Loftus and colonel Walpole were to proceed towards Ballymore were nearly parallel, and there was a cross road between them at Clogh,, which afforded an easy communication.

At a road to the right, leading to Camolin, some rebels appeared at a distance, on which some of the officers, under the command of colonel Walpole, suggested to him the propriety of forming, or of marching with advanced guards and flankers; which advice he rejected, and replied, that he was commanding officer. On advancing to the cross roads near Clogh, some more rebels appeared; and captain Duncan of the artillery having advanced about two hundred yards before the party to have a good look out, returned, and informed colonel Walpole that he had seen a man on horseback with a gun. At the same time there was an appearance of rebels in front, and to the right of the road leading to Ballymore-hill.

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\* Plate II. 6.

Had he any degree of prudence or military skill, he would have instantly deployed and formed, which he might easily have done, as the adjacent fields were flat and spacious; and having done so, he should have communicated his situation to general Loftus; and having been asked to do so by some of his officers, he replied, by saying, that it should be colonel Walpole's, and not general Loftus's action.

On being repeatedly pressed to send an express to general Loftus, he expressed his fears that the rebels would escape from him. Actuated with the vain glory of arrogating exclusively to himself the merit of defeating the rebels, he quitted this very advantageous position, and advanced to Tubberneering, a little beyond Clogh, where the road was deep and narrow, and the clay banks on each side, with deep trenches, and bushes on the top, were very high. The adjacent fields, which were small, with high and thick quick-set hedges, had potatoes, corn and uncut grafs in them, all which afforded ample means of concealment for the rebels, who were advancing towards Gorey; and on seeing at a distance the king's troops marching, formed an ambuscade at Tubberneering, to which place colonel Walpole advanced, in a most irregular manner. The rebels, taking advantage of his disadvantageous situation, suddenly rose from the adjacent hedges in which they were concealed, and directed a tremendous fire on the king's troops, who were put in the utmost confusion, as great numbers of them fell, without a possibility of forming for their defence.

Colonel Walpole, dressed in a full uniform, and mounted on a tall grey horse, formed a conspicuous object for the rebels, and fell in the first onset. The column was now actually surrounded, in a place, which, from the height and number of its inclosures, was favourable for the irregular and desultory warfare of savages; at the same time that it baffled the efforts of valour and discipline.

An attempt was made by a detachment of the 4th dragoon-guards to turn the enemy's right flank, but the closeness of the country made this impracticable.

Colonel sir Watkin Williams Wynne at the same time advanced with the Ancient British fencible cavalry, which he commanded, to the front of the infantry, and retook a gun which had fallen into the hands of the rebels; but the gunners having been killed or forced to fly, and the

the artillery horses having gone off with the limber, he was obliged to abandon it to the enemy.

After having sustained the attack for about three quarters of an hour, with considerable disadvantage on the part of the king's troops, and having lost their commander, and three pieces of artillery, which were immediately turned against them, they began to retreat in great confusion, as might be expected from raw and inexperienced troops.

The rebels having pressed hard on them, a general dismay instantly took place, which would probably have been fatal to the whole of the column, had not lieutenant-colonel Cope, of the Armagh militia, who had been posted at a small distance, with a detachment of his own regiment, rallied and formed them on the road, to impede the progress of the enemy. To this small band of brave men, under the command of that cool and gallant officer, the safety of those who escaped on that day is in a great measure to be imputed.

The column retreated in the utmost disorder to Gorey, colonel Cope disputing every inch of ground, and covering their retreat. When they arrived there, most of the windows were occupied by the rebels, who kept up a heavy fire, and killed many of them; however, they effected their passage through the town.

Colonel Cope found great difficulty in leading his men through it; for whenever the rebels fired at them from the windows, they imprudently rushed into the houses whence the shots were fired, and obtained revenge by bayoneting the assailants.

Of his corps, amounting to one hundred and thirty, he lost between thirty and forty; and his horse was wounded in such a manner as to be rendered useless.

Captain Stark of the Londonderry militia, captain Duncan of the artillery, and captain Armstrong of the King's county militia, were carried into Gorey very badly wounded; but were obliged to retreat to Wicklow, after having their wounds dressed, as the rebels were advancing into the town.

As colonel Walpole had made no communication of his situation to general Loftus, he remained totally ignorant of it, till he heard a smart firing on his right near Clogh; on which he sent an express to



captain Mc. Manus, who had been conducted by Mr. Hunter Gowan, to go over by the cross road to support colonel Walpole; but the issue of this unfortunate affair was decided so quickly, that the main body of our troops having been routed before his arrival, the captain and his detachment were surrounded and taken prisoners, after many of them had been killed.

General Loftus, who was near the village of Ballycanew,\* when he heard the firing, pushed forward with his detachment to Tubberneering; but on his arrival there, had the mortification of seeing colonel Walpole and many of his soldiers lying dead and naked.

Sir Watkin William Wynne, having seen captain Mc. Manus, with a company of the Antrim, advancing to support colonel Walpole, sent captain Wynne, with a troop of his regiment, to cover them; but the surprise was so sudden, that his efforts proved ineffectual.

Captain Wynne, on his arrival at the town, after the retreating column had passed through it, found that the enemy, who were pursuing them, had attained the entrance of it, and had actually brought one of the guns, which they had taken, to bear on the main street. Thus captain Wynne, cut off from his corps, determined instantly on forcing his passage by the town, and on cutting his way through the rebels who surrounded the gun; and he gallantly effected it, but with the loss of five yeomen killed, and a few men and horses wounded.

Several bodies of people having been discovered on the hills at the Arklow side of Gorey, it was apprehended that fresh parties of rebels were assembling to oppose the retreat of the column towards Arklow. Sir W. W. Wynne therefore pressed forward with the cavalry to disperse them, but he soon discovered that they were the protestant inhabitants of the town and its vicinity, who, in despair, had abandoned their houses and their property, well knowing that they would have fallen a prey to the cruel and sanguinary spirit of the rebels.

Above one thousand and seventy of them fled on the fourth of June to Arklow, and next day to Wicklow, carrying their wives and children on above three hundred cars, with which they formed booths or tents on the strand near that town, where they remained near a month, without any means of subsistence but what they received from charitable contributions.

Sir

\* See Plate II. 6.

Sir Watkin, having got the rear of his command clear of the town, used every effort to induce the troops to halt and form ; but the panick was so great, that all his efforts were fruitless, and they rushed on precipitately and in disorder, even to Arklow. In these circumstances a council of war was held, and it was determined (probably judiciously) but certainly much contrary to the feelings and inclinations of the yeomanry, to retreat to Wicklow, as their houses and families were exposed to destruction by this measure, which however was effected in the course of the following night. The town of Arklow suffered much less than might have been expected during an interval of thirty-six hours, between the evacuation of it by the retreating army, and the arrival of major-general Needham there, on Wednesday the sixth of June. The main body of the rebels had not approached it ; and but a few petty depredations were committed by some home insurgents, who, after having plundered some houses, went off to their associates at Gorey.

The security of Arklow is to be imputed to the wise precaution of the officers commanding the army which retreated to Wicklow ; who carried with them, as hostages, a great number of its principal disaffected inhabitants, and whose lives would have answered for any wanton act of mischief or barbarity committed by the others.

The defeat of colonel Walpole left general Loftus with but two hundred and fifty men, in a most alarming situation, and it required not only address, but the most prompt and vigorous exertion to extricate himself ; for, it has been since discovered, that the rebel army at Vinegar-hill had formed a junction with that which was posted on Ballymore, making in the whole above twenty thousand men, for the purpose of taking Gorey ; and this plan was connected with their main object of attacking the metropolis, which they endeavoured to accomplish five days after.

The general advanced within three quarters of a mile of Gorey, which he found to be in possession of the rebels. He had then no other resource to save his small detachment but to force his way through that town, or to form a junction with lord Ancram. Large bodies of rebels were seen in motion on the adjacent hills, just over their heads ; and who often fired on them, not only with the guns which they had taken, but with their small arms. In this critical state, any, even the smallest delay would have been attended with the loss of the detachment. He

made his men advance rapidly without returning the enemy's fire, and considered himself as very fortunate in having the assistance of so able and judicious an officer as colonel Scott. He, general Loftus, and captain Corry, having examined the position of the rebels, found that their numbers were immense; that the hedge-rows, leading to Gorey, were lined with them; and that all the adjacent hills were occupied by considerable numbers, who fired on them with the two six-pounders and the howitzer taken from colonel Walpole.

The general, therefore, prudently resolved to join lord Ancram at Carnew,\* which could not be effected but by marching round the enemy's right, and by crossing Slievebuoy† mountain. Lieutenant-colonel Scott moved off on the Camolin‡ road, while the general remained with the fifty dragoons to watch the motions of the enemy; and captain Corry, who commanded them, endeavoured to engage the attention of the enemy, and to make them believe that he was moving towards Gorey, by the cross road leading to the Ballycanew road; and had not captain Corry made this feint, lieutenant-colonel Scott could not have marched unmolested to form a junction with lord Ancram, which was effected near Slievebuoy mountain, and by persevering in not waiting to return the enemy's fire, Carnew was occupied early next morning.

The difficulty of conveying the guns and the tumbrils over that mountain was very great, and could not have been effected, as there was no road for a four-wheel carriage, but for the advice of Mr. Brownrigg of Barndown, who had a perfect knowledge of the country. Thus this small body fairly marched round twenty thousand rebels; and by the good countenance which they kept, and by preserving their fire, though constantly fired at, they escaped without any injury. At midnight general Loftus reached Carnew, where he learned that the light infantry, ordered to Camolin to act with colonel Walpole, had, upon his defeat, retreated to Newtownbarry, and that general Eustace was detained at Rofs to support general Johnson. Thus he had only the additional support of lord Ancram's party; viz. two hundred and fifty men of the King's county regiment, and eighty Mid Lothian dragoons; but upon lord Ancram's report, that a detachment of the Meath and Donegal regiments had arrived at Newtownbarry

\* Plate II. 4.

† Ibid. 5.

‡ Ibid. 6.



barry the day before, escorting ammunition from general Johnson, he ordered that detachment to join him; by which he was enabled to send detachments for the defence of Arklow and Hacketstown; and the important post of Newtownbarry was well defended.

Had the rebel army taken advantage of their victory, and proceeded to Arklow and Wicklow, those towns must have fallen into their hands, and they would probably have marched to, and attacked the metropolis; but, incited by the hope of plundering Gorey and its vicinity, they continued for five days to commit every excess and enormity that the love of rapine and savage cruelty could inspire. The protestant church, which was the first object of their fanatical rage, they completely dismantled. They pillaged and destroyed the houses of all the protestants, and murdered many of their inmates, who could not make their escape. They also plundered and demolished the town of Carnew; having harboured insatiable revenge against its inhabitants, for the victory which they had obtained over them on the twenty-seventh of May.\*

A drummer of the name of Hunter, of the Antrim regiment, of the age of twelve years, fell into the hands of the rebels, in the unfortunate affair in which colonel Walpole lost his life. He carried his drum with him, and when he was conducted to the town of Gorey, with some other prisoners, they desired him to beat it, having intended to make him serve them as a drummer; when he, actuated by a spirit of enthusiastick loyalty, exclaimed, "That the king's drum should never be beaten for rebels;" and at the same instant, he leaped on the drum, and broke through both its heads. The inhuman villains, whose relentless hearts were not susceptible of those refined sentiments, which would have excited a generous admiration of so heroick an act even in an enemy, instantly perforated his body with pikes.

In this action, a priest attacked captain Duncan of the Royal Irish artillery, and wounded him with a pistol ball, as he was mounting his horse; but his temerity was soon punished, for the captain drew a pistol from his holster and laid him prostrate.

The following anecdote of the Royal Irish Artillery, whose valour and loyalty have been conspicuous on all occasions, deserves to be recorded: During the confusion and dismay which took place among the troops, when they were surprised in the road at Tubberneering, the gunners of the artillery,

\* They plundered and destroyed Ramsfort and Clonattin, the two elegant seats of the Messrs. Rams.

tillery, with the most deliberate coolness, levelled one of the hedges of the road, dragged the cannon into the adjacent field, and fired many shots at a numerous body of rebels, who were posted on a high rock, from whence, with their musketry, they had killed many of our soldiers. They drove the rebels from that advantageous position, after having killed a great number of them, which contributed materially to prevent the complete destruction of the army.

I shall refer the reader to the affidavits of Andrew Sheppard, George Taylor and Bleakney Ormsby, Appendix, No. XX. 1, 2, 3, for an account of the brutal treatment which they gave their protestant prisoners in the town of Gorey. They murdered many persons of that persuasion in the adjacent country. The following occurrence happened there: A protestant tenant of Mr. Stephen Ram, of the name of Poole, who bears an uncommon good character, fled from his house near Gorey when the rebels got possession of it; some of his popish acquaintances persuaded him to return, as persons of his religious faith were not molested; but on doing so, he found that they meant only to lead him into danger, by putting him in the power of the Romanists. He was advised to repair to the rebel camp at Gorey, and to procure a pass there; but he could not obtain it. He was then advised to go to father Francis Kavenagh, a priest, who had supreme power at Gorey, and had a guard of pikemen at his door, to prevent more than one person at a time from entering it. On addressing him for a protection, he said "After serving the devil all your life, you come to me for a protection," meaning that he had been all his life of the protestant persuasion. However, he gave him a protection; but in this he acted with dissimulation, as it was not meant to protect him; for he was arrested and imprisoned, and narrowly escaped with his life. This priest was the oldest, the best beneficed, and reputed one of the most respectable priests in the diocese. By his apparent candour and liberality he had insinuated himself into the esteem and good opinion of the nobility and protestant gentry of the country, whose houses he resorted to constantly, and was well received there; and yet his conduct was so exceptionable, that general Needham\* would have had him tried by a court-martial, and he probably would have shared the fate of his coadjutor, father Redmond, who was hanged, but that some respectable persons, in consideration

\* I heard this from the general, when many persons were present.





# A MAP of NEW ROSS



# A MAP of part of the Country round ROSS.



ration of his age, and led by their partiality for him, persuaded the general to discharge him. This old hypocrite was very active in the rebel camps.

Being unwilling to break the thread of my narration of the events which took place at Wexford, during three weeks that the rebels were in possession of it, before I enter upon that subject, I will finish the relation of many other transactions which happened during that period.

I mentioned before, that an immense body of rebels had encamped on Carrickbyrne-hill,\* for the purpose of taking possession of Rofs, which is six miles distant from it.

### BATTLE OF ROSS.

Rofs † is a corporate, a post, and a borough town, which returned two members to parliament. It is situated on a large river, formed by the junction of the Nore and Barrow,‡ which unite about one mile above it, and, meeting the river Suir at Dunbrody, runs in a south-east direction by Passage, and discharges itself into the sea at Hook-tower, from which it is about twenty-five miles distant. The navigation to it is very good, and vessels of near four hundred tons burthen can lie close to the quay; for which reason it was a place of considerable trade so early as the reign of Henry V. and large quantities of corn and provisions are now annually exported from it. It obtained charters from Henry IV. Richard II. Henry V. and VI. James I. and II.

It was formerly a place of great strength, being surrounded with high walls, with towers and bastions, of which there are considerable remains: However, it made but little resistance to Cromwell; though it was defended by lord Taaffe, an able general, who had a numerous garrison in it. It had many religious houses, of which there are some remains. The whole of the town, except Friary-street, South-street, North-street, the quays, and the space between them and the river, is on a very steep descent. It is ten miles from Waterford, nineteen from Wexford, and sixteen from Enniscorthy.

In consequence of the encampment at Carrickbyrne, the Donegal, Clare, and Meath regiments of militia, detachments of the English artillery, the 5th dragoons, and Mid Lothian fencibles, marched into Rofs; and on the fourth of June, the county of Dublin regiment afforded a very

\* See Plate III. 5.

† Ibid.

‡ Plate II. 5.



very seasonable reinforcement to the garrison, as the rebels on that evening, with dreadful yells, moved from Carrickbyrne to Corbethill, an eminence about a mile and a half from the town, and from which there is a gradual and uninterrupted descent, after having driven in our out-post, which had been stationed on Lacken-hill.

A person, who was forced to attend them in their march, informed me, that they moved by parishes and baronies, each having a particular standard; and that in their way they stopped at a chapel, where mass was said at the head of each column, by priests who sprinkled an abundance of holy water on them.

The garrison, consisting of about twelve hundred effective men, and about one hundred and fifty yeomen, under the command of general Johnson, continued on their arms all night. The infantry and artillery were mostly in a line outside the walls of the town, to the east and south side of it; the cavalry on the quay, the yeomen infantry on the bridge.

About four o'clock, one of the centinels at an out post shot a man who was galloping towards him with a white handkerchief, which he waved in the air as a flag of truce. On examining him, it appeared that his name was Furlong, and that he was sent by Bagenal Harvey, the rebel general, to propose to general Johnson to surrender the town to him, as the following summons was found in his pocket:

“ Sir,

“ As a friend to humanity, I request you will surrender the town of Ross to the Wexford forces, now assembled against that town; your resistance will but provoke rapine and plunder, to the ruin of the most innocent. Flushed with victory, the Wexford forces, now innumerable and irresistible, will not be controled, if they meet with resistance. To prevent, therefore, the total ruin of all property in the town, I urge you to a speedy surrender, which you will be forced to in a few hours, with loss and bloodshed, as you are surrounded on all sides. Your answer is required in four hours. Mr. Furlong carries this letter, and will bring the answer.

Camp at Corbethill,  
half past three o'clock morning,  
June 5th, 1798.

I am, Sir,  
B. B. HARVEY,  
General commanding, &c. &c.”

I give the reader a copy of Bagenal Harvey's appointment as commander in chief, which fortunately fell into my hands:

“ At



“ At a meeting of the commanders of the united army held at Carrickbyrne camp, on the first of June 1798, it was unanimously agreed, that Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey should be appointed and elected commander in chief of the united army of the county of Wexford, from and after the first day of June 1798.

Signed by order of the different commanding officers of the camp,  
NICHOLAS GRAY, secretary.”

“ It was likewise agreed, that Edward Roche should, from and after the first day of June instant, be elected, and is hereby elected a general officer of the united army of the county of Wexford.

Signed by the above authority,

N. GRAY.”

About five o'clock in the morning, not less than thirty thousand of the rebels approached the town, some in columns, others in intermediate lines, with terrific yells, having four pieces of cannon, besides swivels.

A great number of priests, with their vestments on, and crucifixes in their hands, by moving through the ranks, and animating them by their harangues, kindled a degree of enthusiastic ardour in them, which nothing but fanaticism could inspire.

They moved with slow but irresistible progress, like an immense body of lava, which, issuing from the bowels of Vesuvius, spreads desolation over the plains of Campania, and from which man alone can escape, and that by flight only.

It is supposed that one-fourth of them had muskets, the remainder were armed with pikes. Their superior force soon made our advanced guard retire to the main body, and they took possession of our alarm posts. The struggle there became serious, and matters wore a very unfavourable aspect, particularly at the Three-bullet gate, which post was at last forced by an immense column of rebels, who, regardless of danger from fanaticism and ebriety, made a most formidable attack, and carried one of our guns, which they immediately turned against us.

In the first onset which they made at the Three-bullet\* gate, they were repulsed; on which general Johnson ordered captain Irwine to advance and charge them with a detachment of the 5th dragoons, in a field

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where

\* See Plate VII. 5.

where they seemed doubtful whether to advance or make good their retreat. Seeing the cavalry advance briskly on them, they fled precipitately, leaped over some very high ditches, and fired from behind them on the dragoons, who had approached very close to them, and attempted to leap over them, but in vain. The very same circumstances happened in two other fields where they charged. They lost in the course of these charges cornet Dodwell, one serjeant, one corporal, twenty-four privates, and twenty-six horses. The gallant general Johnson was in each field where these charges were made.

When captain Irwine was approaching the Three-bullet gate from the last field, a twelve-pounder posted there was fired, and killed his horse, which fell on his leg, and prevented him from moving, at the same time that our troops in that quarter had retired within the gate, and were retreating towards the bridge, and the rebels had advanced within a few yards of him, and would have killed him, but that they were engaged in taking possession of the gun. In that critical moment an artillery horse happened to pass by, and so near him, that he laid hold of one of the traces, and was dragged into the town, by which his life was saved.

The rebels, in great numbers, having entered the town in that point, part of them were engaged in setting fire to the houses, in which some of the popish inhabitants assisted them, whilst others pushed for the bridge.

General Johnson, perceiving this, planted guns at the several cross lanes, leading from Church-lane\* and Neville-street, and one at the old market place,§ to which for some time he attached himself. By these the rebels were repulsed with great slaughter. Such was their enthusiasm, that, though whole ranks of them were seen to fall, they were succeeded by others, who seemed to court the fate of their companions, by rushing on our troops with renovated ardour.

One rebel, emboldened by fanaticism and drunkenness, advanced before his comrades, seized a gun, crammed his hat and wig into it, and cried out, "Come on, boys! her mouth is stopped." At that instant the gunner laid the match to the gun, and blew the unfortunate savage to atoms. This fact has been verified by the affidavit of a person who saw it from a window.

The

\* Plate VII. 5.

§ Ibid.

The main body of our troops, overpowered and terrified by the immense body of rebels who entered the town at the Three-bullet gate, fled over the bridge to the Kilkenny or Rosbergen side of the river, and the enemy being in possession of the greater part of it, (except where they were checked by one gun at the old market-place,\* and two more supported by serjeant Hamilton, at the main guard, which stood at the cross formed by the junction of Mary-street, Quay-street, North and South-streets) proceeded to plunder and burn. The gallant general Johnson (whose ardour and activity could be equalled by nothing but his cool presence of mind,) seeing them in that situation, followed our troops to the Kilkenny side of the river, rallied and brought them back to their respective posts, by which the rebels within the town were completely subdued. He often exclaimed to the fugitives whom he rallied, "Will you desert your general?" without any effect; but when he added, "And your countryman?" they gave three cheers, and followed him. Having succeeded in rallying the fugitives, he rode before them to a part of our troops, who, much to their honour, had kept their post near the Three-bullet gate, and informed them that a reinforcement of fresh troops had arrived from Waterford, which delusion produced a very good effect in animating them; however, he reinforced them with some of those whom he had rallied, as there was a rebel column opposite to them, which seemed by its advancing towards them, determined to make one desperate effort. At this moment the fortune of the day hung in a balance; but it was soon turned by the steady fire of our troops, who repulsed the rebels with great slaughter.

Then, by turning the rear of the rebels who had entered the town at the Three-bullet gate end of it, not one of them escaped; and by manning the ditches outside, he prevented them from receiving a reinforcement.

From the arts of seduction practised on the Clare regiment, while at Waterford, where it had been quartered some months, the rebels being sure of their assistance, frequently exclaimed during the action, "Clare regiment, don't fire on your religion!" Prudence would not admit, that a handful of men, almost exhausted by hunger and fatigue, should pursue an enemy so superior in number to a considerable distance. The utmost extent of the pursuit, and that only by a small part of the army, was to a ravin under Corbet-hill, and Rossiter's stores, from whence general Johnson perceived

3 G 2

them

\* It was ably served and defended by captain Bloomfield.



them retiring, every man making the best of his way to Carrickbyrne.\* The enemy left dead two thousand six hundred, besides numbers whom they carried off on cars. The loss of the king's troops was one colonel, one ensign, four serjeants, three drummers, eighty-one rank and file, and fifty-four horses killed; one captain, one drummer, fifty-four rank and file, and five horses wounded; one captain, three lieutenants, one ensign, two serjeants, two corporals, seventy-two rank and file, and four horses missing. Lord Mountjoy, colonel of the Dublin regiment, who fell in the first onset, at the Three bullet gate, was universally lamented, as his publick and private virtues made him an object of general esteem. He was possessed of high mental endowments, being an elegant scholar and a good publick speaker. He had the gentlest manners, and the mildest affections, warm and sincere in friendship, and so benevolent and humane, that he never harboured revenge.

Great part of the rebels after the action encamped on Slievekilta,† a steep and high mountain, about four miles from Rofs, where they remained, regularly answering our morning gun; and thence they went to Lacken-hill,‡ where they continued till they were dislodged by general Johnson, when he marched to Vinegar-hill.

It is probable that the whole province of Munster would have been desolated as much as the county of Wexford, if the valour and activity of general Johnson had not preserved Rofs; for it has been discovered, that the inhabitants of most parts of that province were to have risen by a preconcerted plan, if that town had fallen into the hands of the rebels; and it was proved, that messengers were on the point of being sent from Waterford by the treasurers of the united Irishmen, to summon the people of the South to rise. General Johnson was seen in every part of the battle, giving orders and animating the troops. It is astonishing how he escaped, as he was often in the most perilous situations, and had two horses shot under him. He received very material assistance from general Eustace, whose valour and activity were very conspicuous during the action.||

About

\* Plate VII. 6.

† Plate VII. 7.

‡ Ibid. 5.

|| I cannot pass unnoticed the valour and loyalty of Michael M'Cormick on that day. He had been formerly a quarter-master of dragoons, and having retired, was in the mercantile line at Rofs. Conspicuous by his huge stature and a brass helmet, he was constantly seen in the warmest part of the action, animating the troops, and rendered the most essential service to general Johnson.

About ten o'clock in the morning of the fifth of June, the Roscommon regiment, in two divisions, one led by the honourable colonel King, marched from Waterford, to reinforce the garrison of Ross, which is ten miles distant from it. When the first had advanced about two miles on their march, they were met by some of the fugitive foldiers from that town, who informed the colonel, that our troops, overpowered by numbers, and exhausted by fatigue, had been defeated with great slaughter, that they had fled to Thomastown, and that the town of Ross had been burnt. However the colonel, determined to do his duty, marched to a high hill over a deep defile, called Glynmore,\* in a straight line, about two miles and a half from Ross; whence, with the assistance of a good glass, he saw a smoke issuing from the town, but could not discern any troops in it; from which he concluded that his intelligence had been well founded. He, therefore, thought it prudent to retreat, and the many important consequences which flowed from his determination, (though censured at the time,) strongly prove the vanity of human wishes, and how great and inscrutable are the mercy and wisdom of Providence!

The enemy, when repulsed, retired at first to Corbet-hill, whence they saw the Roscommon regiment; and as they were ignorant of their retreat, and as the distance, obscuring the discernment of the rebels, had magnified their number, they imagined that our troops had received a large reinforcement, which deterred them from renewing the attack that evening as intended; and it is to be feared, that it would have been fatal to the garrison, who were overcome with hunger and fatigue, and many of them had sunk into a state of ebriety and somnolency.

It was also very fortunate that the Roscommon regiment returned to Waterford that night, as the rebels, who were numerous, and well organized there, meditated an insurrection, imagining that Ross had been taken.

Next day, colonel King marched with his regiment to Ross, with two battalion guns and a piece of flying artillery. He found the people of the county of Kilkenny in a state of general insurrection.

When

\* See Plate VII. 6.

When he approached Glynmore,\* a deep valley, with a river which is crossed by a bridge, he perceived great numbers of people on all the adjacent hills, who fired signal guns. The rebels had made the bridge impassable, by breaking down one of the arches; but the colonel soon made it passable, by laying beams and planks on it. He sent before him his grenadier company, with a piece of artillery, who, with a few discharges of it, dispersed a body of rebels posted on the opposite hill, who meant to dispute his passage.

That body had taken, the preceding day, twenty-five soldiers, and captain Dillon, of the Dublin regiment, who had fled from Rofs; and on the first discharge of the artillery, they massacred fifteen of the soldiers, and captain Dillon, whose head they converted into a foot-ball.

One Gaffney, the leader of these assassins, was taken and hanged next day at Rofs. He was a miller in very good circumstances.

It has been discovered that the Kilkenny rebels were to have co-operated with those who attacked Rofs, but that they mistook the day, which was very fortunate; for they would have cut off a great part of the garrison of that town, when they fled over the bridge, overcome with hunger and fatigue.

The following barbarous murder was committed at the Roar,§ in the county of Kilkenny, about four miles from Rofs, the day before the battle. Mr. Bartholomew Cliffe, Mr. Richard Annesley, and Mr. Richard Elliott, being unable from bad health, and the delicacy of their constitution, to assist in the defence of that town, retired to the Roar on a car, which was sent for them by a tenant of Mr. Elliott, who was his foster brother, and to whom he had been singularly kind.

When they had arrived at the church of that village, three ruffians attacked them with pikes, and continued for some time to torture them, until they were dead, in the midst of a number of spectators, who unmoved, and with indifference, beheld this barbarous spectacle.

Mr. Cliffe, who was universally loved and esteemed for the mildness of his manners and the benevolence of his disposition, was thrown into the gripe of a ditch, mangled and covered with wounds, where they meant to bury him. He had strength enough to raise himself a little, and

\* Plate VII. 6.

§ Ibid. 3, 4.



and to cry out for mercy; when a savage woman, a disgrace to her sex and to human nature, gave him a violent blow with a large stone in the breast, and put a period to his existence.

Mr. Elliott called out to his tenant, who had ever experienced the most striking instances of his regard, and said, "Sure, Ned, you won't see me murdered?" but the unfeeling savage replied, "No," and turned his back to him, while the ruffians continued to torture him. Mr. Elliott's tenant was a man of such influence there, that he could have easily prevented these barbarous murders.

The man who led the car to the Roar, and was eye-witness of these shocking enormities, substantiated them by affidavit. It must give the reader pleasure to learn, that Mr. Elliott's tenant, and two more of the assassins were soon after shot; and that the third has fallen a victim to the vengeance of the law. The inhabitants of the Roar and its vicinity were remarkable for their disaffection and rebellious spirit, for which they were severely punished.

I shall now relate some of the incidents which occurred in the course of this very extraordinary action, which lasted from five in the morning till three in the afternoon. The main body of the rebels entered the town by the Three-bullet gate, and many also by the priory or south-gate, where one of the field pieces, that the rebels had taken some days before near the mountain of Forth, was retaken by the king's troops; but this took place after they were driven out of the town. They burnt all the thatched houses, and many of the slated ones in Neville-street, which runs in a direct line from the Three-bullet gate; every thatched and some slated houses in Michael-street and Mill-lane, which are at right angles with Neville-street; all the houses in the upper part of Mary-street, which crosses the end of Neville-street; all the houses in Church-lane and the Chapel-lane, both which communicated with Mary-street. On the whole, the number of houses supposed to be burnt amounted to two hundred and eighty-six.

There was very great destruction of the savages in Chapel-lane, where they lay in heaps. They had possession of it, and of the upper part of Mary-street, for a considerable time.

A numerous body of them, supposed to amount to five hundred, went down a great part of Mary-street, which is on a declivity, to attack the  
main

main guard, ably defended by serjeant Hamilton of the Donegal, and sixteen men only, with two ship guns, which were very badly mounted, and yet they were served with such effect as to occasion a prodigious slaughter. He had a large quantity of ammunition under his protection, and as he remained almost entirely unsupported, when the troops were driven over the bridge, an officer, from an idea that he must be overpowered, recommended to him to remove it to the Rossbergen side of the water; but he replied, "That he never would quit the spot whilst he had life." He made lanes through the body of five or six hundred with discharges of grape shot, and completely repulsed them. This was the last great effort which they made to overpower him.

Parties of from twenty to thirty made different attacks on him, but they were always knocked down by the Dowfeley family. William Dowfeley, his brother Samuel, both very old, two of his sons, and three other men, took post in the house of the former, which is in Mary-street, opposite to a lane called Bakehouse-lane, and near the main guard, at the lower end of Mary-street. As the savages were perfectly secure in that lane from the guns of serjeant Hamilton, they made many attempts to collect there in great numbers, for the purpose of surprising and storming his post; but Dowfeley's party plied them so well with constant volleys, and were so near them, that every shot took place, and they killed no less than sixty in one spot. They had an old soldier with them, who charged for them with great celerity, and put in each cartridge one large and four small balls. The lane was filled up with the dead.

A party of rebels got into a very good slated house at the upper end of Mary-street, which the soldiers having set fire to, the savages were roasted alive; and when their bodies were brought forth, presented a most hideous and disgusting spectacle.

Half the houses in the Cross-lane, and almost every one in the Friary-street were consumed. Three of them had been recently built and were very commodious.

Great numbers of the savages were killed outside the town, between the Three-bullet gate and the Bunnion gate, which lies at the upper end of it.

Mr.

Mr. Tottenham, the proprietor of Rofs, employed fix carts and a great many men for two entire days, in collecting the bodies of the slain. Most of those found in the town were thrown into the river, and were carried off with the tide. The remainder were thrown into a fosse outside the town wall, and were buried there.

The main body that entered at the Three-bullet gate, and contiguous to it, having divided, some went down the Cross-lane, others down Michael-street, and others down Neville-street and Mary-street, setting fire to the houses in their progress. Another body burned half of Irishtown,\* which was near half a mile long; both sides having been burnt as far as they went. But there were not many employed in that service, as a party of soldiers that were stationed at the end of a lane called Boreenafane, that communicates directly with Irishtown from Corbet-hill, killed a great number in the lane, and prevented them from getting into Irishtown in any considerable force. Major Vandeleur, of the Clare, was of very great service there.

The rebels brought one of the field-pieces, which they had taken at the mountain of Forth, as far into South-street as major Cliffe's house, and one of the artillery men, taken at the same time, was tied to it for the purpose of serving it. A fellow, of the name of Forrestal, made him discharge it, once with grape, and twice with round-shot, at the main guard. The poor artillery man, whose loyalty was unabated, elevated the gun in such a manner as not to do execution; for with the last shot he knocked off the quoin of a house (but almost close to the eaves), opposite to the court-house, where the main guard was stationed. The poor fellow boasted of what a fine shot he had made; but Forrestal drew out a pistol, and shot him through the head, saying, "That is a much better shot."

This was related by two persons who were in a window over where the transaction happened. Forrestal was convicted of having committed fourteen murders, for which he was hanged. The two loyalists, who were witnesses of this transaction, had but one pistol, and but one charge for it, which one of them would have fired at Forrestal, but that the other prevented him; for if he had not succeeded in killing him, he

3 H

would

\* Plate VII. 3.



would have demolished his house with the cannon in a few seconds. It is very singular that the rebels never ventured to send a force round to penetrate at the North gate\* end of the town, where they must have succeeded, as the main body of our troops were employed in defending it in the opposite direction.

The following curious incident occurred in the town of Ross: When the rebels entered the town, they dragged a man of the name of Dowfely, a protestant, from his house, and his next door neighbour, a Roman catholic, denounced him as such, for the purpose of having him assassinated; on which the rebels gave him three stabs of a pike. A woman of the name of Catherine Whelan, a Romanist, his neighbour, and, as he thought, his friend, clapped her hands with joy on seeing the rebels enter the town, and welcomed the boys (as she called them) to Ross, and said, "They should kill Dowfely, as he was a protestant." They had at that time left him, as he had said that he was a Romanist; but on her saying the contrary, they returned to him while lying on the ground on his side, and having turned him on his back, desired him to bless himself, and on not doing it right, they stabbed him again, which was occasioned by her malevolent observation; on the whole, he received sixteen pike wounds. A woman, of the name of Mary Foley, saw the rebels approach him again, take him up by the hair of the head, and ask him to say some popish prayers; she then humanely whispered some of them into his ear, which he repeated, on which the rebels pardoned and left him. A young man of the name of Richards, who saw this barbarous transaction, carried Dowfely into his house, and he afterwards recovered by medical assistance. All these circumstances were proved by the concurrent testimony of Dowfely, Mary Foley and Richards, before a court-martial, held at Ross the eleventh of August 1798, by order of lieutenant-general Hulse, for the trial of Catherine Whelan, who was cast for transportation.

A gang of assassins, armed with pikes, and headed by Richard Long, was sent in quest of protestants the first of June 1798, from Carrickbyrne camp; and they seized Francis Plunket and his sister, both protestants, between Robinstown and Palace, and conveyed them to the camp.

Long

\* See Plate VII. 6, 7.

Long stationed a great number of male and female rebels on the road leading to Ross, with orders to intercept any protestants that they might find going there, as numbers of that persuasion sought an asylum in it from rebel vengeance. Plunket's sister besought the rebels in the camp to permit her to go home to her children; but they refused, having said, she was taken there to suffer death. Long assigned as a reason, why he was so active against him and his sister, that he was an orangeman's servant, and his sister was an orangewoman. Long's brother desired Francis Plunket to deny that he was related to his sister, who was to suffer death for being a protestant, and that probably he might escape; this poor unfortunate woman died of fear.

These circumstances were proved before a court-martial, held at Ross the seventeenth of August, 1798, by order of lieutenant-general Hulse, when Richard Long was cast for transportation.

When the rebels got possession of the town, one of them, who entered the house of a protestant woman, gave her twenty-four wounds of a pike, notwithstanding which she leaped out of a window, and in doing so broke her leg; yet she recovered, and is now living.

Notwithstanding the complete overthrow of the rebels at Ross, and the slaughter of them which took place on the fifth of June, they, encouraged by the thinness of the garrison, which consisted of but one hundred and fifty of the Dublin militia, formed a second conspiracy for attacking and burning the town, and murdering all its loyal inhabitants, and then marching to Waterford, for the purpose of taking it. The leaders of the conspiracy used to assemble at the house of one Malone, a publican, where they made different attempts to seduce the soldiers of the Dublin militia. One of them, who was very loyal, pretended to accede to and promote their designs, and informed them that many of his comrades would co-operate with them; but he communicated the whole of what had passed between them to captain La Touche, who, the better to develop their schemes, assumed the habit of a common soldier, and was introduced by the loyal one to the band of traitors at Malone's, as one of the fraternity, and pretended to be warmly attached to it.

In the course of conversation he discovered, that they were quite sure of the co-operation of many of his soldiers, who were to deliver up the

ammunition to them ; and that the mass of the people from all the adjacent country, aided by a numerous band of well-armed traitors who frequented the woods of Killoughrin, were to attack the town on the Friday following. They then attempted to administer an oath to him, on which he had them arrested and committed.

Malone, at the head of the conspiracy, had lived twenty-five years with the father of Mr. Tottenham, had become rich, and kept a publick house. Major Cliffe's servant, another of the conspirators, had long enjoyed his esteem and confidence ; and two of Mr. Deane's servants, deeply implicated in the plot, had been reputed men of good character. Such was the return which government received for the mild and conciliatory conduct, which the rebels had so recently experienced !

The rebels having secured the navigation of the Slaney, by getting the towns of Wexford and Enniscorthy into their hands, their next object, for the purpose of gaining the town of Ross, which they reckoned certain, was to secure the navigation of the river on which it stands, by which they would have opened a complete communication between the rebels of the counties of Wexford, Waterford, and Kilkenny, have procured a constant and copious supply of provisions, and have had the most opulent and populous part of the county of Wexford completely in their power ; and they would have prevented any supply of ammunition from being brought up from Duncannon fort, the chief depôt of the king's army in that quarter : They would also have cut off all communication between Ross and Waterford, which was the chief place where general Johnson could expect to procure provisions for his army.

As all the inhabitants of the county of Wexford were in a state of insurrection, and consequently the general could not send any intelligence to or receive any orders from government, he would have been completely insulated with his small army, if the rebels commanded the navigation of the Ross river. He would also have been prevented from sending the sick soldiers to Waterford, as the inhabitants of the country between Waterford and Ross, ten miles asunder, were for many days on the point of rising.

To obviate this, general Johnson, who shewed as much sagacity as courage during the rebellion, ordered captain Hill of the navy, with some gun-boats, which he commanded, to destroy all the boats on that river,



river, which he accordingly did, to the number of one hundred and seven-teen. Though the gun-boats employed in that service were well barricadoed, and had on board each of them a party of soldiers, who were commanded by the brave serjeant Hamilton, the rebels never suffered one of them to pass without keeping up a constant and severe fire upon them; for which purpose, they kept strong piquet guards along the banks of the river; and they usually began this practice at Camlin wood, only a mile from the town. As it happened that one of the gun-boats ran a-ground, an immense body of rebels rushed down from Slieve Kilta,\* where they were encamped, and made several daring attempts to take possession of her; and it was not without the greatest difficulty that the other gun-boats, who seasonably came to her assistance, rescued her from them. In this conflict, four men belonging to the gun-boats were killed, and several of them were wounded.

Another great object of the rebels, after they had got possession of Wexford, was to establish a naval force upon the coast.

They had already manned and armed two or three vessels in that port, one of them a Liverpool letter of marque, which mounted ten guns. By these means they secured lord Kingsborough, and seized some vessels freighted with provisions, which might otherwise have escaped.

When our frigates arrived on the coast, they completely put an end to that practice.

The rebel leaders, for the purpose of making their escape, had assembled a number of small craft on that part of the coast near Fethard; of which general Johnson being aware, sent a revenue cutter, and some gun-boats, under the command of captain Hill, for the purpose of destroying every vessel that might be found in that harbour; which was done as effectually as the nature of the service would admit; for thirteen vessels were either burned or rendered useless. The rebels maintained a very heavy fire upon the gun-boats, during the performance of this service, and there appeared a very large force ready to resist any further attempts, which, however, were not intended. They were said to be under the command of father Edward Murphy.

Very few, if any protestants, were murdered in the parishes of Old or New Ross; captain Tottenham, of the town of Ross, having informed them of the taking of Enniscorthy by the rebels, and desired them to make their escape into the garrison, and they providentially followed his advice.

\* Plate VII. 7.

advice. Two persons only, that I could hear of, of the parish of Old Ross, fell into their hands, when they were endeavouring to make their escape into that town, and were murdered by them. They were of the name of James, a father and son, the former near eighty years old.

The reverend William Glascott, rector of the parish of St. James or Ballyhack,\* which lies on the Ross river, above Duncannon fort, and opposite to Passage, having received the earliest intelligence of the rebel encampment formed on the mountain of Forth, and the defeat of the Meath militia there, critically alarmed his parishioners, some of whom sought an asylum in the fort of Duncannon;† and others crossed the river at Ballyhack, and were treated with very great humanity by captain Forbes of the Ravensworth transport, who received as many of them as he could accommodate in his vessel, and provided them with necessaries. Two only fell into the hands of the rebels, who posted piquets on all the roads leading to Ross, Ballyhack and Duncannon, to intercept such protestants as might attempt to escape.

William Hore, of Harpinstown,‡ esquire, nephew of the earl of Courtown, had appointed a day for the priest and the congregation of the parish of Doncormuck,|| to assemble and take oaths of allegiance; but the rebellion broke out the day preceding it. He endeavoured to make his escape to Duncannon fort, on foot, by the most secret and by-ways; but he was seized by a body of pikemen, who were posted to prevent orangemen from retreating to that garrison. Mr. Hore requested to be carried before father Edward Murphy, parish priest of Bannow;§ with which they complied. But that reverend gentleman, though his will was a law, would not liberate him. He was therefore taken to Wexford, and suffered on the bridge in that scene of carnage so disgraceful to human nature. William Allen Cox, esquire, captain of the Taghmon¶ yeomen cavalry, lived at Coolcliff,\*\* in the same parish, and on a navigable river called the Bannow, but which is extremely narrow till it reaches Clonmines. He endeavoured to make his escape in a small boat, in hopes of getting to sea; but he was so beset by pikemen, that he was under the necessity of landing in the midst of a horde of those savages; however, he derived great consolation from the sight of father Edward Murphy, whose protection

\* See Plate I. 10.

† Plate III. 9.

‡ Ibid. III. 7.

|| Ibid. III. 8. 9.

§ See Plate III. 9.

¶ Ibid. 6.

\*\* Coolcliffe, Ibid. 7.

protection he implored ; but he briefly replied, “ That his stay there would be but short ;” and he left him in the hands of those merciless wretches. He then took to his boat, and was soon after seized by the pikemen at the Scar pass of Barriestown,\* and conveyed to Wexford, where he suffered on the bridge.

The parish of Bannow, of which Edward Murphy was priest, is so populous and extensive, as to require two chapels : one called the chapel of Carrig, about two miles from Bannow, where he generally officiates ; the other, at Ballymitty, is not far from Taghmon. This reverend father was the person who preached the sermon at Vinegar-hill, which Richard Grandy was present at, and made affidavit of before George Ogle, esquire, and three magistrates more.†

A protestant of the first authority declares, that she heard him preach at Carrig, a sermon, in which he said, “ That God Almighty befriended them in all their operations, for the attainment of liberty ; and that the whole of the business was as visibly his work, as that of dividing the red sea by Moses.” He assured some female protestants,‡ in his neighbourhood, whom he occasionally visited, that he had foreseen and foretold to numbers this struggle for liberty, as he termed it, fourteen years before it took place ; and he asserted very frequently, that the whole force of England, even if she were twice as powerful as she is, would not be able to re-conquer Ireland, as Providence fought their battles.

During the short existence of the Irish republick, he regularly instructed the protestants in his neighbourhood in his catechism, telling them that there were four hells, and a great deal more of superstitious nonsense. A protestant lady, whose son was confined in Wexford gaol on account of his religion, applied to his reverence to interfere for his liberation ; but he gave her a shove from him, saying, “ He would never save a heretick ; and that he had other business to mind.”

While this false prophet was celebrating mass at Carrig, on a Sunday during the rebellion, he heard the report of a cannon ; on which his congregation, known by the name of the Bannow corps, were immediately under arms, and by his order proceeded in great force to Bannow,

to

\* Plate III. 8.

† Appendix, No. XX. 7.

‡ The male fled, or were taken prisoners by the pikemen.



to oppose some gun boats, and a revenue cutter, sent into the bay of Fethard,\* to destroy some boats and the stores of a Mr. Lynn there, containing a great quantity of malt, which the rebels were taking away to brew for their camps. This reverend gentleman soon followed his troops, and drew them up with some skill on the beach of that place, at a short distance from Fethard, on which the gun-boats were then firing; and it is said by persons of veracity, who were forced into the rebel ranks that day, that Murphy ordered a number of women to march from his chapel, and join the rebel troops with hats on, that they might assume the semblance of men, in order to intimidate the sailors by their numbers. The gun boats succeeded in destroying some fishing smacks; but as the fire which had been communicated to the stores was extinguished, this sacerdotal hero returned in triumph to Carrig, at the head of the Bannow corps, with colours flying and music playing. He distributed a great quantity of scapulars in his parish; and he frequently told such female protestants as happened to remain there, that doctor Caulfield would be primate of Ireland, and that he would be archbishop of Dublin.

Agreeable to the proclamation issued by government, offering pardon to such repentant rebels as should take oaths of allegiance, and surrender their arms, Mr Tottenham, the proprietor of Rofs, and other magistrates, continued in the months of July and August to extend the benefit of it to great numbers of that description, who carried in a few bad pikes and muskets, merely for the purpose of obtaining protections; from which, and from subsequent events, it was unquestionable that they harboured their rebellious designs as strongly as ever. But what signified oaths to such wretches, when the multitude had been guilty of the most flagrant violation of them? None of them would confess the names of their officers, except such of them as had been killed or hanged. One sanguinary ruffian was very candid in his confession; he said, that general Harvey ordered him to attack and burn the town of Rofs; that he fired a great many shots, and never without effect; that he entered Rofs by Neville-street and Mary street, but could not proceed farther than the main guard. That post had been bravely defended by serjeant Hamilton of the Donegal regiment, with two ship-guns, and sixteen men, who never abandoned their post. Mr. Tottenham asked this intrepid rebel,

“ Whether

\* See Plate III. 10.

Whether he would have fired at him, if he had seen him? and he answered, that he would have been very proud to have had him under his eye. He asked him also how many he had killed; to which he replied, that he could not tell, as he had taken his ammunition out of a pouch, but that he was sure he never fired without killing or wounding a foldier.

### MASSACRE AT SCULLABOGUE.

I contemplate with horror, and relate with reluctance, an occurrence which took place on the day of the battle of Rofs, which will remain a lasting disgrace to human nature, and an indelible stain on the county of Wexford. During the encampment of the rebels on Carrickbyrne-hill,\* a party of them were posted at Scullabogue,† within half a mile of the camp, where a barn was converted into a prison for the confinement of protestant prisoners. Bands of assassins were sent round the adjacent country in quest of protestants, whom they meant to extirpate, when they accomplished their final purpose of overturning the government. For the manner in which this barbarous business was conducted, and the circumstances of cruelty and atrocity which accompanied it, see Appendix, No. XX. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

On the eve of the thirtieth of May, captain King, the proprietor of Scullabogue, was advised to abandon his house, and to carry off what valuable effects he could, as a camp was to be formed the day after on Carrickbyrne-hill, which is within half a mile of Scullabogue.

Next day he made his escape, and the rebels took possession of his house. It appears, on the evidence of different persons, that one hundred and eighty-four protestants were burned in the barn of Scullabogue, and that thirty-seven were shot in the front of it.

The following circumstances appeared by the evidence of Richard Silvester, a witness on the trial of Phelim Fardy, one of the wretches concerned in that horrid affair: That when the rebels encamped on Carrickbyrne-hill marched towards Rofs, on the fourth of June, the protestant prisoners were left at Scullabogue, under a guard of three hundred rebels, commanded by John Murphy of Loughnageer, a rebel captain, Nicholas Sweetman and Walter Devereux, who both held the same rank: That when the rebel army began to give way at Rofs, an express was sent

\* Plate III. 5.

† Ibid. 6.

to Murphy, to put the protestant prisoners to death, as the king's troops were gaining the day; but Murphy refused to comply without a direct order from the general: That he soon after received another message to the same purpose, with this addition, that the prisoners, if released, would become very furious and vindictive: That shortly after a third express arrived, saying, the priest gave orders that the prisoners should be put to death: That the rebels on hearing the sanction of the priest, became outrageous, and began to pull off their clothes, the better to perform the bloody deed: That when they were leading the prisoners out from the dwelling-house to shoot them, he turned away from such a scene of horror; on which a rebel struck him with a pike upon the back, and said, he would let his guts out if he did not follow him: That he then attended the rebels to the barn, in which there was a great number of men, women and children; and that the rebels were endeavouring to set fire to it, while the poor prisoners, shrieking and crying out for mercy, crowded to the back-door of the barn, which they forced open for the purpose of admitting air: That for some time they continued to put the door between them and the rebels, who were piking or shooting them: That in attempting to do so, their hands or fingers were cut off: That the rebels continued to force into the barn bundles of straw to encrease the fire. At last, the prisoners having been overcome by the flame and smoke, their moans and cries gradually died away in the silence of death.

It was proved on the trial of John Keefe, convicted by a court-martial on the fourteenth of April 1800, on the evidence of Robert Mills, that, after the bloody work began, he saw the prisoner with a pike, the point of which was broken, and the top of the shaft or handle was bloody; that he carried it to an adjoining forge, whetted it on a sharpening-stone, and then proceeded to the front of the dwelling-house where they were shooting the prisoners. Among the persons most conspicuous, we find the names of Fardy, Sinnot, Michell or Miscally, who trampled on the dead and wounded bodies, and behaved otherwise in such a ferocious manner, as to obtain from the rebels the appellation of the true-born Roman.

William Ryan, a farmer, about three miles from Scullabogue, had a daughter who was kept by a gentleman at Duncannon. The rebel guards at Scullabogue thinking that they might extract from her some important information



information relative to the plans of the loyalists, as her paramour was of that description, and dreading that she and her friends who were Roman catholics, might betray some of the rebel secrets to her keeper, sent a body of pikemen in quest of her; but not being able to find her, they were of opinion that her sister Eleanor, who lived at Mr. Rossiter's, would answer equally well. They therefore led her to the barn, and her father having shortly after gone there to solicit her liberation, they committed him and his poor old wife, who went there also, in hopes of being able to move their compassion; but she shared their fate, having been thrust into the barn, where they were all burnt.

No less than twenty-four protestants were taken from the village of Tintern, about eight miles distant, many of them old and feeble, and were led in one drove to the barn, where they perished.\*

Thomas Shee and Patrick Prendergast were burnt in the barn, both Romanists, because they would not consent to the massacre of their protestant masters.

William Johnson, a very old man, though of the same persuasion, shared a similar fate. He gained a livelihood by playing on the bagpipes, and was so unfortunate as to incur the vengeance of the rebels, by playing the tune of, 'Croppies, lie down.'

William Neil, another Romanist, who suffered there, was by trade a tailor, and had worked for some time in the garrison of Duncannon. Having occasion to return to Camolin, of which he was a native, he procured the pass of general Fawcett for his protection, but it turned out to be the means of his destruction; for having been intercepted by the rebels, who considered the pass as an emblem of loyalty, they committed him to the barn, with his son Daniel, who happened to accompany him, and they both perished in the flames.†

Some persons have contended that the persecutions in the county of Wexford were not exclusively levelled against protestants, because a few Romanists were put to death in the barn and at Wexford; but the sanguinary spirit against them was so uniform at Vinegar-hill, on the bridge

\* See Appendix, No. XX. 4.

† They burned the wives and some of the children of the North Cork militia in the barn, who were Roman catholics; but it was sufficient to provoke their vengeance, that they were connected with the soldiers of an heretical king.

of Wexford, and Scullabogue, and indeed in every part of the county, as to remove any doubt on that head.

The witness, during this dreadful scene, saw a child who got under the door, and was likely to escape, but much hurt and bruised; when a rebel perceiving it, darted his pike through it, and threw it into the flames. While the rebels were shooting the prisoners in front of the dwelling-house, a party of men and women were engaged in stripping and rifling the dead bodies; and the prisoner, Phelim Hardy, called out to them to avoid the line of his fire, (as he was busily employed in shooting the prisoners,) and in saying so, he fired at a man who was on his knees, and who instantly fell and expired.

The barn was thirty-four feet long, and fifteen wide, and the walls were but twelve feet high. Suffocation then must have soon taken place, as so great a number of people were compressed in so small a space; and besides the burning of the thatched roof of the barn, the rebels threw into it, on their pikes, a great number of faggots on fire.

Richard Grandy, who was present, swears, that the prisoners in front of the house were led out by fours to be shot; and that the rebels who pierced them when they fell, took pleasure in licking their spears.\*

A gentleman present, who had a narrow escape, assured me, that a rebel said he would try the taste of orange blood, and that he dipped a tooth-pick in a wound of one of the protestants who was shot, and then put it into his mouth.

Whenever a body fell on being shot, the rebel guards shouted, and pierced it with their pikes.

Samuel and John Jones, two brothers, were put to death in front of captain King's house in the following manner: When they were on their knees, the wife of one of them stood between them, took each of them by the hand, and closed her eyes; and when they fell, in consequence of being shot, she implored the rebels, as an act of mercy, to put her to death, but they refused to do so. She then got a car, and put on it the two bodies which the rebels had stripped quite naked. She covered them with her cloak and petticoat; but when she had led the car to some distance, she was stopped by a party of rebel women, who led

\* See his affidavit in Appendix, No. XX. 7.

led it back, and compelled her to return with them. They urged the rebels to put her to death, and she appeared to rejoice at the idea of resigning that life which they had embittered by murdering her husband. They seemed well disposed to kill her, and would have done so, but that John Murphy, their captain, prevented them, having said, that such a horrid deed would kindle a blush on the cheeks of the Virgin Mary.

The Jones's, who lived at Abbey Braine, were in good circumstances. Murphy took out of one of their pockets a pocket-book, which, it was said, contained notes to a considerable amount. The father of the Jones's, who was very old, died in a few days after of a broken heart, and he and his sons were interred in the same grave.

One Sleater, an opulent man from Wales, who came to Ireland every year to buy cattle for the English market, in which business he dealt very extensively, was picked up by the rebels, and shot among the thirty-seven prisoners. He had a pocket-book, which contained (it was said) notes to the amount of 1000*l.* which fell into the hands of the rebels.\*

On most occasions, they did not offer any violence to the tender sex; but at Scullabogue, they burned a great many women and children.

It has been said, and indeed proved, that John Murphy, the rebel captain, who commanded the guard at Scullabogue, refused to massacre the prisoners, till he had received the orders of a priest of the name of Murphy, for that purpose. Brien Murphy, parish priest of Taghmon, is supposed to be the person alluded to. The affidavit of Michael Atkins, which the reader will find in Appendix, No. XX. 9. throws great light on it.

The following occurrence, relative to a priest, happened on the same day, and shews what great influence the sacerdotal order had over the misguided multitude: Patrick Dobbyn, and his three sons, William, Richard and Samuel, were taken prisoners at Old Court, in the parish of Adamstown, where they resided, by Thomas Cavenagh, and some more popish banditti, who committed them to prison at Scullabogue; the former on the second, the latter on the first day of June. Elizabeth, the

\*The person who led him out to execution, was a ruffian of the name of Cowman, whom he had employed in buying cattle, and who had gained considerably by his kindness and generosity.



the wife of Patrick Dobbyn, went to father Shallow, parish priest of the union of Adamstown and Newbawn, who resided at Ballyshannon, one mile from Scullabogue, and implored him to have her husband and sons released; but he refused, and informed her, that he should be in as much danger as they, if he went near the rebel camp;\* and yet the same priest liberated from the barn, and saved a young man of the name of Lett, the son of a Mr. Lett of Kilgibbon, within three or four miles of Enniscorthy; and it appears also by affidavit, sworn before general Fawcett, that father Shallow took an active part in the rebel camp at Carrickbyrne.†

William Fleming, a protestant, and a yeoman in the Taghmon cavalry, having the protection of a priest, went to the barn on the seventh of June, to look for the body of one Robert Cooke, a friend, for the purpose of interring it; but the bodies were so much injured by the fire, that he could not distinguish one from the other. I shall refer the reader to his affidavit in Appendix, No. XX. 8. containing many curious particulars relative to the rebellion, particularly the exhortation of father Roche, the general, in the camp at Slievekilta,‡ to extirpate orangemen and disaffected persons, and in which he assured the rebels, that they were fighting for their religion.

The life of Fleming was often saved by the pass of father Bryen Murphy, a priest of Taghmon, of which I give an exact copy:

“ Mr. Wm. *Flemmon* has complied with every condition required of him, and therefore is to be *stopped* by no man.

June 2d, 1798.

Revd. BR. MURPHY.”

On the trial of Thomas Clooney, a rebel leader, at Wexford, the fifth of June, 1799, it was proved, that, while the camp was at Carrickbyrne, he at the head of three hundred rebels went to Old Ross to burn the protestant church, and the houses of some protestants there; and that while the former was burning, he said, the Devil’s house is on fire.

The ferocity of the rebels was such, that they often murdered each other with impunity in their camps, or during their marches.

A boy

\* Appendix, No. XX. 5.

† Ibid. 10.

‡ Plate VII. 7.

A boy, of the name of Bennett, about fourteen years old, entered the lawn of Mr. King, at Scullabogue, on horseback, the day preceding the massacre. One Hanlon, a schoolmaster, insisted on getting his horse; and on being refused, he ran the boy through the body with his pike and killed him. Bennett's brother, a young man, having arrived next day, asked permission to get revenge for the death of his brother; and having obtained it, instantly killed the schoolmaster. He was buried in a place separate from the protestants; for the rebels were heard to declare, that they would not inter him with hereticks.

The bodies of the protestant prisoners were buried by a subscription, raised by the rebel chiefs; Bagenal Harvey, who was filled with horror and shame at the massacre, having set it on foot.

One Templeton, a yeoman, was taken prisoner at the battle of Ross by the rebels, and carried to Scullabogue, where he saw one Walter Devereux, a farmer, sitting on the wheels of a car, within ten paces of the barn; and Devereux pointing to it, said, "That all protestants and loyalists should be served in that way." On entering the barn, he saw the bodies in the same situation as described by William Fleming.

Walter Devereux was taken at the cove of Cork, when attempting to make his escape to America, and the protections of five different general officers were found on him; though he was afterwards charged with the murder of some of the Wexford regiment at Newbridge, besides that at Scullabogue, which was proved by informations sworn before colonel Ram at Cove, and on the trial of Devereux at Cork. Mr. King, the proprietor of Scullabogue, has not ventured to reside there since the rebellion. Such is the state of the country!

Bagenal Harvey, who was a man of honour and humanity, though deluded by absurd political speculations, was filled with the greatest horror on hearing of the massacre at Scullabogue; and, therefore, the day after, he issued general orders,\* denouncing the penalty of death against such persons as should murder their prisoners; for which humane effort to check that sanguinary spirit, which now for the first time began to appear, he was deposed; and that inhuman savage, father Philip Roche, was elected in his stead, at the camp at Carrickbyrne; and it appears that Edward Roche, who had been elected second in command of the republican army at Wexford, then became commander in chief, as ap-  
pears

\* See Appendix, No. XX. 13.

pears by a paper\* signed by him, dated the 7th of June 1798. The reverse of fortune which general Harvey experienced in the course of seven days, was no less rapid than unexpected, and convinced him of his folly and temerity.

A respectable protestant, who was taken prisoner by the rebels, and compelled to serve in the camp at Carrickbyrne, informed me, that father Roche, in a publick harangue, denounced all protestants as hereticks, and that they could not have luck or grace while any of them were permitted to serve in their ranks: That on the same day, he met Roche in a tent, and that he, with singular dissimulation, assured him, that they made no religious distinctions, and never regarded a man's religion, provided he was loyal and true to their cause: That Bagenal Harvey, on hearing Roche's harangue, lamented to him, that the war unexpectedly turned out to be purely religious: That the priests had got absolute sway: That he seemed quite distracted, and wished he could make his escape.

On the eighth of June, the day after Bagenal Harvey's deposition, Francis Glascott, esquire, of Pilltown, his intimate friend, wrote to him for his protection; but he wrote in answer, that he was unable to protect himself. This letter marked strongly the distress and perturbation of mind which he at that time suffered.†

He lamented in this letter, that Mr. Tottenham, of Rofs, refused to speak to Furlong, whom he sent with a flag of truce to general Johnson, on the morning that the rebels attacked Rofs; and some persons have been so weak and absurd as to condemn general Johnson for what happened on that occasion; but which human wisdom could not prevent.

A soldier, at an out-post, shot Furlong, a man of mean appearance, when in full gallop towards the town, and without any other emblem of his being a herald, or a messenger of peace, than his having a white handkerchief in his hand; and the letter, which was found in his pocket, contained nothing but a peremptory requisition to general Johnson, to surrender the town to Bagenal Harvey, commander in chief; with which that brave officer would not have complied.

It has been said, that Bagenal Harvey was deposed, because he shewed a want of courage in this action; but this is scarce credible, for he displayed

\* See it in Appendix, No. XX. 14.

† Ibid. 15.



played very great firmness in various duels which he had fought in the course of his life.

Bagenal Harvey, on his deposition, was appointed president of the council at Wexford, consisting of a few leading members of the newly established republick, which sat for the regulation of their affairs; and we find his name, with that of Nicholas Gray, his secretary, to many orders issued by them. See the oaths prescribed by the council for the rebel officers and privates to take.\*

Some days after the taking of Enniscorthy, father Kearns, Patrick Sutton, and William Barker, all rebel chieftains, marched a body of rebels from that town towards Lacken-hill. They stopped at St. John's, the seat of doctor Hill, close to Enniscorthy, and took him and his brother with them, in order to leave them as hostages, at Slievekilta camp, to secure the lives of any of their leaders who might fall into the hands of the loyalists. They remained at Scullabogue, twelve miles off, the first night, under the guard of fifteen savage pikemen, who slept in a small room with them. A hog'shead of whiskey was carried on a car, in the midst of the rebel column. Impatient at not having it drawn fast enough for them, one of the savages knocked in with a stone a stave of the cask, in consequence of which the liquor was lost.

One of the rebels led Mr. Hill to the barn, which had been burnt two or three days before, and he saw a great number of the guard turning up the bodies, in quest of money and watches, and who afterwards owned that they had been successful in their search.

Father Kearns returned in the morning, and desired them to prepare to march to Lacken-hill, near Rofs. He made them halt at Newbawn chapel, about a mile from Scullabogue, where he said mass for them, having a broad cross belt, and a dragoon's sabre under his vestment. The rebel chiefs knelt round the altar, from which Kearns, when mass was over, endeavoured to exhort the rebels, in the same strain that Murphy and Roche used at Vinegar-hill and Carrickbyrne; but the current of his eloquence was soon stopped by ebriety, his illiterateness, his gross ignorance and vulgarity.

Some readers may regard these anecdotes as trifling and uninteresting, but it should be considered that it would be impossible to depict

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the

\* See it in Appendix, No. XX. 16.

the spirit of the rebellion, and the true character of the savages concerned in it, without giving a circumstantial account of the events which occurred in the course of it.

Mr. Stephen Ram, of Ramsfort, informed me, that many of his popish tenants, who had been in the rebellion, were very communicative, and owned that they had entered into it at the instance of their priests. They also declared, that it was usual in the rebel camps for each priest to call over his parishioners, and that the coadjutor acted in his stead, if he was prevented by age or infirmity from doing so. Those who appeared reluctant were liable to censure.

When father Roche, the commander in chief, was encamped on Lacken-hill, he wrote the following letter to father Doyle :

“ Revd. Sir,

“ You are hereby ordered, in conjunction with Edmund Walsh, to order all your parishioners to the camp on Lacken-hill, under pain of the most severe punishment ; for I declare to you and to them, in the name of the people, if you do not, that I will censure all Sutton’s\* parish with fire and sword. Come to see me this day.

Lacken-hill, June 14th, 1798.

ROCHE.”

To the Revd. James Doyle.

It was given out in general orders, that the commander in chief should send out guards to compel such persons as they should find loitering at home, and that such guards should punish with death those who should resist them. Those who were found loitering should also be tried by a court-martial, and punished with death. See Appendix, No. XX. 13.

This is according to the French system of terror.

The next memorable action which took place in the rebellion was the battle of Arklow, which happened on the ninth of June.

The rebel leaders knew, that if the metropolis fell, there would be a general insurrection of the popish multitude all over the kingdom. They resolved therefore to make one desperate effort to gain it, knowing that immense numbers would flock to their standard in their progress thither, and that the mass of the people in it would rise, as soon as they approached

\* It is presumed that Doyle was coadjutor to Sutton.

proached it. Flushed with the victory which they had gained at Tubberneering near Clough, they were sure that their efforts would be crowned with success.

The melancholy intelligence of colonel Walpole's disaster spread a general gloom through the metropolis, where it was received the evening of the day it happened. The consequences that might have resulted from it were not easily to be foreseen. The hopes of the disaffected were raised to the highest pitch. Plans of insurrection were formed by the rebels in Dublin, as they had the most sanguine hopes of being joined by their brethren in arms, who had given such an extraordinary and unexpected instance of prowess against the king's troops. Reports were industriously propagated, magnifying the numbers of the rebel force; and serious apprehensions were entertained by many for the safety of the capital.

The following letter was written by the rebel general, father Michael Murphy, at Gorey, on the sixth instant, to Thomas Houston, of Thomas-street, Dublin, which sufficiently proves the determination of the rebel chieftains to march to and attack the metropolis. Soon after the battle of Arklow, general Skerrett met a soldier, who had some plunder in his hands; among other things, a watch, a crucifix, and the following letter which he had found on the body of father Murphy:

“ Friend Houston!

Gorey, 6th June.

“ Great events are ripening. In a few days we shall meet. The first fruits of your regeneration must be a tincture of poison and pike, in the metropolis, against hereticks. This is a tribunal for such opinions. Your talents must not be buried as a judge. Your sons must be steeled with fortitude against heresy, then we shall do; and you shall shine in a higher sphere. We shall have an army of brave republicans, one hundred thousand, with fourteen pieces of cannon, on Tuesday, before Dublin; your heart will beat high at the news. You will rise with a proportionable force.

Yours ever,

Decipher, B. I. K. M. Q. Y. \* \* \*

M. MURPHY.”

Father Murphy, in the constant hurry and confusion in which he had been kept in preparing for the attack of Arklow, had not time or opportunity



portunity to forward this letter, which remains as a proof of the bold and malignant designs of the sacerdotal hero and his fanatical sectaries.\*

So great was the consternation in Dublin, that the countess Camden failed for England, and many females, not only of rank and fashion, but even of middling and mean situations, followed her example. The regular military force in the capital was small, but the loyal citizens enrolled as yeomen, to the amount of about four thousand, well armed and disciplined, nobly stood forward to save their country, completely overawed the disaffected within the city; and enabled government to detach from the garrison the Cavan battalion of militia, and a small party of the Rea fencibles, who were sent off on the day following, in carriages impressed for the purpose, to Wicklow, to join there the debris of colonel Walpole's column, and to endeavour to recover the town of Arklow. The honourable general Needham was appointed to the command of these troops, and reached Wicklow on the evening of the fifth of June. On the sixth, the column moved forward without opposition to Arklow, but found the country altogether deserted by the male inhabitants, who had, almost to a man, gone off to join their friends at Gorey.

The arrival of fresh troops from Dublin revived the drooping spirits of those who had been defeated under colonel Walpole; though most of them were in a deplorable state, having thrown away their packs, containing all their necessaries, to lighten them in their march; and the shoes they had were completely worn out. On the march the column was joined by the Arklow corps of yeomanry, all loyal protestants. As their houses and property had been destroyed by the rebels, they formed themselves into small parties, before they joined general Needham; and set fire to many houses, of which the male inhabitants were known to have joined the rebels at Gorey; but these acts of revenge were completely put an end to by the general, and all the straggling yeomen were called in. When the column approached within three miles of Arklow,† a  
strong

\* From this letter, the reader may conceive to what a state of plunder, carnage and conflagration, the metropolis would have been reduced on the night of the twenty-third of May, if the pikemen had risen and occupied the streets before the yeomen were alarmed, as they would have been joined by many thousand rebels from the country, who were waiting for the signal to rush into it.

† Plate II. 1.





PLAN OF THE TOWN OF ARKLOW  
With part of the circumjacent  
COUNTRY.

to illustrate the account of the Attack  
of the Rebels on that Town June 9<sup>th</sup>  
1798.





strong party of dragoons was sent forward to reconnoitre. They pushed on to the town, and on their appearance, some few fellows who had committed acts of violence and rebellion, after the retreat of the king's troops to Wicklow, made their escape to Gorey.

The town was taken possession of by the dragoons without any opposition; and about four o'clock, on the sixth of June, the main column marched in. It is impossible to describe the joy which their arrival diffused through the town, as most of the protestant inhabitants had deserted their houses, and fled to the beach, to avoid the destruction which seemed to impend over them and their families, and made their escape in boats; but on seeing the column enter the town, they returned. The seventh and eighth, the troops remained unmolested; though they were in constant expectation of being attacked. Patrols were kept constantly in motion, and every precaution was adopted that prudence could suggest. Some fences were levelled, to clear the only position which it appeared advisable to occupy in case of an attack. The disposition of the forces for that event was resolved on; and ground was marked out for encamping the entire body outside the town,\* that on any alarm they might turn out and form with greater promptitude.

#### THE BATTLE OF ARKLOW.

On the morning of the ninth, about eleven o'clock, intelligence was brought that the enemy were at hand. The garrison instantly turned out, and a cavalry patrol advanced two miles towards Coolgreney,† where they saw at some distance a mounted patrol of the enemy, which immediately retired. It happened very fortunately that a detachment of the Durham fencibles, a very fine regiment, amounting to three hundred effective men, arrived about one o'clock that day, without whose assistance the little garrison would not probably have been able to withstand the superior numbers of the enemy.

*Effective*

\* Plate VIII.

† Plate II. 2.

9th of June 1798.

*Effective return of the forces under the command of the honourable  
major-general Needham at Arklow :*

REGIMENTS, &c.		Colonels.	Field officers.	Captains.	Sub. lieutns.	Staff.	Quarter-masters.	Serjeants.	Drummers or Trumpeters.	Rank and File.
Colonel Sir W. W. Wynne's division.	4th (or Royal Irish drag. guards)			2	2			3		21
	5th (or Royal Irish dragoons)				1					18
	Ancient British fencible light dragoons	1	2	1	5	2	4	7	4	81
	Cavalry	1	2	3	8	2	4	10	4	120
Lieut. colonel Cope's division.	Armagh militia		1		7			3	3	107
	Tyrone militia (light company)			1	1			3	1	42
	North Cork militia				1			1	1	28
	Suffolk fenc. (light company)			1	1			2	3	31
	Cavan militia	1	1	4	9	4		24	7	312
Colonel Maxwell Barry's division.	Antrim militia		1	1	6	2		9	2	201
	Londonderry militia (grenadier company)				1	1		4		66
Colonel Skerrett's division.	Durham fencible infantry	1	2	4	15	4		27	15	245
	Dunbarton infantry			1	6	1		10	5	105
Infantry		2	5	13	47	13		83	37	1137
YEOMANRY CORPS.		Mounted.				Dismounted.				
		Captains.	Subalterns.	Serjeants.	Trumpeters.	Rank & File.	Subalterns.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank & File.
North Arklow,	captain, lord Wicklow	2	2	3	1	40		1		25
South Arklow,	captain Atkins	1	2	4	1	43	1	1		15
Camolin,	captain, earl of Mountnorris	1	2	2		57	1			24
Coolgreney,	captain Beauman	1	2	4	1	43				
Castleton,	captain Knox	1	2	4		41				9
		6	10	17	3	224	2	2		73

About four o'clock in the afternoon, the out-post at the charter-school A was ordered in; and another cavalry patrol was sent there, and they observed at some distance, the enemy deploying the immense mass which had marched by the Coolgreaney road from Gorey, and extending themselves into a kind of irregular line of great depth; the right being at the little rock of Arklow B, where a very strong column was formed, which marched by the sea-side road, and was destined to attack the lower end of the town, or fishery, C. On the Coolgreaney road another immense column was formed to attack the right of our position, at the upper end of the town D. When these arrangements were made, which took up half an hour, the enemy sent forward a numerous patrol of cavalry and infantry, which attempted to surround the patrol which we had sent to the charter-school, and obliged them to fall back to the garrison. In the mean time the king's troops prepared for action, having made the following disposition: A part of the Antrim, with some supplementary yeomen, commanded by captain Rowan, were destined for the defence of the barrack E, and lined the walls on a temporary banquette erected for the purpose.

Another detachment of the Antrim, under the command of lieutenant-colonel O'Hara, was posted at the upper end of the town at D, with a barricado suddenly formed of cars and boxes in their front, and having one of their regimental field-pieces with their own gunners. The line of the king's forces was formed with the Durham on the right, in the circular position FFG, which gave some advantage in point of ground; but, after the firing began, the troops on the left of the Durham moved forward, under cover of the hedges, their front GGG, where they remained during the rest of the action. The Suffolk fencibles and the Tyrone light companies, with some of the supplementary yeomen, lined the very strong hedges HHH; a small party was posted in the church-yard I, and another at the end of the street K, for the defence of the lower end of the town.

The main object of the rebels was to outflank and surround our little army, by which they must have overpowered it by their immense superiority of numbers; which the excellent disposition made by general Needham was well calculated to prevent.

The



The cavalry, with the exception of one troop of the Ancient Britons, and the Arklow cavalry posted at L, were stationed at the bridge, and on the sands outside the town MMM, where they were perfectly under cover.

The rebels first appeared on the tops of hedges, in a great circular line, extending from the Gorey or sea side road to the sand banks near the sea, and was very deep. They put their hats on their pikes, and gave most dreadful yells. The enemy now moved forward to the attack, and in their progress set fire to Lamberton, the beautiful seat of the reverend Mr. Bayly, rector of the parish of Arklow N, which was entirely consumed. The party on the Coolgreny road was warmly received on their first appearance by colonel O'Hara, with his gun and party at the barrier D; and they suffered very severely from the two guns on the right of the Durham's. One of the enemy's six pounders was now dragged off the road by the lane N, and advantageously posted on the summit of an hill O, commanding the position of the king's troops, but which was so extensive that they could not with their small numbers occupy the whole of it. The other gun which the rebels brought with them was drawn by the Yellow-lane P, and posted not injudiciously on an eminence at Q.

On the trial of William Byrne, a rebel leader, it was proved, that they mustered thirty-one thousand men before they left Gorey. In their march they plundered the houses of all protestants of every thing valuable, and put in strict requisition all the spirits and provisions that could be supplied. Under the influence of intoxication and fanaticism they were led on by their priests, who inspired them with ideas of their own invincibleness; because, as they informed the misguided wretches, they were engaged in the cause of heaven, and against the enemies of God. To maintain that religious phrenzy, which was the only source of their courage, they, at the end of every mile during their march, said mass for them, and used every mode of exhortation, and every superstitious device that priestcraft could invent. They advanced in an irregular line, which was frequently broken by their running out to file along the hedge rows lying parallel to the position of the king's troops, of the cover of which they endeavoured to avail themselves. Their front rank was composed of those who had fire-arms, and who were mostly from the barony of Shelmalier, on the Wexford coast, where they subsist during the winter  
by

by shooting barnacles and other sea fowl, which makes them expert marksmen. They were covered in the rear by the pikemen many deep, and at certain intervals their line was strengthened by numerous masses of men, who were ready to supply the places of those who fell, or to act as occasion might require. Each company had a green flag or colour about two feet square, with a yellow harp in the centre. Some, however, were party-coloured, and equal in size to the king's colours. Their leaders were distinguishable riding through the ranks, marshalling them, and giving orders.

During the engagement the rebels frequently repeated their dreadful yells, which heightened the terrific appearance of this numerous host of barbarians, who seemed confident from their superior numbers, that they could easily overwhelm our small army.

The column on the right of the enemy's line, which formed at the rock B, and marched by the sea side road S, attacked the lower end of the town with great fury, setting fire to the houses, and advancing under cover of the smoke, with the most determined perseverance. The flames were fortunately interrupted by the interval between C and R, and did not communicate to the rest of the town.

The rebels, notwithstanding their most desperate efforts, were unable to withstand the heavy and well-directed fire kept up by the party posted at K; and never succeeded in passing the point R, at which multitudes of them were killed, but who were instantly replaced by others; and they were plainly observed throwing their killed, and, it is believed, many of their wounded into the flames, where they were consumed or buried under the ruins of falling houses. The attack was supported with the utmost obstinacy on this point for two hours and a half, when the enemy began to desist from an attempt which had proved fatal to so many, and to retire along the street of the fishery C, and by the sea side road S.

This being observed, the cavalry on the bridge, under colonel sir W. W. Wynne, was ordered to charge, and that officer led them on with his usual gallantry against the enemy, many of whom were cut down on the sands TT, and the rest made their escape up the Yellow-lane P, and into the enclosures, where the cavalry could not follow them.

While this warm conflict was maintained at the lower end of the town, the attack was supported with still more obstinacy against the barricade

at D; by which the rebels were in hopes of making their way to the rear of our little army. This column was led on by father Michael Murphy, the priest, of Ballycanew, who endeavoured to animate them by every argument and exhortation that could work on their bigotry. Many of their chiefs, who led them on to successive attacks, were killed within a few yards of our guns.

Murphy, who had hitherto escaped, headed the column at the charter-school, which was still very great; but as they shewed a reluctance to advance, he took out of his pocket some musket-balls, which, he said, were fired by the enemy, and some of which had hit him without wounding him; and others he had caught in his hands. He assured them at the same time, that the balls of hereticks could not injure them, as they were under the protection of the Almighty, in whose cause they were fighting, provided they were stedfast in their faith. By that stratagem, he prevailed on many of the deluded wretches to follow him; and they successively became victims of their superstition and temerity. Father Murphy, after many escapes, fell himself by a cannon shot, within a few yards of the barricade D, while shouting to his followers, and waving in his hand a fine standard with a cross, and Liberty or Death inscribed on it. The fall of this church militant hero had an immediate effect in damping the ardour of the enemy, which from that moment began to abate.

About eight o'clock, when it was almost dark, they began to retreat towards Coolgreney, in an irregular and disorderly manner. They carried off nine cart-loads of dead and wounded. If the cavalry had but one hour's day-light, they would have pursued them, and have cut off great numbers in their retreat. The loss of the rebels was said to be one thousand killed, and great numbers wounded.

The rebel cannon were worked by some of our artillery-men, who were taken near Wexford on the thirtieth of May; and as they levelled them too high, their fire was in a great measure ineffectual; for during the whole engagement, but two shots had any effect. One of them passed through the ammunition box of one of our guns, the other broke the carriage and killed three of the gunners.

When our troops got possession of Gorey, on the twelfth of June, a yeoman of the name of Sherwood, found a popish confession of faith \* in the box of a priest, the original of which is now in the possession of the reverend

\* See a Copy of it in Appendix, No. XX. 25.



reverend Mr. Bayly of Arklow. It has been published in a pamphlet, entitled, *Veridicus*, and in another written in defence of the orangemen, in reply to Theobald Mc. Kenna, esquire; and as an anonymous writer has treated it as an imposture, from its monstrous absurdity, I think it right to observe, that various productions of the same nature, but infinitely more absurd and ridiculous, are constantly published in Dublin, and circulated among the besotted multitude. Of these, *Fifty Reasons*, the book on the Scapular or Carmelite order, the *Funiculus triplex*, or triple cord of St. Francis, and the *Revelations of father John Murphy*, the traitor, hanged at Tullow, stand foremost.

Another of these confessions of faith was found at Carlow; one was dropped by a drunken priest of the name of Fitzsimons, at the house of a gentleman in the county of Meath; and another was found in the pocket of a robber, who was killed in the Liberty, in the year 1795.\*

I forgot to mention that some weeks before the rebellion broke out, popish children at Wingfield, and in the vicinity of Gorey and Arklow, and in many other places in the county of Wexford, wore red tape; and that some protestant children who did so, wishing to imitate them, were severely reprimanded by popish schoolmasters. George Taylor, in his narrative, mentions it; and tells us, what I have heard from many respectable persons, that the pretext for using it was, that all the Roman catholic children, under the age of fifteen, were to be visited by a dreadful plague; and that this piece of tape, which was endued with supernatural powers, by the benediction of a priest, would secure those, who wore it, from infection; but it was believed, that the intent of it was to discriminate popish from protestant children, when the general massacre was to take place in the month of May. The country shopkeepers brought immense quantities of it from Dublin, which they readily disposed of. George Taylor, who lives near Gorey, mentions this circumstance in his narrative of the Wexford rebellion.

Captain Grogan Knox, who commanded the Castletown yeomen cavalry, and two privates in it, fell in this action. It is supposed that they advanced too far in pursuit of the enemy, after they had been driven out of the fishery, and that by doing so, they got within the range of our shot. This loyal gentleman was brother of Mr. Cornelius Grogan, who was hanged at Wexford.

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\* This confession, it is believed, was composed soon after, and alluded to the massacre of 1641.

I will now proceed to relate the principal occurrences which took place in the town of Wexford, from Wednesday the thirtieth day of May, when the rebels got possession of it, till the twenty-first day of June, when they were expelled from it. Some time after it was evacuated by the king's troops, the rebels approached it, headed by Edward Roche, a farmer, who had been permanent serjeant in colonel Lehunte's corps of yeomen cavalry, and having deserted from them on Whitsunday, became a rebel general. When they came to a place called the Spring,\* within two hundred yards of the town, they knelt down, crossed themselves, and prayed for some time. A person in the van of their army, when advanced to the middle of the town, having by chance fired a shot, the rear, who were outside, fled with precipitation, from motives of fear.† As they passed through the streets, they uttered the most dreadful yells, and for three days after their arrival, they continued to plunder, every rebel gratifying his revenge against those towards whom he bore any enmity. They appointed a committee of seven, invested with supreme command, in which Bagenal Harvey was appointed president, after having been deposed, and a subordinate committee for the government of the town, which they divided into wards, in each of which they appointed and armed a company with officers of different degrees.

On entering the town, they by acclamation appointed general Keugh governor, or commandant of it, and bore him on their shoulders to the court-house. This extraordinary man, who had been a private in his majesty's service, rose to the rank of captain-lieutenant in the 65th regiment, in which he served in America. He was about five feet nine inches high, and rather robust. His countenance was comely, his features were large, and indicative of an active intelligent mind. Joined to a very happy and persuasive manner of expressing himself, he had an engaging address, and great affability of manner. He married a widow, with whose jointure and his own private fortune, he lived very comfortably in Wexford. Proud and ambitious, he thought that his own abilities, which he appreciated too highly, were not sufficiently rewarded; and envying those who were his superiors in rank and fortune, he hoped to rise in that chaotic scene which a revolution would effect. In clubs and coffee-houses, he constantly censured the form of our constitution, and said it might be meliorated; but

\* See Plate VI. P.

† See in Appendix XXI. 3. a description of their camp, and their entry into Wexford.

but under the mask of a reformist, he concealed the dark designs of a rebel. His disaffection became at last so conspicuous, that the lord chancellor deprived him of the commission of the peace in the year 1796.

The rebels chose certain persons to distribute provisions, and for that purpose to give tickets to the inhabitants to entitle them to a rateable proportion of them, according to the number of inhabitants in each house. The habitations of all the protestants who made their escape were plundered, many of them were demolished, and but few of those who remained in the town were spared. All the protestant men were immediately committed to prison, except a few leaders who were really attached to their cause, or who affected to be so, to save their lives, or those who concealed themselves.

The day they entered the town, Mr. John Boyd, brother of Mr. B. member for the town, Thomas Sparrow, and one Hadden, a porter, were massacred; Henry Box, a shoemaker, and a man of the name of Cook, contiguous to it.

Those who could obtain written protections from the popish clergy, whose influence was unbounded, or from the rebel leaders, were not molested.

The perfidious and cruel conduct of the rebel captains and sailors to their protestant passengers, who paid them large sums of money to convey them to Wales, will ever remain a stain on human nature. As soon as the rebels entered the town, a large green flag was hoisted on the barrack,\* which is on an eminence; but those who had put to sea before it appeared, were so fortunate as to escape.

I give an extract from the letter of a protestant clergyman, Mr. Handcock, (part of which I already quoted,) who retreated with his family from Enniscorthy, to shew the perilous and disastrous state of the protestant fugitives. "On the morning of the thirtieth of May, the day after our arrival at Wexford, in compliance with the earnest and irresistible adjuration of my wife, I determined on going to sea, careless whither; but so traitorous were the boatmen, and so resolved (as appeared in many instances after) to deliver up the gentry to the rebels, that after bargaining with several of them for a boat to Waterford or Dublin, or a sloop to Wales, and

\* See Plate VI, A. B.



and being in the most ruffianly manner insulted by the boatmen, and pelted with stones from the shore, I could not prevail on one of them to put off, until with a pistol in each hand, and desperation in my heart, they saw me hesitating, whether to blow out their brains or my own."

The treatment of a party of gentlemen and ladies, who embarked on board a large sloop, belonging to the bloody Thomas Dixon, the thirtieth of May, will shew the reader the ferocious cruelty of the rebel sailors to their passengers. After having exacted a very large sum from them, he refused to put to sea till the vessel was lightened, as he said, she was heavily laden with coals; on which the gentlemen and their servants assisted in throwing over board a large quantity of that article. As an excuse for further procrastination, Dixon said, he must go on shore to know what signal to hoist; as he had friends among the rebels, and no vessel but his would be suffered to sail. Having repaired in his small boat to the country side of the bridge, where the rebels were in great force, he returned in about an hour and a half, and informed them, that the united Irishmen were in possession of the town; and with the semblance of friendship, he advised them to conceal their arms and their uniforms, as many of them were yeomen. He went on shore a second time, and returned with two boats full of men, well armed, and who immediately deprived the passengers of their arms. Those with captain Dixon then proceeded to the barrack, from whence having made a signal, the rebel sailors in the sloop informed the passengers that they were prisoners, and that their captain had obtained the command of the barrack.

Thus this party of gentlemen and ladies, obnoxious for their loyalty, were betrayed into the hands of the ferocious rebels, after having been defrauded of their money. They were landed and lodged at the post-office, where they remained till the first of June.

Mr. Crump, Mr. Bland and Mr. Kellet, and their wives, who were of the party, repaired to the house of the former, but as it had been plundered of all its furniture, and materially injured by the rebels, they could not occupy it. They therefore repaired to Clonard, the house of Mr. Kellet, two miles from the town, which was not in the smallest degree injured, because he was married to a lady of the popish persuasion; and for that reason they remained there unmolested, till Monday the fourth of June, except that they daily received three or four domiciliary visits

visits from rebel parties, who said they were searching for orangemen\*.

On Sunday the third of June, Mr. Cornelius Grogan, of Johnstown;† within three miles of Wexford, visited them, and asked them what part they would take in the present civil war? They answered that they would continue neuter. He told them that they would not be suffered to remain inactive, and assured them that they would be taken to the camp if they persisted in doing so, and put to death if they attempted to make their escape. He said, that the united Irishmen had waited on him that morning, and compelled him to take their oath: That at first he was averse to it; but having consulted one O'Connor a schoolmaster on the propriety of taking it, he removed his doubts, by assuring him that the most loyal of his majesty's subjects might safely swear it: That he was determined to go through with the business, as it was the only means of preserving his property; for, that the people had risen in great force in different parts of the kingdom, and had been victorious in different engagements. Being invested with the office of commissary to the republick, he took an inventory of all the provisions at Clonard, from Mr. Kellet's steward; and afterwards went out and examined whether it was correct. He evinced his authority by giving a protection to a woman whom Mr. Kellet was sending to Wexford for bread. This unfortunate gentleman was seized of an estate of 8000l. a-year, in the county of Wexford, and lived at Johnstown, in a rude but plentiful hospitality; attended by a few parasites, who flattered his prejudices, and paid the most obsequious deference to his opinions. From their daily excesses at the table, Mr. Grogan was seldom free from the gout. On most occasions he evinced the most decided disapprobation of the measures of the Irish government, in which he was encouraged by his needy and dependent associates, who hoped to acquire riches and consequence from general combustion. In him it probably arose from envy, because, from the want of mental excellence (for he had but mean talents) and of proper exertion in publick concerns, he did not enjoy that weight and respect in society, which gentlemen of much smaller fortunes possessed.

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\* From whatever post the rebels occupied, they, as a matter of course, sent out bands of pikemen in quest of protestants, under the denomination of orangemen.

† See Plate III. 7.

It is scarce to be doubted, but that he was not privy to the conspiracy which ended in a rebellion, though his conduct afforded strong suspicions of it, as he was fond of the society of Keugh, Bagenal Harvey, and other disaffected persons; and his parasites were notoriously disloyal.

It is much to be feared that this unfortunate gentleman fell a sacrifice to his credulity, his avarice, and want of firmness. He retreated with the king's troops from Wexford, about two miles, and then turned off to his own house, where he was circumvented by the rebels; who either compelled or seduced him to join them. Some are of opinion, that he repaired to his house, in hopes of preserving it from being plundered; others that he imagined he could not preserve his property but by embarking in the rebel cause, which he was convinced would prevail, from the false and exaggerated accounts which he had received of their successes and their numbers.

On Monday the fourth day of June, Messrs. Bland, Crump and Kellet, were conveyed to the gaol of Wexford, by a serjeant and twelve rebels, and were committed to a long narrow passage, which was so filthy and offensive (as numbers of protestant prisoners were crowded into it) that Mr. Bland, who had been well acquainted with general Keugh, wrote him a note, representing their deplorable situation. On his arrival in the prison Mr. Bland asked him, whether they could not be liberated on their parole? He replied, "By no means, as the wishes of the people must be indulged;" however he had them removed to an apartment at the other side of the gaol-yard, where there was no furniture, but a wretched bed, without clothes. When they were going out, the rebel centinel who guarded the door stopped them in a rude and peremptory manner; on which general Keugh said, "Do you know whom you speak to? Who placed you there?" To which the centinel replied, in an angry tone, and with a stern look, "It was the people that placed me here." This incident affords an instructive lesson to seditious demagogues, who hope to rise on the destruction of social order; as it proves, even in the outset of rebellion, how precarious their power is over the giddy multitude, whom they hope to make the instruments of their inordinate ambition.

On Wednesday the seventh of June, they were committed to a prison-ship\*, with many other respectable gentlemen. They were surrounded by

\* See Plate VI.



by a multitude of pikemen as they marched to the quay, where they embarked. They were confined sixteen days in the hold of a small sloop, covered with an iron grate, and had no other bed but a light covering of dirty straw, over the ballast, which consisted of stones. Six rebel guards were placed over them. Their breakfast consisted of a small barley loaf, which was almost black, and half a pint of milk: Their dinner of coarse boiled beef, with some potatoes, let down in the dirty bucket of the ship, without a knife or fork; for they were deprived of their knives as soon as they were committed. Their drink was bad beer or whiskey. Two days in the week their only food was potatoes and rancid butter, let down in the ship's bucket. Such was the barbarous treatment which a number of respectable gentlemen received, for no other reason than because they were known to be attached to the best of kings, and to the only constitution in Europe which affords any degree of rational liberty!

From the sufferings of the passengers on board a large sloop called the *Lovely Kitty*, (and many of them were ladies of rank and fortune,\*) one may form some idea of what the protestant fugitives endured from the savage spirit of the rebel sailors. Having embarked at three o'clock, on the morning of the thirtieth of May, they sailed as far as the fort of Rosslare,† where the sailors cast anchor, under the pretext of taking in ballast. In the evening they were surrounded by a number of boats, the crews of which, being well-armed, boarded them, and were so brutal and ferocious, as to fill them with serious apprehensions for their lives. Mrs. Gill, one of the passengers, imagining that they were on the point of murdering her husband, threw herself overboard and floated to some distance from the vessel; but was pursued and saved. Having been carried on deck, she appeared lifeless for some time, and on being recovered, she exclaimed, "Ah! why did you bring me back to scenes of misery?" Mr. Stringer, who had escaped from Enniscorthy, having been asked by a ruffian how he came to burn his town, replied, "It was done by the rebels;" on which the sailors exclaimed, "Over with him!" and instantly threw him overboard. After swimming some time, part of the crew, more humane than the rest, followed him with the long boat, and saved his life, but he continued insane; and his wife, a beautiful young woman, was so much affected, as to be despaired of. As the vessel from

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\* Mrs. Ogle and her sister were among them.

† Plate III. 8.

its smallness, could afford accommodation for but few of the passengers, most of them remained all night on the deck, among the sailors, who were brutally drunk, and were constantly uttering treason, blasphemy, and obscenity.

Sometimes they held swords or pistols to the breasts of the women, uttering the most horrid threats. They often ordered them on deck, during the course of the night, saying, "That they had business below with the gentlemen;" and they desired them not to be alarmed at pistols going off. They heard them fire many shots, and were informed afterwards, that they killed eight or ten men in the hold.

Some of the females, dreading that they would offer brutal violence to them, resolved on drowning themselves, should such an attempt be made. The sailors often declared that they would exterminate all orangemen, and that there should be but one religion.

On Thursday morning, the thirty-first of May, a party of the passengers, twenty-six in number, and all women, except six boys and girls, were conveyed to Wexford as prisoners, and lodged in the house of one Heron a chandler, and in a very small room, where they had but one small pallet bed to repose on, and where they suffered much from fetid air, bad food, and the want of sleep.

Heron and his wife were very kind to them, though the rebels constantly threatened that they would demolish their house, if they entertained orangemen or orangewomen, and they often searched the house for the former.

Mrs. Pouden, of Enniscorthy, who did not disembark till the first party landed, assured me, that when she was going from the vessel into a small boat, one of the sailors shot Mr. Dowse, a passenger, close by her side, for no other reason than because he was a member of captain Richards's yeomen cavalry at Enniscorthy, and was a protestant of distinguished loyalty. The first object these ladies beheld on their landing, was the naked body of Mr. John Boyd, which lay bleeding on the quay, disfigured with many a ghastly wound, and writhing with agony of pain. When he was assassinated, a number of rebel women exclaimed with savage joy, "Well done, boys! serve all the hereticks so." Mr. John Boyd was brother to Mr. James Boyd, member for the town of Wexford; and because his family were noted for their loyalty, this unfortunate gentleman was murdered as soon as he landed on the quay. He continued dying for  
above

above twenty hours, and often asked for a draught of water, to quench his insatiable thirst; but the rebel mob would not suffer any person to relieve him. While in that deplorable situation, a rebel lad of about fourteen years old shot him with a pistol, which encreased his pain, without putting a period to his existence.

On the same day they murdered Mr. Sparrow, a yeoman, of Enniscorthy, and dragged his naked body through the streets, and tied it to one of the piers of the bridge, where it remained buoyant, (a woeful spectacle!) till the king's troops arrived.

A gentleman of great respectability, in the county of Wexford, assured me, that he was carried as a prisoner by a body of pikemen into a house, where he was confined for the night: That he found there some gentlemen to whom father Corrin, a priest, was granting protections; but he previously required that they should swear that they had not taken the orangeman's oath; the printed form of which lay on the table. It was infamously sanguinary, containing an obligation to destroy and extirpate Roman catholics: This gentleman offered to take the oath, to entitle him to protection; but father Corrin refused to administer the oath, having said, "We know you too well to regard what you would swear in that way;" alluding to his noted zeal and activity, as a magistrate and a yeoman.

A very amiable and respectable lady\* and her children, who had embarked on board the sloop of the sanguinary Thomas Dixon, was treacherously relanded by him; and having repaired to the house of Mr. Thomas Hatchel, son-in-law of doctor Jacob, near the bridge, where, with the doctor, his family, and some other protestants, she was protected. While the town remained in possession of the rebels, she wrote a very exact diary of every material event during that period, which I shall quote occasionally.

She tells us, "That Thomas Dixon went on shore in his small boat, and at his return declared, that no woman or child should be killed; but that no man, except three, whom he named, should escape. The savage sailors, intoxicated with victory and whiskey, arrived with boats to carry them on shore, and a female heroine among them, sister of Mrs. Dixon,

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and

\* Her name is concealed at her own desire.



and wife to a miller at A tramont, brandished a sword, and boasting of her exploits, said, "That the passengers of no boat would be saved, except those of Thomas Dixon, as he was brother-in-law to Roche the commander of the rebel army." Another boat full of ruffians, more furious than the former, arrived, and swore they would burn the boat, if they found one gun or a man concealed under deck. More ruffians arrived drunk, and boasting of their murders, would not drink unless Mrs. — drank first, lest, as they said, they should be poisoned.

"At dawn of day, on the thirty-first of May, Dixon returned, said many horrible things, boasted of various murders, and made her stand on deck, and see the dead body of Mr. John Boyd on shore.

"When she landed, she found the streets crowded with rebels, who were constantly firing shots. The boatmen asked her, if she knew ever a Roman catholick? and she said, she was acquainted with Mrs. Talbot; he then led her the back way to her house; but she then reembarked, having found it shut. He asked her, if she knew doctor Jacob? and having said she did, he recommended to her to go there, as it would be a safe house.\* They landed her opposite to his door, and she was well received there. The hall was full of ruffians who brought faggots to set the house on fire, but some of them humanely prevented it.

"She was then without food or sleep from Sunday night the twenty-seventh, except that she got a little tea from Mrs. Dixon. She was distracted, and felt more the enthusiasm of despair than insanity. She took her daughter by the hand, and went to Bagenal Harvey, who did not know her, being covered with coal-ashes, and convulsed with misery. She reminded him of their acquaintance; he gave her a protection, but said he had no real command, and that the rebels were a set of savages exceeding all description. She asked him, when this was to end? He answered, probably not for some time, as government would not send a force into the country till they had collected a proper one. He said, he must get the people out of the town, and form a camp, for otherwise it would be destroyed in a few hours. Shortly after, they consented to go to camp, and she saw many thousands of them going there. They were led

\* She took this for doctor Jacob's, but it was his son-in-law's Mr. Hatchel's; and the rebels availing themselves of the doctor's surgical skill to dress their wounded men, they shewed a regard for, and protected him, and such of his friends as sought an asylum in Mr. Hatchel's house.

led by many priests. They often stopped, knelt down, kissed the ground, crossed themselves; and then set up the most hideous yells, and followed their priests. All that time shots were constantly fired. Small parties of them entered and searched the house. The first of June passed in the same manner.

“ J. R. a Roman catholick of great humanity, came and told me with candour, how much the protestants were spoken against; but said, he trusted that the women and children would be spared.

“ In the evening, doctor Caulfield, the Roman catholick bishop, came, and was very kind to me, J. R. having told him who I was. The doctor said, he was cautioned in the street, to beware how he protected protestants. He gave me a protection, but like B. Harvey said, “ He had no influence: That the people could not be described: That in reality, the devil was roaming at large amongst them: That their power never could hold: That they were making it a religious war, which would ruin them: That government was too strong, and must conquer: That this rebellion had been hatching four years.” I think he might have given government notice of it.\*

“ Second of June, the mob were constantly talking in the street of punishing protestants. Colonel Lehunte, and many others, went to the chapel, and renounced their religion; were christened; and then marched in procession through the streets.

“ Third of June, they made three protestants shoot a man in the Bull-ring. We received constant domiciliary visits from the rebels, who we thought would murder us ere they departed. The rebels paraded twice a-day opposite our door, having fifes, fiddles, and drums. It was a kind of regular tumult; every one was giving his opinion. My little boy listening one day said, “ Mamma, are they all kings?”

On Trinity Sunday, the third of June, a sermon was preached in the chapel, to a large congregation, consisting of a numerous body of pikemen, and some protestants, who assumed the semblance of sincere converts to save their lives, and who went there to be christened for the same purpose. Father Roche, the preacher, and chaplain to the popish bishop, doctor Caulfield, inveighed from the altar against the errors of protestants,

\* This is her observation.

protestants, whose religion he represented as an abominable heresy. He then explained and enforced the doctrines of popery, particularly that of exclusive salvation. He desired them to persevere with firmness, as they were fighting in the cause of God against hereticks. When the sermon was over, father Broe, a friar, proceeded to christen the protestants, in which ceremony he used much water, having almost washed their faces.\*

Some papists who were connected with, or attached to protestants, strenuously urged them to change their religion, and even taught them how to cross themselves, and to say popish prayers, from a thorough conviction that the preservation of their lives depended on their conversion.

This happened to Mr. Gibson, while in prison, to whom some papists lent mass books, and pointed out to him the prayers which he should learn by heart.

The rebels, in their domiciliary visits in search of orangemen, arms or ammunition, in the houses of protestants, never failed to carry away with them any articles of wearing apparel, or valuable furniture, that pleased them. The women were much more active in plundering than the men, not only in Wexford, but in the country. They constantly entered and plundered the houses of their protestant neighbours, without shame or remorse.

The wives of the country rebels often made a fantastick appearance, with the elegant apparel of protestant ladies of Wexford, put over their own homely dress. Some of them were seen mounted on horseback, with handsome veils, having at the same time pikes in their hands.

At first there were serious apprehensions of a famine, as no provisions were carried to market, except butter and milk; and they were sold for one fourth of the usual price, from the scarcity of specie, the paucity of bidders, and the fears of the farmers that they would be seized by force for the use of the republick, if they were not speedily sold.

Officers to regulate the price of provisions were instituted in every parish in the county. They also appointed armed vessels to cruise in the channel, which were to intercept such as they found laden with coals, or any of the necessaries of life.

For this reason, a committee was formed, to supply the town with provisions,

\* Some time after the rebellion was suppressed, he demanded his hire from some of those whom he had christened. See Appendix, No. XX. 17.



vifions, and they appointed commiffaries in every parifh, who plundered the adjacent country.

William Devereux of Taghmon, commiffary of his own parifh, was folicted by a rebel to give him a pair of fhoes; and he faid, “ Have you killed a foldier ?” and he answering in the negative, Devereux faid, “ You fhall not have the fhoes till you have done fo.” This the rebel proved on Devereux’s trial at Wexford.

The governors of the newly-eftablifhed republick prohibited the circulation of bank notes, with a view of injuring the credit of government, which tended materially to diftrefs the inhabitants of Wexford.

A perfon of the utmoft veracity affured me, that in his prefence a rebel, who had been concerned in the plunder of Mr. D’Arcy’s houfe, pulled out of his pocket a large quantity of bank notes, in the ftreets of Wexford, and tore them; fwearing at the fame time, with much vehemence, that he would ruin all the banks in Ireland.

The narrow efcape of Mr. Milward, an officer in the Wexford Militia, and Mr. Richard Newtown King, a magiftrate of the county, will fhew the reader with what malignant zeal the rebels fearchd for proteftants, whom they denominated orangemen †. Thefe gentlemen lay concealed at the houfe of Mr. Hatchel ‡, fon-in-law of Dr. Jacob.

One Herring, a rebel captain, in the courfe of making domiciliary vifits in queft of orangemen, entered Mr. Hatchel’s houfe with a drawn fword, at the head of an armed band of rebels. On finding Mr. Milward, he conveyed him to prifon; but firft informed Mr. Hatchel’s family, that he would burn the houfe, if they concealed any more orangemen. On this Mr. King, who happened to be in the only room which they did not fearch, declared that no perfon fhould fuffer on his account. He therefore retreated backwards to another houfe at fome diftance, and in doing fo, was obliged to fcale fome walls, and to wade through a fmall fream, much fwollen with the tide. He lay concealed fome days in a wretched out-office, not better than a pig-fty, and was fupplied with food by Mrs. Jacob. His wife, though fhe lodged near him, would not venture to approach him, left the place of his retreat fhould be difcovered. At length, the rebels who were active and inceffant in their refearches, difcovered and committed him.

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† See James Beaghan’s confeffion in Appendix, No. XIX. 8.

‡ See Plate VI.

These two gentlemen were on the point of being massacred the twentieth of June, on the bridge of Wexford, when Mr. Esmond Kyan, a rebel chieftain, saved their lives, by telling the rebel bloodhounds, that the king's troops must finally succeed, and that they would take ample vengeance of them for putting so many protestants to death in cold blood, and without any provocation whatever.

Esmond Kyan, who had been wounded at the battle of Arklow, was coming to Wexford to get medical assistance, and happened to be crossing the bridge when the massacre was going forward.

Those who obtained a certain quantity of provisions from the committee who distributed it, expected to have the exclusive enjoyment of it; yet the rebels would enter their houses, and take it out of their pot and carry it off, or sit down at their table and eat share of it; and while sitting at the tables of protestants, they would often say, "That they loved liberty and equality, and that they liked to see masters and servants associate together."

" They led their wild desires to woods and caves,

" And thought that all but savages were slaves."

On Trinity Sunday, the third of June, a man of the name of Murphy, of the popish persuasion, was shot in a small place, formerly called the Bull-ring, now Fountain-square †, for having prosecuted a priest of the name of Dixon, for being an united Irishman. Mr. Middleton Robson, a gauger, and Messrs. Pigott and Julian, surveyors of excise, all protestants, and prisoners in the gaol, were brought forth and compelled to shoot him. By way of encreasing the ignominy of his death, they had him executed by hereticks. Previous to the execution, the rebel pikemen, who acted as guards, crossed themselves, knelt down and prayed some time for his soul. As soon as the victim fell, the bloody Thomas Dixon, first cousin of the priest, drew his sword, ran it through his body, and having held it up to publick view, reeking with blood, exclaimed; " Behold! the blood of a traitor;" and then he ordered the surrounding pikemen to plunge their pikes into the body. Dixon, the priest, convicted on his evidence, was condemned to be transported. This execution took place soon after the celebration of mass, at the publick chapel; and previous to it father Corrin, the parish priest, administered the rites of his

his church to him; yet he, or any of the priests in Wexford, could have saved the life of Murphy without any difficulty. These facts were proved on the trial of Michael Mc. Daniel, one of the assassins, held at Wexford the eighteenth of June 1799.

On Monday morning the fourth of June, another man of the name of Murphy, a papist, was shot for having given information against rebels. His executioners were three protestant prisoners, Charles Jackson, Jonas Gurley, and Kennet Matthewson.\* Edward Fraine, a man of some opulence, and who was supposed to gain 300 l. a year as a tanner, was officer of the guard. When the executioners were brought into the yard, Fraine addressed Charles Jackson, and had the following conversation with him: "Mr. Jackson, I believe you know what we want of you." He answered, "Yes; I suppose I am going to die." He then fell upon his knees, and begged that he might be allowed to go to see his wife and child. Fraine swore he should not, and informed him, that a man was to die that evening at six o'clock, and that he did not know any more proper persons to execute him, than he and the two others. He added, that he supposed he could have no objection to the business, as the culprit was a Roman catholic. Jackson replied, "Sir, should I have no objection to commit murder?" Fraine said, "You need not talk about murder; if you make any objections, you shall be put to death in ten minutes; but if you do your business properly, you may live two or three days longer; so I expect you will be ready this evening at six o'clock." Another rebel captain insultingly addressed him in the following manner: "If you could get a few orange ribands to tie round your neck during the execution, it would, I think, have a pretty appearance." The executioners were remanded to their cells, where they remained praying till six o'clock in the evening, when they were brought again into the gaol yard, where they found the prisoner Murphy surrounded by about a thousand armed rebels.

The procession to the place of execution, which was about a mile and a half off, at the other side of the bridge, was in the following order: A large body of pikemen, who formed a hollow square; a black flag;

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\* These men were much esteemed in Wexford. Gurley and Matthewson were afterwards murdered by the rebels on the twentieth of June.



the drum and fifes ; Murphy, the condemned man next, followed by Jackson, with Gurley and Matthewson behind him. When this arrangement took place, the dead march was struck up, and beat till they arrived at the spot where the victim was to fall a sacrifice to their fanatical vengeance. He was placed on his knees, close to the river, and with his back to it. Previous to the execution, the rebels knelt down and prayed for about five minutes ; which ceremony was adopted as in the former instance. The rebels were ordered to form a semi-circle, with an opening towards the water. Charles Jackson asked permission to tie his cravat about the poor man's eyes ; but they desired him not to be nice about such matters, as it would be his own case in a few minutes. When the muskets were called for, it was suggested, that if they gave three at once to the executioners, they might turn about and fire at them : It was therefore resolved, that they should fire one at a time. Matthewson, the first person appointed to shoot, missed fire three times. They gave him another musket, with which he shot Murphy in the arm. Jackson was next called upon ; and as they suspected that he would turn and fire on them, two men advanced at each side of him, with cocked pistols, and two more with cavalry swords were placed behind him, who threatened him with instant death if he missed the mark. He fired, and the poor man instantly fell dead ; after which Gurley was obliged to fire at the body, while prostrate on the ground. It was then proposed that Jackson should wash his hands in his blood, but it was over-ruled, as some of the rebels said he had done his business well. A ring was then formed round the body, and a song in honour of the Irish republick was sung to the tune of, " God save the king."

This dreadful business took up about three hours, after which the executioners were marched back to prison. These circumstances relating to it are to be found in Charles Jackson's narrative, and they were confirmed by the evidence given on the trial of Matthew Greene of Wexford, who was tried, condemned, and executed there, for having acted as a rebel officer at this atrocious scene.

Charles Jackson informs us, and I have been assured by different persons of veracity, that protestants were frequently taken out of the Wexford prisons, and conveyed to the different camps, and in particular to Vinegar-hill, to be executed there. This was done whenever they were

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at a loss to supply the sacrifice of protestant victims, which was daily made, as a regale to the rebels when on parade.

James Lett, chandler, Richard Leech, master shoemaker, William Mooney, who kept the Fox-inn at Enniscorthy, and John Hawkins, were taken from Wexford, by a rebel guard, who was to convey them to the grand slaughter-house, Vinegar-hill. Finding that they were to die near their own homes, they prevailed on a rebel, who was attached to them, to go before them with speed, and to prevail on their neighbours to come forward, and to use their friendly intercession for preserving their lives. The rebel guard, dreading that they might possibly escape through the humane interference of their friends, dispatched them at a place called Lacken, threw them into one grave, and covered them lightly with fods. They were all, except Hawkins, half alive, when buried, and groaned and struggled a great deal while the rebels were interring them.

On the morning of the twentieth of June, four protestants, of the names of Cavenagh, Willis, Furlong, and Priscott, were conveyed from the gaol of Wexford to Vinegar-hill, and shot there.

The defeat of the rebels at Ross sublimated their vengeance against protestants in most parts of the county, but particularly at Scullabogue, Vinegar-hill, and Wexford. Charles Jackson tells us, that on the day it was announced, fifteen of the Wexford, and ten of the Enniscorthy people, were ordered out of the gaol, to revenge the loss which the rebels had sustained at Ross. He says, "When this notice was given, I ran into my cell, got upon my knees in a dark corner, and pulled some straw over me; but a man of the name of Prendergast† came in, and drew me out, uttering shocking threats against me. He dragged me into the yard, where I found my unhappy comrades on their knees. One of them, who had been a protestant, but had become a catholic, and who was now imprisoned on a charge of being an orangeman, requested to have the priest with him before he died. This was immediately granted; and a messenger was sent to father Corrin, the Roman catholic priest of Wexford. He presently came; and to give effect to his admonition and intercession, had dressed himself in his cowl, and

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bore

† An opulent shopkeeper and malster, who was hanged soon after.

bore a crucifix in his hand: He held up the crucifix, and all present fell on their knees: He exhorted them in the most earnest manner: He conjured them, as they hoped for mercy, to shew it: He made every possible exertion to save all the prisoners; but it was in vain: He said he could witness that the Wexford people had never fired upon them, or done them any injury; and that he could not say mass to them, if they persisted in their cruel resolutions. At last he influenced them so far, as to prevail upon them to return into the gaol the fifteen Wexford men; but for those from Enniscorthy, he could obtain no remission for them." They were conveyed to Vinegar-hill, and executed there. It was considered as a great crime in the protestants to have defended their town against father John Murphy and his assassins.

It will reflect eternal shame and dishonour on the popish priests of the county of Wexford, of whom numbers were constantly in the town, besides those who resided there, for having suffered such atrocities to be committed by their sanguinary flock, over whom they had unbounded influence, and by whom they were not only revered as men, but adored as Gods. The savage pikemen never met them in the streets, without bowing low to them with their hats off, and continued so while they were in their fight; and they never met doctor Caulfield, the popish bishop, without falling on their knees, and receiving his benediction.

Now it will appear by the following protection, that doctor Caulfield, the popish bishop, could protect the Enniscorthy as easily as the Wexford people, however odious they were. Two persons of the former were confined in the gaol of Wexford, and dreading that they might be massacred, applied to two priests of Enniscorthy to protect them; and having obtained a recommendation from them to doctor Caulfield, he gave them a protection, in consequence of which they were liberated, and were never afterwards molested. I give the reader an exact copy of the recommendation and protection.

Reverend Doctor Caulfield, Wexford.

" My Lord!

" If possible you'll have the Messrs. ——— liberated, or removed to some more comfortable lodging: They are well disposed, and have never injured any one individual. Your compliance will oblige your affectionate friend,

Enniscorthy, June 15th, 1798.

JOHN SUTTON, priest.\*

" The

\* He constantly visited the camp at Vinegar-hill.



“ The Messrs. ———, I am sure, are free from any party business, orange, or any thing inimical to any society of people, as is mentioned above. I remain, my lord,

Your's most sincerely,

WM. SYNNOTT, P. P.”

“ From the excellent characters of the above gentlemen, I beg leave, in the name of Jesus Christ, to recommend them to be protected.

Wexford, June 15th, 1798.

JAMES CAULFIELD.”

Richard Grandy, though a protestant, obtained a pass from a priest, merely because he was supposed to have some surgical knowledge; and the rebel magistrates who presided at Taghmon, viz. John Breen, James Harper, Joseph and Matthew Commons, gave it as their opinion, that Grandy would be perfectly safe in passing through the country with such a protection, and accordingly he never was molested, though he traversed a great part of it.\*

“ Mr. Richard Grandy is hereby allowed to pass and repass, to and from any part of this district, whenever he thinks proper; and will be of great use in the neighbourhood, to dress the wounds of any neighbour who may be wounded.

EDWARD MURPHY, parish priest of Bannow and Ballymuttery, &c. To the different guards of Ballymuttery and Bannow, &c.”

This priest anticipates the wounds that his neighbours, whom he knew to be rebels, might eventually receive; and he addresses the rebel guards, conscious of his influence over them. Father Collins granted the following pass to the same person:

“ Pray allow the bearer, Mr. Richard Grandy, to pass.

JAMES COLLINS, parish priest of Duncormuck.”

On the trial of general Edward Roche, at Wexford, Mr. Goodall, a yeoman who had been led to execution on the bridge, declared upon oath, that no persons but the priests could have prevented the effusion of blood.

The following certificate was given by father Broe, a friar, to a person whom he had christened, in order to save his life:

“ I hereby

\* See his affidavit containing this pass, and the exhortation of father Murphy to extirpate hereticks, Appendix, No. XX. 7.

“ I hereby certify, that A. B. of C. in the parish of D. has done his duty, and proved himself a catholick. F. JOHN BROE.”

Dated Wexford, June 21st, 1798.

Mr. Meadows, who was a prisoner in the gaol, informed me of the following incident which occurred while he was there: A papist, who had been committed in a mistake, sent for a priest, and remonstrated to him on the injustice of confining him: “ For,” said he, “ you know as well as I do, that we are fighting for the mass, the cross and the lamb. It was I that led on the Ballaghkeene men at the battle of Oulart.” On saying this, the priest had him released.\*

It was resolved at the rebel camp near Ros, immediately after the victory obtained by the king’s troops, to put all the protestants to death. Mr. Meadows was at that time in the prison-ship in the harbour of Wexford. A rebel, who had a warm regard for him, having made his escape from the camp, repaired to Wexford, and told Mr. Meadows’s brother, who was not in confinement, that the prison-ship would probably be sunk that night; and he urged him to prevail on Mr. Corrin, the priest, who, he said, had more influence than any other individual in the town, to have his brother released.

As the taking and captivity of lord Kingsborough, now the earl of Kingston, by the rebels, is an important and interesting incident, I will give a circumstantial relation of it. The head quarters of the North Cork regiment, which he commanded, was at Wexford, and on the breaking out of the rebellion, he resolved to join them. From Dublin to Arklow,† he travelled by land, but as the roads were infested by a rebellious banditti, he took a boat there, manned by sailors of approved fidelity, who had been recommended by the reverend Mr. Bayly of Lamberton. Having stopped at Courtown, on the coast, to get some refreshment, it is believed that some disaffected persons there conveyed intelligence of his lordship’s intention to the rebels at Wexford. At Ballynaker, about three or four miles from the harbour’s mouth, they perceived a number of armed men on an eminence, from whence one of them having fired a musquet, the ball

\* A respectable and loyal Roman catholic of Waterford, who was there while it was in possession of the rebels, assured the late lord mayor, (now alderman Thomas Fleming) and me, that the priests could have prevented the effusion of blood by a turn of their finger.

† Plate II, 1.

ball passed over their heads. When they arrived at the entrance of the bay, they were met by a vessel sailing fast before the wind, the passengers in which they took for women; but when they closed each other, fifty rebels variously armed, started up and threatened to shoot them if they did not surrender. They at the same time hoisted a green flag, with a harp, but without a crown. They wore white bands round their hats, with Unity and Liberty inscribed on them. They made prisoners lord Kingsborough, captain O'Hea, lieutenant Bourke, of his own regiment, and the boat's crew. Generals Keugh and Harvey were ready to receive them on the quay where they landed. For two days his lordship was lodged at the house of general Keugh; he was then removed to an inferior kind of inn, called the Cape of Good Hope, thence to the prison-ship, where he remained but eight hours, having been afterwards lodged in a private house, where a guard was placed over him. Keugh asked him, how he thought government would treat him and his party, if they had them in their power? Lord Kingsborough replied, "That they would hang every one of them." On which Keugh observed, "We know that we fight with halters round our necks." The day of his lordship's arrival, Bagenal Harvey set out for the camp at Carrickbyrne, where the rebel army that attacked Ross was stationed. Keugh told lord Kingsborough, "That he would permit him to write to lord Castlereagh, the lord lieutenant's secretary;" but said, "He expected he would inform him how well he and his fellow-prisoners were treated;" and he added, "That he expected his friends, Messrs. Sheares, Bond, Emmett, Jackson, M'Cann, &c. would receive similar treatment." He informed Lord Kingsborough, that the members of the Irish union had no confidence in the opposition party in the Irish parliament, because they considered them as insincere; and that they had propounded catholic emancipation, and reform of parliament, merely to promote their own ambitious designs.

Mrs. Snowe, the wife of captain Snowe of the North Cork regiment, informed me, that Lord Kingsborough asked her soon after his capture, "Whether she thought the rebel chieftains would have him put to death?" She replied, "She was sure they would not, because they regarded him as a very good hostage, should they enter into any stipulations for their own safety; and that by preserving his life, they might conciliate him, and obtain his influence and interest to secure their own;" and to such motives, I am sorry to say, we must impute the safety of lord Kingsborough.

This



This lady heard general Keugh upbraid his lordship for not having treated doctor Caulfield with sufficient respect, when he waited on him ; and to make an atonement for it, he, with the permission of lord Kingsborough, wrote a note to the Doctor, to request he would call on him again ; and he assured him of the necessity of conciliating him, as his countenance and protection were absolutely necessary for the safety of his person ; and in compliance with Keugh's request, doctor Caulfield waited again on lord Kingsborough. Keugh was solicitous of obtaining the doctor's protection for his lordship, because he was convinced of the perilous situation in which he stood, from the following event : " After Murphy had been shot in the Bull-ring, on the third of June, Thomas Dixon, who had presided at the execution, proceeded to Keugh's house, at the head of a band of savage pikemen, and clamorously insisted on having the bloody orangeman, lord Kingsborough, delivered up to him. Keugh successfully opposed his atrocious design, but not without considerable difficulty. Keugh assured lord Kingsborough, that the attention which he shewed his lordship, and the zeal which he displayed for his preservation, had lessened his authority so much among the people, that he could no longer be accountable for his safety if he remained in his house, for which reason he left it. Keugh severely rebuked Lord Kingsborough for having received a visit from the officers wives of his own regiment. Robert Carthy, a rebel of some property and considerable influence, happened to enter his lordship's lodgings while the ladies were there ; and declared, in opposition to Keugh, that they should go there as often as they chose, and that Keugh had no right to interfere. On which Keugh said, " I am governor of the town." Carthy. " Who appointed you ? " Keugh. " The people." Carthy. " No, they would not trust such a fellow ; I am one of them, and I never gave my consent." He then grappled at Keugh, but lord Kingsborough interfered, and put an end to the altercation ; however Carthy, on retiring, challenged Keugh to fight. Some days before the king's troops arrived at Wexford, he assured a lady of my acquaintance that his life was constantly in imminent danger, as he had lost all his authority, and there was no subordination among the rebel soldiers : That one day while he attended the committee,\* the bloody Thomas Dixon, attended

\* It was proved on the court-martial that tried him, that he was president of it ; but that his engagements as governor prevented his regular attendance.

attended by two fusileers, went to the door of the committee-room, and sent in for Keugh, under the pretext of having some business to transact with him; but very fortunately for him, he could not go to them, having an indispensable engagement; and having been afterwards assured, that they meant to assassinate him, he accused the fusileers of it, who declared that they bore him no ill-will, but that they were persuaded to murder him by Thomas Dixon.

Dixon and his wife were two sanguinary monsters, who were incessantly endeavouring to incite the people to acts of violence and bloodshed. He kept an inferior kind of inn in the town of Wexford, which was very much resorted to by rebels, who held their clubs and conspiracies there. He was proprietor of two large sloops, and was bred to the sea, which gave him very great influence among the sailors, whom he frequently instigated to commit carnage and plunder.

At one time the rebel soldiers threatened Keugh's life in the streets; and to appease them, he gave them the most solemn assurance, that he had been warmly attached to their cause six years, and their sworn friend more than three.\* A few days before the king's troops expelled the rebels from Wexford, Keugh found a party of them going to put a pitch-cap on lord Kingsborough, and afterwards to assassinate him. He was so fortunate as to prevent them from perpetrating their nefarious design, but not without very great danger, as a ruffian presented a musket at him, and was with difficulty restrained from firing it. I have heard from the concurrent testimony of different persons, who resided in Wexford at that time, that nothing but the humane and active interference of generals Keugh and Harvey prevented that indiscriminate slaughter of protestants there which took place in many other parts of the county, particularly at Vinegar-hill; but when they lost their authority, the bloody work began. When that was completely lost, Keugh invented and told the rebels the following story, in order to check their thirst for blood: "That twenty-five thousand northern presbyterians were armed and embodied under a Scots general, and would march to the south immediately, and take ample vengeance of them, if they massacred any more protestants." At one time the rebel soldiers insisted on bringing him to trial. Some days before the town was relieved by the king's troops, he told a

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respectable

\* This was proved on his trial.

respectable gentleman of my acquaintance, then resident at Wexford, that his life was in imminent danger; and that though he might escape assassination, the anxiety and agitation of his mind would soon put a period to his existence.

Some of the gentlemen confined in the prison-ship assured me, that the rebel guards frequently inveighed against Keugh, and vowed vengeance against him, because he would not indulge the people, that is, because he did his utmost to restrain their desire for carnage; to such a deplorable state was that unfortunate man reduced in a very few days after he had attained the height of his ambition, and by that very rabble who had elected him unanimously, and by acclamation, to be governor of the town!

Soon after he was arrested by the king's troops, on the twenty-first of June, he told an officer of my acquaintance, that he was convinced, the period of his life could not exceed forty-eight hours, even if his party had gained the ascendancy; and if the king's troops succeeded and entered the town, his fate would be determined in twenty-four.

"On the evening of the fourteenth of June, a party of the rebels rushed into the committee or council-room, and nearly killed Keugh. The charge against him was his being an orangeman. The rest of the members who were Roman catholics, rescued him: but he, and all the protestant leaders had embraced that religion, and went regularly to mass, at the head of the rebels: but they never could forget their having been protestants, and they treated them accordingly. She heard some of the rebels say, all their policy and christianity shall not save them: and it was at last avowed, that no protestant should live, much less command them."\*

On Sunday the tenth of June, while the rebels were on parade, at the custom-house quay, governor Keugh informed them, that doctor Caulfield the popish bishop had ordered a sermon to be preached that morning from the altar, suited to the times, and that they must repair to the chapel to hear it. They accordingly marched thither, with fifes and drums playing. After mass was celebrated, the reverend father Roche, chaplain to doctor Caulfield, pronounced the following discourse from the altar:

"I am very much displeased at seeing a practice among you of trying to convert the protestants to our communion, because their conversion cannot be sincere, and arises merely from a hope of saving their lives.

Let

\* Lady's diary.



Let there be no more of it, as they never will become true catholicks." After a discourse of some length, to his own flock, he addressed the protestants who were in the gallery, in the following words: "You are come here under the impression of fear, to profess yourselves catholicks; you are not so in your hearts: you do it to save your lives. Now, I tell you, my good people, don't deceive yourselves; if you are not sincere in what you profess, I tell you you will all be murdered. I tell you to a certainty you will all be murdered!" This was repeated several times, with long pauses, and great emphasis. Then addressing himself to the pikemen, he pointed out to them the grievances they and their ancestors had groaned under, for a hundred years past, by the oppression and cruelty of the protestants; and after having wrought them up to the highest pitch of religious phrenzy, he said, "Notwithstanding the variety of ill treatment you have received from the protestants, and are still suffering, avoid the spilling of blood. I recommend to you, to be merciful to these poor people, as you hope yourselves for mercy: for God's sake, be merciful to them. You are contending for your holy religion and your rights. The glorious success which you have obtained shews, that you are under the protection of the Almighty, in whose cause you are fighting. Continue your spirited exertions then. You have put your hands to the plough, and you must not look back. Be assured that you will all be murdered unless you succeed and get the upper hand." This priest was very active at the battle of Foulkes's-mill, in exhorting and stimulating the rebels to enter into the action; nay, he was seen horfewhipping those who betook themselves to flight.

On the same day that this sermon was preached, a proclamation was read from the altar,\* requiring all persons to apprehend and convey to the gaol of Wexford the following gentlemen, because they had been active magistrates and zealous loyalists: James Boyd, representative for Wexford, Hawtrey White, Archibald H. Jacob, and Hunter Gowan. Printed copies of it were dispersed in most parts of the county.

George Taylor, a printer at Wexford, was compelled, though a protestant and a loyal subject, to print all the proclamations, orders and edicts of the republick, which commonly ended with these words, "God save the people!" I am well informed that he was obliged to put up a label in his shop, announcing him printer to the republick.

\* See Appendix, No. XX. 18.

On Sunday the seventeenth day of June, notice was given from the altar, that the following Saturday was to be observed as a fast, for the success of the war.

A gentleman of the utmost veracity assured me, that father Murphy wrote on many doors in Wexford, a latin inscription, with his name, and the sign of the cross annexed to it. This, it is supposed, was some mark of religious distinction.

A party of respectable ladies, who lived together in a house, to which the rebels frequently paid domiciliary visits, and under whose windows they often assembled and conversed, heard them making the following observations: One said, (while they were drinking whiskey in their parlour,) "This is a religious war;" another, "I say it is not." At last, they grew warm, and gave the lie to each other; on which a third rebel interfered, and said, "Sure we received orders not to say it was a religious war, lest we should bring down upon us the vengeance of the Northerners," meaning the presbyterians. They frequently boasted of their barbarities, and said, "They would not suffer any person to live who was not of their faith, as there was only one true religion."

They often said, when the success of the king's troops began to make them despond, that the failure of their cause arose from having protestants at the head of their armies, and that they could not have luck or grace while any of *their sort* were in their ranks.

The following circumstances occurred to a party of respectable female protestants, who resided in the same house. They daily received three or four domiciliary visits from the pikemen, who treated them with brutal insolence. They frequently presented pistols at them, and sometimes pressed the muzzle of them against their breast, or their side, with so much violence, as to give them exquisite pain; saying, at the same time, with fanatical fury in their countenance, "You must die!" and on being asked, why they treated them so cruelly, they replied, "You are orangewomen, and bigots to your religion." They would then ask them, Were we ever known to wrong or offend any person? Have we not given to the poor as much as we could afford? And in the distribution of alms have we ever made any difference between the members of your church and our own?" "That is all true; but you are orangewomen.

You.

You have *the drop*\* in you. For generations in your family, you cannot name, on either side, a single catholic. One branch of your family came to Ireland with Cromwell; the other with king William, and therefore you must die."

The 13th regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Bradshaw, was quartered for above a year at Wexford, where he and his lady were very much esteemed and respected. They marched to Waterford a short time before the rebellion broke out, and left their first-born child at nurse with the wife of one Wreck, who lived within a mile of Wexford. The rebels often threatened to burn his house, unless he would put the young heretick to death; but he, with becoming fortitude, mingled with humanity, resisted their menaces; and he was confirmed in this generous resolution by the respectable females whom I have now mentioned, and who often visited the child.

The rebels frequently attempted to force the gaol, and to murder the prisoners; but the guards, I presume, influenced by their officers, successfully opposed them.

A number of protestant prisoners were marched from Gorey, and committed to the gaol of Wexford, on the fourteenth day of June. As they marched through the town, the houses were hung with green emblems, and the mob expressed their savage joy by shouting aloud. The rebels stripped the prisoners almost naked, and put pitched caps on their heads before they left Gorey.

The reverend Roger Owen, a protestant clergyman and rector of Camolin, was among them, without shoes, and having a little ragged jacket.†

A respectable lady, who saw from a window the prisoners passing through the streets, assured me, that the wife of Thomas Dixon, so remarkable for the ferocity of her disposition, headed the rebels who escorted them; and said, with much violence, mingled with contempt, and pointing to Mr. Owen, who was barefooted, "There's a protestant clergyman! behold the protestant clergyman!"

The sufferings of Mr. Lehunte, a respectable gentleman of large landed property, who lived at Artramont,|| near Wexford, merit a circumstantial relation.

\* This was a common expression among the rebels, meaning of protestant blood.

† See Appendix, No. XXI. 2, 3.

|| See Plate III. 5.



relation. He commanded the Shelmalier corps of yeomen cavalry, who amounted to fifty-two, of which twenty-four were papists; and of that number twenty deserted to the enemy at Oulart; and two were dismissed, because they gave strong indications of disaffection. It was remarkable that numbers of Roman catholicks shewed great zeal to join that and other corps in the county of Wexford, a short time before the rebellion broke out; though they had previously shewn a great repugnance to do so. Mr. Lehunte, on the evacuation of Wexford, was too late to get on shipboard, and therefore fell into the hands of the rebels. Being a gentleman of a mild and humane disposition, he was allowed to remain in a private lodging at first.

Thomas Dixon and his wife, whose thirst for protestant blood was insatiable, contrived the following device to incite the rabble to assassinate him. They repaired to Artramont, about two miles from Wexford, and at their return, proclaimed in the streets that there was an apartment there furnished with orange-colour, in which plots and conspiracies had been formed by orangemen, for the extirpation of the Roman catholicks. Dixon also produced a fire-screen, which had been innocently decorated with orange ribands, and on which there were many curious devices, the work of female ingenuity. He displayed it through the streets as a flag, and stopping now and then, he, with a loud voice, put the following malignant construction on the figures which it contained, to a numerous body of sailors and pikemen: That Hope, resting on an anchor, was emblematick of a sailor burning on it, as the orangemen would heat it for that purpose: That Hebe and the Eagle indicated that they would give the children of Roman catholicks to birds of prey to be devoured: That the lance of Minerva was such an instrument as they would use for their destruction. By such tortuous and malignant suggestions he wound the populace to such a pitch of phrenzy, that, headed by Dixon, they flew to Mr. Lehunte's lodgings, forced him with violence into the street, and dragged him to the gaol, where they committed him to a condemned cell; on which Dixon informed him, that he should have but fifteen minutes to live.\* In his progress to the gaol they buffeted him very much, tore his hair, and gave him two flight wounds.

They

\* See in Appendix, No. XX. 2. Taylor's affidavit who was in gaol.

They would instantly have put him to death, but that Bagenal Harvey, Cornelius Grogan and Keugh, informed the populace who surrounded him, that the observations of Dixon were false and groundless; but their authority, being protestants, did not continue long.

The artillery men, whom the rebels took when a detachment of the Meath regiment was defeated, on the thirtieth of May, were imprisoned in separate cells in the gaol of Wexford, where they were almost starved from the bad quality and the scantiness of their food.

Andrew Sheppard, a protestant, and a corporal of that corps, was taken into a small court, within the gaol, to be shot. The executioner having burned priming four times at him, father Murphy, who had entered the gaol, cried out, "he has longer days to live; let the heathen go back to prison;" having imputed his escape to the Divine interference.

While these men were in prison, many attempts were made by the rebel guards to force it, and put the prisoners to death, having said, "that they would not stand guard over hereticks. †"

General Roche, the layman, and Thomas Dixon, urged them to serve in their army as artillery men, having promised them commissions, and in some time estates, if they would comply. As they had no other means of making their escape, they consented, and were led first to Gorey, and thence to the battle of Arklow, where they served as artillery men.

A Roman catholic of the utmost veracity, who resided in Wexford, assured me, that the rebel soldiers began to be envious of their superiors, and to express the warmest indignation against the council and the committee, for living in great luxury and abundance, while they were wretchedly fed; and he was decidedly of opinion, that they would have massacred them, if the republic had lasted a few days longer.

A short time before the king's troops were victorious, and entered the town, the committee intended to have made a requisition of plate, and to have instituted a mint.

To animate the rebels, reports were constantly propagated by their leaders, that Dublin was in possession of their friends; and when they were undeceived, they assured them that it was blockaded by five republican camps, and that it must soon surrender, as the inhabitants were labouring under the pressure of famine.

From

† See Appendix, No. XX. 1.

From the very great scarcity of provisions which took place in consequence of the wasteful consumption of so many savages, the embryo republick must soon have fallen to the ground, if the king's troops had not put an end to it.

So completely deluded and deceived were the rebels in Wexford, that it was universally said, and believed there, that they were constantly successful; and that the very days that they were beaten, they frequently huzzaed in the streets, to express their joy on the taking of Ross; and one man rode with speed into the town, waving a pistol, and crying out "Ross is taken!"

Mr. William Hughes, a respectable inhabitant of Wexford, of the protestant religion, and a rigid loyalist, generously entertained in his house some of the wives of the officers of the North Cork regiment, after their husbands had retreated. Governor Keugh frequently pressed him to join his party, but he peremptorily refused. One day he said to him, "though your wife is nearly related to mine, and to Bagenal Harvey, and though you have protections, you cannot expect to escape, unless you enrol yourself in one of our corps;" but he sternly refused. Keugh said, "I will give you two days to consider of it;" and he replied, "if you gave me seven years, I would give you the same answer." And this in the presence of his wife and six children. Mrs. Snowe, one of the officers wives, who was present, said to Mr. Hughes, "consider seriously what you are about, for your life belongs to your wife and your six children;" whose presence were sufficient to shake his firm resolution, and inspire him with a love of life; but he continued steady in his principles.

A priest sometimes attended Mr. Hughes's house and urged the officers wives to embrace his religion, assuring them, that no person could be saved who was not within its pale, but he could not succeed.

Before I describe the massacre at Wexford, and the evacuation of it by the rebels, it will be necessary to give the reader an account of the battle of Vinegar-hill, and the very judicious disposition which general Lake made of the troops who were to attack that strong post, which was the citadel and the grand rendezvous of the rebels, as the victory obtained there preceded that dreadful event.

The movements of the different columns who were to attack it, will be best explained by the instructions issued by general Lake, the 16th of June 1798, to the general officers who commanded them.

General



General Dundas will be directed to move on the seventeenth to Hackestown, and to issue his orders to general Loftus at Tullow,\* to unite his force with him on the eighteenth at Carnew.†

General Needham, to move at three o'clock, A. M. on the nineteenth to Gorey; general Dundas having sent a strong patrol under general Loftus from Carnew, at six o'clock on the same morning to Grove's-bridge,‡ four or five miles on the road to Gorey,|| to support general Needham, in case he should meet with resistance at Limerick-hill or at Gorey, and to communicate to general Dundas general Needham's situation.

General Johnson, on the nineteenth, at four o'clock A. M. to move to Old Ross,§ and unite with general Moore in driving the rebels from Carrickbyrne hill.\*\* He will take up his position that day near Old Ross, and send a strong patrol to scour the country towards the Black-stair mountains,†† in junction with sir James Duff. This movement will require a very particularly concerted arrangement between general Johnson and sir James Duff. The patrols to return to their respective corps on the same day.

Sir Charles Afigill, on the eighteenth, will occupy Gore's-bridge, Borris||| and Graigenamana,§§ and will remain in those positions until the twentieth, when at three P. M. he will return, unless he shall receive orders to the contrary.

Lieutenant-general Dundas, on the twentieth, will march by Ballycarney-bridge,\*\*\* keeping the east side of the Slaney, to Scarawallsh-bridge,††† to arrive there at twelve at noon.

Sir James Duff will also move on the twentieth, by the road on the west side of the Slaney, to Scarawallsh-bridge, where he will arrive at twelve o'clock.

General Needham, on the twentieth, will move from Gorey to Oulart,|||| to be there at twelve o'clock.

General Loftus. The corps from Grove's-bridge will move on the twentieth, through Camolin and Ferns,§§§ and unite with general Dundas at Scarawallsh-bridge, at twelve o'clock.

3 P

General

\* Plate II. 1, 2.

† Ibid. 4.

‡ Ibid. || Ibid.

§ Plate III. 5.

\*\* Plate III. 5.

‡‡ Ibid. 2.

||| Plate II. 6, 7.

§§ Ibid. 8.

\*\*\* Plate II. 7.

††† Ibid.

|||| Plate III. 2.

§§§ Plate II. 6, 7.

General Moore, to land on the eighteenth at Ballyhack-ferry, and on the nineteenth, he will move at three o'clock A. M. to Foulkes's-mill,\* and unite with general Johnson in driving the rebels from Carrickbyrne-hill. He will take up his position that night at Foulkes's-mill, securing the escape of the rebels between that and Clomines.†

General Johnson, on the twentieth, will move with his column to Ballymacus-bridge,‡ either to unite in the attack on Enniscorthy, if necessary, or prevent their escape in that direction.

Should the rebels have evacuated Enniscorthy and Vinegar-hill, the columns under general Dundas and sir James Duff will take up their position that day in front of Enniscorthy; and general Johnson will at the same time receive orders to take a position on the great road from Enniscorthy to Taghmon.

General Moore, in this case, on the twentieth, will move from Foulkes's-mill, and take post at Taghmon, still securing the country between Taghmon|| and Clomines.

But should the enemy maintain their position at Enniscorthy,§ the attack will be made on the twenty-first at day-light, by the columns under general Dundas and sir James Duff, and general Needham moving from Oulart.

The general forward movement and investment of Wexford will take place on the twenty-first, when the several columns will be so united as to receive directions as circumstances may point out.

Gun-boats. Orders are to be sent to the naval commanders to station their gun-boats and armed vessels in Wexford harbour early in the morning of the twenty-first, to co-operate in such manner as may be necessary for the attack of the town, with the gun-boats from Waterford, which will be directed to support general Moore and the corps at Clomines on the nineteenth.

Such was the judicious arrangement made by general Lake, for surrounding the rebels on Vinegar-hill, for retaking Enniscorthy and Wexford; and in short, for putting down the rebellion in that county: But before I proceed to describe the grand attack, it will be necessary to relate some events which took place previous to it in the north of that county:

After

\* Plate III. 7.

† Ibid. 8.

‡ Ibid. 3.

|| Ibid. 6.

§ Ibid. 2.

After the defeat at Arklow, the enemy took their station on Limerick-hill,\* to the north of Gorey, in great force, and continued to spread devastation over the adjacent country, murdering such protestants as fell into their hands, and burning the houses of those who were so fortunate as to make their escape, till the eighteenth of June, when generals Dundas and Loftus marched against them, according to a preconcerted plan.

As Kilcavin-hill,† from its declivity, afforded a much stronger post than Limerick-hill, the rebels took post on it about eight o'clock on the morning of the eighteenth of June, as soon as our two columns made their appearance. General Dundas's column moved from Baltinglass, by Hacketstown and Tinnahely.‡ General Loftus marched by Shillela.|| A general action seemed unavoidable. General Dundas having resolved to move round Kilcavin-hill, sent orders to general Loftus to march on the Carnew§ road, and to begin the attack by that town; but the following circumstance frustrated their design: When general Dundas had advanced a considerable way towards the point where he was to begin his attack, he suddenly found himself in a deep hollow road, with strong fences on each side. He perceived also, that he must have proceeded some time in it, before he could have extricated himself, and recollecting the fate of colonel Walpole, he very prudently ordered the column to countermarch; and at the same time sent orders to general Loftus to take such a position as to cover this retrograde movement. By this unexpected event, the two columns became united, and the rebels had a clear country to the north, the east, and the south-east, and were so strongly posted, that the main object of the generals was to protect themselves on the west side, where the position of the enemy was so well secured by a ravine in front, by large banks and high hedge-rows, that general Lake, who arrived at this time with his whole staff, thought it prudent to defer the attack till the reinforcements joined them. A brisk cannonade was maintained for some time, but without any material effect. At length, general Lake ordered the troops to march to Carnew, where they remained that night. Two rebel spies who entered that town were shot. Green sashes and cockades were found in their pockets.

3 P 2

On

\* Plate II. 2, 3.

† Ibid. 3. 4.

‡ Ibid. 1.

|| Ibid. 2.

§ Ibid. 4.



On the nineteenth of June, major-general sir James Duff joined the army with his brigade from Newtown-barry,\* and general Needham was moving on the road from Arklow to Gorey.† The troops at Carnew were under arms. A general attack was instantly to have taken place, and from the number of our troops, and the excellent disposition made by general Lake, there could not be a doubt of its successful issue; but at day-break it was discovered that the enemy had fled. Fearing to be cut off from their favourite position at Vinegar-hill, they retreated through Moneysfield and by Gorey. Instead of taking this step, had they pushed forward with that celerity with which their movements were usually made, in consequence of having but little baggage or equipment to transport, they might have seized on the important post of Rathdrum, the key to the city of Dublin, from which they would have derived infinitely more advantage than from their retreat to cover Wexford and Enniscorthy; because our army must have pursued them, and then the excellent and well-digested plan formed by general Lake for surrounding them, would probably have been defeated.

I have already described this in the orders issued by him; and they were exactly fulfilled by the respective general officers to whom they were directed, except by generals Needham and Moore, who were prevented by unforeseen and fortuitous circumstances, which I shall hereafter explain.

General Johnson took a position near Enniscorthy,§ for the purpose of driving the rebels from that town, in which they were strongly posted. Lieutenant-general Lake and the entire staff remained with general Dundas, who, as I before observed, marched to Scarawallsh-bridge.‡

Lieutenant-generals Lake and Dundas, and major-general Wilford, with their staff, and the first brigade of light infantry under the command of colonel Campbell, remained all the night of the twentieth of June upon their arms, at Solisborough,|| with a large body of cavalry, within two miles of Vinegar-hill. About one o'clock in the morning, general Johnson reported his arrival on the other side of the Slaney, near Enniscorthy. General Needham's column lay about half a mile off, on the left of general Lake's army, whither he had marched from Oulart by general Lake's orders.

\* Plate II. 5.

† Ibid. 4, 5.

§ Ibid. III. 2.

‡ Ibid. II. 7, 8.

|| Plate III. 1.





- 1 *Light Infantry with Howitzer.*
- 2 *Gen. Lake where his Horse was Killed.*
- 3 *Gen. Willford's Brigade.*

- 4 & 5 *Gen. Dundas's Brigade.*
- 6 *Gen. Loftus's Brigade.*
- 7 *Gen. S<sup>r</sup> J<sup>d</sup> Duff's Brigade.*

- 8 *Rebels Fort of Vinegar Hill.*
- 9 *Rebel Lines & forest of Pikes.*
- 10 *Ennis's cortby side of the Slaney.*

2

2

3

- 1 *Pike for cutting and stabbing.*
- 2 *D<sup>o</sup> for stabbing only.*
- 3 *D<sup>o</sup> for grappling and stabbing.*



A Scapular.



ders. General Duff, with his guns, advanced on the Ferns road, on the east side of the Slaney,† having that river on his right flank, and firing on the rebel lines on the hills, and throwing shells from howitzers into them as he advanced. In this movement he was supported on each flank by the light infantry, under the command of general Loftus.

When they had arrived at the beginning of the ascent of Vinegar-hill, general Loftus was detached by general Duff to occupy a green hill in a park enclosed with stone walls, which was on the side, and composed a part of Vinegar-hill.‡ General Loftus surprized the rebels by the celerity of this movement, because the hill was steep, and the ground which he occupied there was divided by stone walls; but by breaking open gaps, he had two guns carried over at first, and soon after four more, by having untackled them from the horses. From this position he was able to fire into the lower line of the enemy, rather on his left, with such effect; that eighty-five of them were afterwards found in their trenches killed with grape-shot. General Loftus made his movement by a narrow road on the left, diverging from the main one, and then rapidly ascended the hill. At the same time, generals Lake, Dundas and Wilford, with colonel Campbell's light infantry, were advancing up the hill || on the south-east side, and were firmly opposed by the rebels, who maintained a very brisk fire on them, retreating at the same time from one hedge to another, till they were driven over the hill. On that occasion general Lake had a horse shot under him. The movements of the two columns were so well timed, that they met at the same moment on the top of the hill.§

At that time, and not before, general Lake perceived how actively general Johnson had been employed, and how ably he had supported him on the side of Enniscorthy. From the numbers of the enemy, the height and the steepness of the hill, and its being intersected in many parts with enclosures, formed by high clay banks, with fosses behind them, the rebels were completely protected from our fire. It is astonishing that our troops did not suffer more, and that the rebel army was so quickly dislodged, and driven from so strong a position. They had no less than  
thirteen

† See Plate IV. 8.

‡ Ibid. 6, 7.

|| Ibid. 10, 11.

§ In plate V. the reader will see an exact outline of Vinegar-hill, with the movement of the troops, which, though a slight sketch, represents it with precision.

thirteen pieces of ordnance, and their infantry must have been well supplied with ammunition, as they maintained a very heavy fire. I shall refer the reader to general Lake's letter to lord Castlereagh, for an account of the action.\*

Father Clinch, an Enniscorthy priest, fell in this engagement. Being of a huge stature, with a scymitar and broad cross belts, and mounted on a large white horse, with long pistols, he made so conspicuous a figure on the hill, during the action, and the day preceding it, as to attract the notice of our troops, particularly as he seemed to be constantly employed in reconnoitring them. The earl of Roden having singled him out among the fugitives, overtook him after a mile's pursuit, and received his fire, which his lordship returned, and wounded him in the neck. He then discharged his second pistol at lord Roden, on which an officer of his regiment rode up and shot him. He wore his vestments under his clothes; he had near forty pounds in his pocket, a gold watch, and a remarkable snuff-box; all which, it is presumed, he had acquired by plunder. He had been as active in the cabinet as the field, having constantly sat at the committee at Enniscorthy; and mounted on his charger, and fully accoutred, he daily visited the camp.

As general Needham's column did not occupy the post allotted to it in the first arrangement for surrounding Vinegar-hill, on the south-east side of it leading to Wexford, I think it right to explain the circumstances which prevented it. He advanced on the twentieth instant to Oulart, an inconsiderable village to the east of Vinegar-hill, and within six miles of that part of it where he was to take post. On that evening, when the troops had taken up their ground, and driven back some advanced piquets of the enemy, and made a proper disposition for protecting four hundred carriages laden with provisions and ammunition for the army which attended them, general Needham received an order from general Lake, about half an hour after eight o'clock, signed by the adjutant-general, desiring him to march immediately with the troops under his command, to join general Lake at Solsborough, the seat of Mr. Richards, where he had taken up his head-quarters. The harnessing and arranging in the proper order of march such a number of carriages occupied a good deal of

\* See Appendix, No. XXI. 1.

of time. Thus incumbered, the movement of the column was slow; particularly as it passed through deep and narrow roads, with high and thick fences on each side, and in a country so much enclosed as to render it impossible to send out flanking parties; though from their proximity to the enemy, there was every reason to expect an attack, which, had it been made, might have proved fatal. However, the column proceeded unmolested, and arrived at Solisborough, about half past three o'clock, on the morning of the twenty-first of July.

Major-general Needham, on reporting his arrival to general Lake, was informed that he must immediately occupy the position first allotted to him in the general orders. Thus, after a most fatiguing march, without having had any refreshment for his troops from the time he left Gorey, he was obliged to repair to the post he was to occupy by a circuitous route of eight miles.

General Needham, seeing the impossibility of reaching the hill in proper time, sent to request general Lake would defer the attack, but this was positively refused. General Needham therefore pushed forward with his cavalry, and destroyed many of the fugitives from the hill; having pursued them as far as the nature of the country would admit. It is much to be lamented, that general Needham's line of march to his position was changed; as had he been suffered to repose his troops at Oulart on the night of the twentieth, and to have proceeded next morning to his destination, very few of the rebels would have escaped.\* General Lake refused to defer the attack, in conformity to general Needham's request, for the following very good reason: General Johnson was engaged with a numerous body of the rebels who defended Enniscorthy; and they would probably have been assisted by their main body on Vinegar-hill, if general Lake had not immediately made a diversion.

An immense column of the rebels which retreated from Vinegar-hill, by the position which general Needham was to have occupied, marched by the east side of the Slaney, first to Carrick-bridge,† but commonly called Carrick-ferry, within three miles of Wexford, headed by the following generals: Father John Murphy, father Kearns the priest, Anthony Perry, Edward Fitzgerald, and John Hay. After passing Carrick-bridge,

one

\* His orders were to attack at three o'clock.

† Plate III. 5, 6.



one column entered Wexford, under Murphy, Kearns and Perry, where they remained about two hours, threatening the destruction of the town, and a general massacre of the remaining protestants, without distinction of age, sex or condition ; but they were partly prevented by the combination and the determined resistance of the inhabitants of the town, who feared the loss of their property, and they dreaded the approach of general Moore's army.

Having left the town, they retreated over the bridge, headed by Esmond Kyan, Edward Fitzgerald, Perry and Kearns, and took the high and direct road to the county of Wicklow ; which, and the north part of the county of Wexford, they continued for some time to desolate.

The protestants who had fled from Gorey and its vicinity to Wicklow, on the defeat of colonel Walpole, on the fourth of June, thinking that the victory at Vinegar-hill had restored peace and good order, were attempting to return to their respective homes, but were met by a large party of the rebels, who were retreating after their defeat, and who killed thirty-six of them. For a specimen of their barbarity on that occasion, I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XX. 20, 21. It happened on Friday the twenty-second of June, which is now called in that country bloody Friday.

The other column, headed by priest Roche, John Hay and Murphy, proceeded from Carrick-bridge to the mountain of Forth, where they remained for about three hours, holding a council of war, in which as Roche and John Hay differed in opinion, they left them, and were taken in a day or two after, and hanged at Wexford. Father John Murphy and another priest of the same name, then led the column by a circuitous route through the barony of Forth, by Maglas,\* the moor of Mulrankin, and the Scar pass of Barretstown,† over the Scallogh-gap,‡ into the county of Kilkenny, spreading desolation in their progress, having plundered and burnt the town of Castlecomer, and the superb mansion of lady Ormond ; and massacred such protestants as they could lay their hands on.

As the part which general Johnson took in the attack on Vinegar-hill was by far the most perilous and brilliant, I shall give the reader a more circumstantial relation of it. In his march from New Ross, he met a rebel armed with a pike, who, on being informed, that he deserved to be hanged for having appeared in arms against the king, replied, " You may

\* Plate III. 8.

† Ibid.

‡ Plate II. 7.

may hurt my body, but you cannot injure my soul, as father Roche has taken care of it."

The evening before the attack on Enniscorthy, he marched to Ballymacus, † about four miles from it; but wishing to have his men fresh for the onset next morning, he moved forward to Daphne, within a mile and a half of it. Soon after his arrival there, a large body of rebels, marching in columns and intermediate lines, advanced within half a mile of his army, and seemed determined to attack it; on which the general prepared to receive them; but they sent forward their sharp shooters, who maintained a very smart fire on his line, till he brought up his cannon and dislodged them with it.

The main body which marched from the town to attack him, occupied an eminence, on which three or four shots from twelve-pounders were fired; and when the balls lodged on the hill, numbers of the rebels emulously vied with each other to lay hold of them. After that some shells having been thrown on it, and a great body of them having surrounded them for the same purpose, they exploded, and blew them to atoms.

Next morning, after having driven the rebels from the high ground into the town, which could not be effected without much danger and difficulty, as the rebels disputed every inch of ground, firing from behind the hedges, each of which afforded a strong post; he kept that position for about an hour, during which he and the rebel army continued to cannonade each other; and he had the greater part of the Vinegar-hill army to contend with, as general Lake did not begin to attack them for some time.

In driving the rebels into the town, they made a most obstinate resistance, by their pikemen in the streets, and their musketeers, who were excellent marksmen, from the windows.

Having advanced with one gun, to an open space, where the court-house \* lies, a numerous body of pikemen rushed from that building, with enthusiastick vehemence, and seized and kept it for a few minutes, having overpowered the party which attended it; but it was soon retaken by a fresh column of troops, who killed most of the rebels concerned in that

3 Q

furious

† Plate III. 3.

\* Plate IV. 4.

furious onset. The general then ordered the light infantry to charge over the bridge, and up the hill, which were occupied by a numerous body of rebels; but they having shewn an unwillingness to do so, he called on the county of Dublin regiment to perform that service, on which they gave three cheers, and led on by colonel Vesey and lord Blaney, in conjunction with the light infantry, forced the bridge, and marched up the steepest part of the hill, driving the rebels before them.

Major-general Eustace, who acted on this occasion with general Johnson, displayed great spirit and gallantry.

That side of the hill which general Johnson ascended is by far the steepest, and commands the town.

As the army commanded by general Johnson lost more men in killed and wounded than all the other troops that attacked Vinegar-hill, we may conceive the difficulties and the opposition which he must have encountered.

He sustained the following loss: two field officers wounded, two captains killed, two subalterns killed and two wounded, two serjeants killed, one wounded, one missing, sixteen rank and file killed, sixty-two wounded, five missing.

The arrival of general Moore's army at Foulkes's mill occasioned a very great alarm at Wexford and the Three-rock camp. † On the evening of the nineteenth, the drums beat to arms, and the church bell was rung. Keugh and Harvey were very busy, but seemed much dismayed. They sent all the rebel soldiers in town to the Three-rock camp. For three miles, the distance from it to the town, each side of the road was crowded with old men, women and children, on their knees, praying for their success, as they marched by. When they advanced about two miles, they met on horseback father Keane, commonly called the blessed priest of Bannow. The rabble had uncommon veneration for him, because they believed, from his superior sanctity, that he was more expert in working miracles, and had more supernatural powers, than any other priest. He was a little old grey-headed man. The rebels flocked to him with great eagerness, to obtain his benediction, which he gave, by laying his hand on their heads, and muttering a few words.

This

† Having given the reader a description of the rebel camp on Vinegar hill, I shall give him that on the mountain of Forth, in Appendix, No. XXI. 3.



This priest having been guilty of some irregularities, soon after he was priested, retired to Newfoundland, where he exercised, for some years, his sacred function, and at the same time the apostolick pursuit of a fisherman. A boat, in which he served as a sailor, having caught great quantities of cod fish, in a harbour where it had been sought for in vain some years before, this sudden change was imputed to his benediction bestowed on it. He returned to his native country, with the title of the blessed priest of Bannow, which is his native place. During the rebellion he distributed many thousand scapulars\* among the rebels; and to numbers he gave two, one to protect them in advancing, the other in retreating. He assured the wearers of this sacred symbol, that a ball from a heretick gun could do them no more injury than a pea. He constantly visited the rebel camps, particularly that on the mountain of Forth; and a poney which he rode, was led by two pike-men, who cried out, with a loud voice, "Make way for the blessed priest of Bannow!" I have been assured that he refused his blessing to some rebels, unless they brought him the head of Mr. Goff, of Horetown, a quaker, who was justly and universally esteemed; and it is said, that he would most certainly have been assassinated, but for the victory of general Moore, which struck terror into the rebels.

A party of them took possession of Mr. Goff's house, under the command of one Monk, and they were attended by father Byrne, a priest, who was purveyor to the party; and he compelled the miss Goffs, young and amiable women, to bake bread, and do every other menial office to supply the rebels. A party of them one day asked his benediction, having knelt down for that purpose; but he refused to give it but to such as produced their pikes stained with the blood of hereticks.

It was mentioned before that general Moore was to take post at Foulkes's mill, ten miles from Wexford, to prevent the rebels in their flight from Vinegar-hill from escaping by Clomines. He remained in the demesne of Mr. Sutton, of Longraige, † which is quite close to it, on the evening of the nineteenth of June.

Next morning, general Moore had a smart action with the rebels, which is described by him in a letter to general Lake.†

3 Q 2

I have

\* See in page 564, a full explanation of this religious emblem; and in Plate V. a figure of one.

‡ Plate III. 6, 7.

† Appendix, No. XXI. 2.

I have been assured by persons well acquainted with the designs of the rebel general, that this action was brought on in the following manner :

That general Roche intended to have taken possession of Ros, when general Johnson had left it ; that he sent one party to Horetown, to watch the motions and engage the attention of general Moore, while the main body proceeded to Ros ; that the former suddenly and unexpectedly came on general Moore's army, and had a skirmish with them.

The main body having heard the firing, went to their assistance, which brought on a general action.

Roche, after being defeated, meant to have kept one division of his army in the woods of Horetown, to the north, the other in those of Rosgarland, to the south ; and to have renewed the attack in the night, when aided by the darkness, which would have been favourable to the charge of his pikemen, and relying on the superiority of his numbers,\* he entertained strong hopes of success ; but the arrival of the 29th and the Queen's regiment as a reinforcement to general Moore baffled his expectations.

There were many priests in the rebel army, exhorting their troops, and often horsewhipping, and even threatening the runaways with swords and pistols, to compel them to return to their ranks.

Having mentioned the occurrences which preceded and occasioned the evacuation of Wexford by the rebels, I shall now relate that event, and the dreadful massacre of protestants which took place the day before, and which has cast such an indelible stain on that county, that every Irishman, who feels for the honour of his native country, should wish that its very name was expunged from the map of Ireland. From the sanguinary spirit which the rebels manifested on all occasions during the rebellion towards that sect of christians, there is not a doubt but that they meant to extirpate them as soon as they had obtained a decided superiority over the government ; and their leaders never failed to practise every artifice they could devise, to make them believe they were in a fair way of attaining it : But when their delusions were removed, and they saw a very numerous and well-appointed army march into the county of Wexford, they  
were

\* He had at least fifteen thousand. General Moore had not more than one thousand two hundred.

were stung with despair, and resolved to indulge their fanatical hatred against protestants, by murdering such of them as were their prisoners.

Joseph Gladwin, the gaoler of Wexford, an Englishman, and reputed a man of veracity and humanity, has declared that Thomas Dixon proposed to get rid of the protestant prisoners at once, by setting fire to the gaol; but Gladwin said, that it would be impossible to accomplish it, as the floors in every story were arched. He then proposed to burn them in the street; on which Gladwin slipped backwards, and related the infamous design of Dixon to Bagenal Harvey, who expressed great horror at it; and said, he did not think that matters would ever have proceeded to that dreadful excess, and that he did not know how soon it might be his own case.

I shall give the reader an account of this tragical affair, as related to me by some respectable persons who resided in Mr. Hatchel's house,\* very near the bridge, where it was perpetrated, and were eye-witnesses to it.

"Between the hours of ten and eleven o'clock on the morning of the twentieth of June, we saw a body of rebels coming over the bridge, bearing a black flag, with a cross, and the letters M W S inscribed on it in white; which was supposed to mean murder without sin; and on the other side a red cross. After having made a procession through part of the town, they fixed that woeful harbinger of death on the custom-house quay, near the fatal spot where so much blood was soon after shed; and where it remained flying for about two hours before the butchery began. ||

"Soon after they arrived on the quay, they seemed to disperse; however many of them remained there, and repaired to one particular place, where drink was given to them; and where a priest was very busy in distributing it, and who, they believed, remained there till they left the quay, shouting, "To the gaol! to the gaol!" when they all disappeared, but returned about four o'clock to the bridge, with a number of prisoners, whom they massacred. They thus continued till about seven o'clock to convey parties of prisoners from ten to twenty, from the gaol and the market-

\* Plate VI.

|| Some respectable protestant ladies, prisoners at that time, assured me, that at that awful moment, they were informed, and with apparent sorrow, by some popish women, in whose houses they lodged, that the hour was come, when every person in Wexford of their religion, would be put to death. Others received this melancholy intelligence the evening of the preceding day.



market-house, where many of them were confined, to the bridge, where they butchered them. Every procession was preceded by the black flag, and the prisoners were surrounded by ruthless pikemen, as guards, who often insultingly desired them to bless themselves.†

“ The mob, consisting of more women than men, expressed their savage joy on the immolation of each of the victims, by loud huzzas.

“ The manner, in general, of putting them to death, was thus : Two rebels pushed their pikes into the breast of the victim, and two into his back ; and in that state (writhing with torture) they held him suspended, till dead, and then threw him over the bridge into the water.

“ After they had massacred ninety-seven prisoners in that manner, and before they could proceed further in the business, an express rode up in great haste, and bid them beat to arms, as Vinegar-hill was beset, and reinforcements were wanting. There was immediately a cry, “ To camp ! to camp ! ” The rebels seemed in such confusion, that the massacre was discontinued.

“ In the moment of confusion, the reverend Mr. Corrin, parish priest of Wexford, arrived on the bridge, to divert them from their sanguinary designs, and which, it is said, he did to the utmost of his power. Soon after his arrival, he knelt down on the very spot where the blood had been spilled, and said some prayers. After which the rebels rose from their knees, and exclaimed, “ Come on, boys, in the name of God, to the camp ! Thank God, we have sent these souls to hell ! ” They then accordingly set out for the camp.

“ It is remarkable that the savage pikemen knelt down, lifted up their hands, and prayed apparently with devotion, before they proceeded to commit any of the murders.”

A lady, who was in Mr. Hatchel's house, near the bridge, where this sanguinary scene took place, describes it thus in her diary, which I quoted before : “ About three o'clock, captain Dixon came to the quay, calling out, “ To the gaol ! ” He was followed up the custom-house lane by numbers. They returned some time after to the bridge. I thought some alarm induced them to leave the town, and sat eagerly watching, till I beheld, yes, I saw, absolutely saw, a poor fellow cry for life, and was then most barbarously murdered.

“ To

† See Appendix, No. XX. 2.

“ To give an account of this hellish scene is beyond my strength, nor could any person desire to hear it. No savages ever put their prisoners to more deliberate torture. I saw a boat go to the prison ship, and bring my friends and acquaintances (who on landing passed by our door) to torture and death. I saw the horrid wretches kneel on the quay, lift up their hands, seeming to pray with the greatest devotion, then rise and join, or take place of other murderers. Their yells of delight at the sufferings of their victims will ever, I believe, sound in my ears.

“ To describe what we all suffered would be impossible. I never shed a tear, but felt all over in the most bodily pain. We expected life only till the prisons and the ship † were emptied; when an express came, to say the army were marching against Vinegar-hill camp, and that if they did not reinforce it immediately, all was lost. The town priests then, and not till then, made their appearance. The leader of the murderers called to his men, in these words, which I distinctly heard, “ Come, my lads! we will now go; blessed be God we have sent some of their souls to hell!” They went off really as if they had been performing a praiseworthy and religious action.”

Mr. James Goodall, who had been taken out of the prison-ship, and conveyed to the bridge, to be murdered, but was saved by the interference of Roche, the lay-general, declared upon oath on his trial, “ That the assassins on the bridge were like a pack of starving hounds rushing on their game.”

Mr. Corrin had slept the preceding night at Clonard, two miles off, to christen a child for Mr. Kellett, who was in the prison-ship, and whose wife was of the popish persuasion. She, Mrs. Bland and Mrs. Crump earnestly entreated him to save the lives of their husbands, who were in the prison-ship, and he faithfully promised to do so. This I heard from one of these ladies.

Previous to his departure he seemed so much agitated by fear, as the king's frigates and gun-boats appeared outside the harbour, that he could scarce go through the service of baptizing the child; and he piteously besought them to protect him, as he would protect their husbands.

When they had put to death on the bridge a good many of the prisoners confined in the gaol, they sent a boat to the prison-ship and called for Messrs. Cox and Turner. After having plunged two pikes into

† It was but twenty-five tons burden, and twenty-two gentlemen were confined three weeks in its hold.

into the bosom of the former, he jumped into the water from the bridge, but was shot as soon as he rose.\*

Mr. Turner, a magistrate, who beheld this woeful spectacle, was next brought forward. They consulted about raising his body on their pikes and carrying it through the streets, as they harboured the most insatiable revenge against him, because he was an active justice of the peace, and a zealous loyalist. His own postillion, Thomas Cleary,† insisted on having the gratification of shedding his blood; but the intemperate eagerness of the pikemen for carnage operated like mercy towards him, for a number of them joined him in perforating his body with pikes, and threw it over the bridge.

Mr. Lehunte was next sent for to the prison-ship, but he fortunately happened to be in the gaol, where he eluded their search in the corner of a cell. Their mistake, and the delay occasioned by it, very fortunately saved his life, as the express arrived, and the alarm took place in the mean time.

Mr. Hore, of Harper's-town, nephew to the earl of Courtown, a most amiable inoffensive gentleman, and Mr. Kellett, were next brought from the prison-ship. The former was asked, whether he had any person who could speak in his favour? He said, he had not, but requested time to find a person who could do so. He was then asked, whether he was not connected with Mr. Boyd, member for the town? He answered, by saying, that Mr. Boyd was married to his sister; to which the rebels replied, that is enough; and having immediately massacred him with their pikes, they threw his body into the river.‡

Mr. Edwards, taken out of the prison-ship, was saved, because he was married to a popish wife. It was asked by one rebel, whether he had ever prevented his wife from going to mass? Another, who was friendly to him, answered in the negative, and said, he had often attended his wife to the chapel, and had gone for her when mass was over; on which he was discharged.

Mr.

\* He commanded the Taghmon cavalry, had been a captain in the 5th regiment of foot, and had retired on half pay. He was taken at Coolcliffe.

† See Cleary's confession in Appendix, No. XX. 22.

‡ As Mr. Boyd's family were zealous loyalists, they, and every person connected with them, were peculiarly the objects of rebel vengeance.



Mr. Samuel Atkin, married to a protestant, was murdered.

Another person of the same name, and his two sons, were saved, because, it was believed, the father was married to a popish wife.

The bloody Thomas Dixon, and his wife, were present at, and superintended this dreadful scene of carnage on horseback.

When the rebels retreated from the bridge, on the alarm given by general Roche, Dixon and his wife attempted to follow them; but their horses startled at the immense quantity of blood which was shed on the bridge, and refused to pass through it; on which they dismounted, and led their horses over the bridge; she, at the same time, holding up her riding habit, lest it should be stained with blood. She was heard to desire the rebels not to waste their ammunition, but to give the prisoners plenty of piking.

It will reflect indelible disgrace on the popish priests of Wexford, of whom there were no less than fifteen or sixteen in the town during the perpetration of these massacres, that none of them, except father Corrin, ever interfered to prevent them. They evinced the most unbounded influence on all occasions; for no protestant was ever injured who had been so fortunate as to obtain a protection from one of them. It has been said in defence of the priests, that they had been totally ignorant of the massacres till Mr. Kellett sent to father Corrin.

It was well known, at an early hour, that the rebels meditated these scenes of savage cruelty, and their intention was announced by the procession which they made with a black flag. The assassinations began at the gaol about two, on the bridge between three and four, and ended between seven and eight. At different times, the prisoners were conveyed in numbers of from ten to twenty, surrounded by ferocious pikemen, and preceded by that ensign of death, through the principal part of the town.

When every person of humanity in Wexford was petrified with horror at such tragic scenes, which continued for five hours, could the priests alone have remained ignorant of them in so small a town as Wexford? The idea is too absurd.

I have been informed, that a young man from Ross, who acted with the rebels, but who had more humanity than most of them, went to doctor Caulfield, informed him of the massacres which were going forward,

and besought him to prevent them; but he refused to interfere himself, but said he would send father Roche, his chaplain, who was present, for that purpose; but he never was known to exert himself. The person who gave this notice to doctor Caulfield, with whom father Corrin had dined, related it to many persons who assured me of it.

Mr. George Taylor, a man of great veracity, wrote a history of the rebellion in the county of Wexford, of which he is a native; and he tells us, "That while this work was going on, a rebel captain, being shocked at the cries of the victims, ran to the popish bishop, who was then drinking wine with the utmost composure after dinner; and knowing that he could stop the massacre sooner than any other person, entreated him, for the mercy of God, to come and save the prisoners. He in a very unconcerned manner replied, "It was no affair of his;" and requested the captain would sit down and take a glass of wine with him; adding, "That the people must be gratified." The captain refused the bishop's invitation; and, filled with abhorrence and distress of mind, walked silently away.

Mrs. O'Neil went to the doctor to complain of the murder of her nephew, Mr. Turner, on the bridge: He was one of the first persons taken out of the prison-ship; yet doctor Caulfield did not interfere, nor did Mr. Corrin, though he was present, till Mr. Kellett sent a messenger for him; and there were many persons massacred in the interval between Mrs. O'Neil's complaint and the deliverance of Mr. Kellett.

While they were dispatching Mr. Hore, of Harper's-town, Mr. Kellett, who was the next intended victim, sent a person in the crowd, who had formerly lived with him as servant, for Mr. Corrin, who dined at doctor Caulfield's, the popish bishop, to let him know his perilous situation; and he instantly repaired to the bridge, threw himself between Mr. Kellett and the pikemen, saying that they should not kill him, without first butchering him. Having thus rescued him, he first led him to his own house, and afterwards to Clonard, about two miles off, the seat of Mr. Kellett, who kept Mr. Corrin at his house till next day, to protect him from the military, who were expected in Wexford. It was universally believed, that father Corrin's interference did not proceed from pure motives of humanity, but from a preconcerted agreement with Mr. Kellett, for the following reasons: "He did not approach the bridge, or use any exertion,  
till

till he received Mr. Kellett's message at the bishop's; and when he led him away under his protection, he left the other prisoners on their knees in the hands of the ruthless pikemen, without offering to interfere for their preservation.

The following circumstance tends strongly to confirm this opinion: A gentleman of very great respectability, who was on board the prison-ship, assured me, that on the morning of the massacre, a servant of Mr. Crump went on board, and from the general tenor of his conversation, they could infer, that Messrs. Crump, Kellett and Bland would be saved at all events; which we may suppose was in consequence of the promise made to their wives by Mr. Corrin the evening before.

Charles Jackson, an Englishman, who had practised the trade of a carver and gilder at Wexford, was among the last party of prisoners supposed to have been saved by Mr. Corrin. He published a narrative of his sufferings, and of the events which occurred at Wexford during the rebellion. The popish clergy of that town have relied much on his veracity; and it is most certain that his relation of the events of which he was an eye-witness is strictly true.

A popish priest of Wexford wrote a pamphlet under the signature of Veritas, with the assistance, and under the direction of doctor Caulfield, merely for the purpose of vindicating the conduct of the Romish clergy; in which he often quoted Jackson's narrative, which gives a faithful representation of the events which occurred, except while he was in prison; and his account of them during that period was erroneous, for the following very obvious reason: They were communicated to him by his wife, who, being a rigid papist, was completely under the influence of the priests,

He gives the following account of the escape of himself and his fellow prisoners on the bridge:

“ General Roche rode up in great haste, and bid them beat to arms; saying, “ that Vinegar-hill camp was beset, and that reinforcements were wanting;” that this operated like lightning on the rebels, who instantly quitted the bridge, and left Jackson and the other victims on their knees. That the mob, (consisting of more women than men,) who had been spectators, also instantly dispersed in every direction, supposing the king's troops were at hand: That the prisoners, stupified with horror, remained



some time on their knees, without making any effort to escape : That the rebel guard soon returned, took them back to gaol, telling them, that they should not escape any longer than the next day, when neither man, woman or child of the protestants should be left alive."

Different persons at that time in Wexford, and some, who lived near the bridge, have unanimously concurred with Jackson's relation of it.

A person of the utmost veracity, who was led out to execution, and narrowly escaped, has positively asserted, that he believes father Corrin would not have interfered at all, but that he imagined there was a complete reverse of fortune, in consequence of the alarm occasioned by the arrival of the messenger from Vinegar-hill ; but this person was ignorant of the secret compact which he had made with Mrs. Kellett.

As strong suspicions were entertained, and insinuations were thrown out, soon after the massacre at the bridge, that the popish priests in Wexford had more influence than any other persons there, and that they could have protected those whom they chose, father Corrin went to Mr. George Taylor, one of the prisoners who escaped, when Mr. Kellett was rescued, and asked him to sign a paper, containing a contradiction of it, and a general approbation of the conduct of the priesthood in Wexford during the rebellion. He refused to do so, but at his instance gave him the following certificate :

" I do hereby certify, that the reverend John Corrin, by his humane exertion, has been the instrument in the hands of God in saving my life, and eleven others of my fellow-prisoners, the twentieth of June, being the day of the general massacre on the bridge of Wexford.

Ballywalter,

GEORGE TAYLOR."

August 28th, 1798.

Mr. Taylor, on giving Mr. Corrin this certificate, asked him, " What use he meant to make of it ?" He answered, " To employ it in my defence." The reader will draw but one inference from this anticipated defence against an accusation which was not at that time even thought of. As Messrs. Taylor and Jackson, who escaped from the massacre on the bridge, differed from each other in the relation of this dreadful event, I shall endeavour to account for their apparent contradiction.

Taylor imputes their preservation solely to the interference of Mr. Corrin : Jackson to the alarm and confusion occasioned by the arrival of the express,

express, in which every one concurs with him, except George Taylor. The former says, they were led away from the bridge by Mr. Corrin; the latter, that they were left in the hands of the pikemen. I should give greater credit to the relation of Jackson, than that of Taylor, for the following reasons: Mr. Kellett personally assured me, that Mr. Corrin led him away from the bridge; and it is most certain, that the remainder of the prisoners were led back to the gaol by the pikemen, where they remained until the king's troops entered the town. If Mr. Corrin had influence enough over the mob to check the massacre, and to rescue Mr. Kellett, why did he leave the remainder of the prisoners in the hands of the ferocious rebels, who might have butchered them after his departure? In the state of stupefaction to which the prisoners were reduced by terror, as Jackson observes, it is very possible that Taylor might have mistaken the real cause of their preservation. They were surrounded by an immense mob, besides the pikemen; and as many spectators in the house of Mr. Hatchel, near the bridge, have unanimously agreed, that the alarm and dispersion of the rebels took place rather before the arrival of Mr. Corrin, it is possible that Mr. Taylor might have mistaken the real cause of it, particularly as he could not have seen Mr. Corrin until the multitude dispersed; besides he is uncommonly near-sighted. I shall not pretend to dispute his veracity, as I know him to be a person of strict religious and moral principle, but I really believe he was mistaken.

The following occurrence must diminish our belief of father Corrin's having acted from pure motives of humanity: Mrs. Margaret Lett, the wife of a brewer of Enniscorthy, having been examined as a witness on the trial of Thomas Clooney, on the fifth of July 1799, at Wexford, deposed: That she had the protection of father Corrin; that her husband was a prisoner in the gaol of Wexford; that Clooney wrote on the back of the protection, that he would go bail for Mr. Lett's good behaviour, and that he would not leave Wexford, if Mr. Corrin would *allow*\* him to be taken out of gaol; and that she went with the paper to Mr. Corrin, but he would not allow him to be liberated; that Clooney  
afterwards

\* This shews that Mr. Corrin was considered as a person of great influence over the rebels, which he exerted on this occasion, and not for a humane purpose.

afterwards went to the prison, took him out, and left him at her lodgings.

In this manner they put ninety-seven protestants to death, at Wexford, on the twentieth of June. Some persons have said that the number did not exceed ninety-five; but the bloody calendar of all the protestant prisoners there, which I have in my possession, puts this beyond a doubt.

On the trials of Peter Byrne and Ignatius Rossiter, at Wexford, the former the fourteenth of June 1799, the latter the twentieth of February 1800, two members of the bloody committee that sat in the gaol, the following facts were proved upon oath: Kennet Matthewson, John Atkin, Richard and Joseph Ganford, protestants, and prisoners in the gaol, were led before that sanguinary tribunal to be tried. One of the prisoners having asked Rossiter, "What they meant to do with them?" He replied, that "They were on the black list." Peter Byrne, member of the committee, had a pistol in his hand, and on seeing the prisoners, exclaimed in a rage, "It is not by two or three that you are to let us have the prisoners, (meaning to execute) for if you do not let us have them by the dozen, by J——s, I will blow up the gaol in two minutes." John Rossiter, another member of the committee, shewed John Atkin the form of an oath which he said the committee had taken, and the instructions which they had received to regulate the manner of proceeding;\* that early on that day, a man went to him where he was confined, and shewed him a list which he said was the black list, which he had got from the committee sitting below stairs. The prisoners were then led to the committee-room door, but were kept outside it. The man, who first accused Matthewson, rushed into the room with a party of the rebels, who dragged him out. When the bloody committee were going out to see Matthewson put to death, John Rossiter, having a regard for Atkin, and wishing to save his life, put him into the committee-room, desired him to shut himself in and not to appear at the windows, lest he should be shot. He entered the room, and saw Matthewson shot and butchered with pikes in the street. There was a table in the committee-room, on which there were pens,

\* It is evident that the monsters who composed the bloody committee were guided and governed by some superior power; that they took an oath to proceed in the bloody business, and had written instructions how to act.



pens, ink, and paper, and a green book, which, having put into his pocket, he crept under a bed, where he lay concealed, till John Rossiter afterwards, when the committee had adjourned, led him back to his cell, where he concealed the book, containing a calendar of all the protestants at that time prisoners in Wexford; the committee were much incensed at the loss of their book,\* but could not account for it. The reader may well conceive the perturbation of John Atkin, who lay concealed under the bed, while the members of the committee were vowing vengeance against the person who carried off their book.

The amiable lady, whose diary I have quoted, says in it, “ Mr. R—,† a Roman catholic, and one of the committee for provisions, came to us the evening of the day the massacre was committed. He was like ourselves, half dead with horror, and declared that he entreated the priests to come down with their crucifixes, and prevent the massacre; but they all refused to do so. We told him that father Broe said he had saved nineteen prisoners.

“ This Mr. R—— denied, and said, it was the express that saved them. He told us, that the black flag meant that every one of that party had taken the black test oath. He said, that a man went into a shop where he was, and asked another to give him the black test oath. This was refused, and the person he asked left the shop; on which the man who wanted to take the oath, said, “ that fellow shall be one of the first I will kill; but as to the oath, I don’t care, for another will give it to me.”<sup>2</sup> This oath is to be found at the end of Appendix, No. XX. 7. and was found in various places, and on different rebels who were killed.”

In many instances it has appeared, that the Roman catholics, even in the meanest situation, could save protestants. The following is a notable proof of it :

John Tate, a protestant, but carrying a gun among the rebels for the preservation of his life, addressed himself to a common man, a rebel in their camp at Little Limerick, saying, “ There is a brother-in-law of mine in prison at Wexford, I shall be obliged to you, when you go there,

to.

\* See a copy of it, Appendix, No. XX. 24.

† As he is no more, I may tell the reader that this was Mr. Pat. Redmond, a man of humanity, who filled his situation with reluctance.

to take him out and set him at liberty." This man, whose name is James Murphy, never thought of the request made by Tate, until the day and instant they were murdering the prisoners on the bridge; when recollecting that the name of the man he wished to liberate was Isaac Stephens, he searched the different prisons until he found him among a great number in the market-house of Wexford, and not only brought him with him and preserved him, but two more loyal yeomen who were in the same prison, and begged of him, for God's sake, to save them. He brought out these three men in the midst of near one hundred pikemen who guarded the door and saved them. Their names were, Isaac Stephens, cooper, at Castle-bridge, Samuel Maud, farmer, and John Stedman, weaver.

The confession of James Beaghan,\* one of the murderers of the reverend Mr. Heyden in the streets of Enniscorthy, clearly proves what part the popish priests took in the conspiracy and rebellion; and that the name of orangemen was fabricated merely to make the publick believe that the sanguinary spirit of the rebels was not directed against protestants in general, but merely against such of them as were members of that political sect.

The evidence upon oath of doctor Mc. Nevin, a member of the Irish directory, before a secret committee of the house of lords, dated the thirtieth of August 1798, proves that they were deeply concerned in it: His words are, "That the catholick priests had ceased to be alarmed at the calumnies which had been propagated of French irreligion, and were well affected to the cause; that some of them had rendered great service in propagating with discreet zeal† the system of the Irish union."

Many persons of undoubted veracity assured me, that the popish bishop, doctor Caulfield, gave his benediction to the savage pikemen as they proceeded to the massacre on the bridge; yet I should not think of inserting it in this history, if it were not authenticated on the oath of a respectable gentlewoman who beheld it; because, however sanguine the doctor might have been in the cause, I could not have supposed that he would have been so void of discretion. Mrs. Crane, sister to judge Chamberlaine, made this affidavit.‡

I shall

\* See Appendix, No. XIX. 8.

† He puts those who acted with discreet zeal in contradistinction to those who appeared without disguise and in a military capacity.

‡ See Appendix, No. XX. 23.

I shall not take upon me to say, whether the doctor on this occasion acted in obedience to the councils of Lateran, Constance, Toledo or Trent, all which are mandatory on persons of his persuasion to extirpate hereticks; or whether he acted according to his oath of inauguration, which requires that he should, to the utmost of his power, persecute and impugn all hereticks, schismatics, and rebels, against his sovereign lord the pope; but in writing a history of the rebellion, I thought that I could not leave so extraordinary a transaction unrecorded.

On Monday, the nineteenth of March 1800, doctor Caulfield wrote a letter to Bryan Murphy, a priest of Taghmon, reproving him for having presumed to give absolution for sin, without having obtained a faculty for that purpose. This letter, and two more on the same subject, one from said Murphy to a protestant clergyman, and the other from father Kelly, parish priest of Taghmon, to doctor Caulfield, the reader will find in Appendix, No. XX. 23. Bryan Murphy is the person alluded to in Michael Askin's affidavit relative to Scullabogue, Appendix, No. XX. 9.

It is most certain, that a respectable inhabitant of Wexford sent a message to the friary, near the chapel, to request the friars would order the rebels to desist from the massacres; but they said, that they would advise but not order them to do so.

A protestant clergyman of Wexford assured me of the following fact: About six o'clock on the morning after the massacre, one of the friars expressed great joy to him on the prospect of peace, (as the defeat of the rebels at Foulkes's mill was known); and he expressed great concern that the priests happened to be out of the way, and were ignorant of the massacre, for otherwise they *could have stopped it*; but soon after he said, "We knew from the talk of the people in the morning, that we could not have saved Mr. Turner."

The black flag was carried in procession again on the morning of the twenty-first of June by Thomas Dixon, and his band of assassins, as a signal to murder the rest of the protestant prisoners; but the large army which had surrounded Vinegar-hill the day before, and the victory obtained by General Moore the preceding evening at Foulkes's mill, had intimidated the blood-hounds so much, that they, fearing lest they



might provoke the vengeance of the royal army, resolved to sue for mercy.

Doctor Jacob and his family were not molested for the following reason: Being a gentleman of great medical skill, not only as a physician, but as a surgeon, and as the rebels compelled him to take care of their sick and wounded men, as before-mentioned, they were not only anxious to preserve his life, but shewed considerable respect for him, his family, and such of his friends as were lodged in Mr. Hatchel's house.

The news of the victory at Foulkes's-mill having been received at Wexford the same evening it was gained, a number of rebel leaders, who had been present at the massacre, assembled at governor Keugh's house, and concerted measures of conciliation, in hopes of procuring an amnesty. Next morning they waited on lord Kingsborough, requesting that he would be their mediator, and write to the different general officers to spare the inhabitants of Wexford and their property, on laying down their arms, and returning to their allegiance; which he agreed to do, on their investing him with the military command of the town, and reinstating the civil magistrates.

During this negotiation, the bloody Thomas Dixon, and many other rebel officers and privates, flocked to his lodgings, and implored his protection, in consideration of their humane conduct in having saved the lives of many protestants.

General Keugh and his friends having acceded to lord Kingsborough's desires, his lordship agreed to forward the following proposals made by them to the different general officers:

“ That Captain Mc. Manus\* shall proceed from Wexford towards Oulart,† accompanied by Mr. E. Hay, appointed by the inhabitants of all religious persuasions, to inform the officer, commanding the king's troops, that they are ready to deliver up the town of Wexford without opposition, lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, provided their persons and property are guaranteed by the commanding officer; and that they will use every influence in their power to induce the

\* Captain Mc. Manus of the Antrim was a prisoner. E. Hay, was a rebel leader, who went to protect him.

† Plate III. 2.

the people of the country at large to return to their allegiance also. These terms, we hope, captain Mc. Manus will be able to procure.

Signed by order of the inhabitants of Wexford,

MATT. KEUGH."

Captain Mc. Manus was to have gone to general Needham to Oulart; but finding that he had changed his position, he repaired directly to general Lake at Enniscorthy, where he found captain O'Hea and captain Burke of the North Cork regiment, who were sent on the same errand, the former to general Lake, and the latter to general Moore.

Soon after the departure of captain Mc. Manus, the rebel leaders being uneasy lest the victorious army of general Moore should arrive before their terms had been accepted by general Lake, urged lord Kingsborough to send a second messenger to general Moore, to request he would encamp at Carrick-bridge,\* before he advanced to the town. His lordship employed for that purpose ensign Harman of his own regiment, who was attended by one Carthy, a rebel captain.

Soon after he left the town, he was met by father John Murphy, and one Whelan, his aid-de-camp, who were leading a large rebel column from Vinegar-hill. Murphy asked Harman, (who unfortunately was in full uniform,) whither he was going? he answered, to propose terms to general Moore on the part of the people of Wexford. Murphy said, in a great rage, "I will hear of no terms:" Then addressing his aid-de-camp, and pointing to Harman, he said, "That fellow ought to die, for he has been condemned by a committee;" on which Whelan drew a pistol, and shot Mr. Harman through the head.

As captain O'Hea met one of the rebel columns retreating from Vinegar-hill, I give the reader his description of it: He was accompanied by two rebel captains, one of the name of Clooney, as guides and protectors. The column which he met was very numerous, and many of the men who formed it were well armed with muskets, pistols, and blunderbusses, and the remainder with pikes. General Edward Fitzgerald, who commanded, and rode at the head of the column, on seeing captain O'Hea in his regimentals, halted it; and after a cool salute, demanded his dispatches, which he read and returned, with an appearance of dissatisfaction. Many of the rebels cheered him, and seemed much pleased with the idea of peace; and but a few cursed the idea, and said, they would

\* Plate III. 5, 6, now called Carrick-ferry.

still fight. At the rear of the column he met Edward Roche, the lay-general, who saluted him, and suffered him to pass, when Clooney had explained the purport of his embassy.

General Lake gave the following answer to Keugh's letter :

" Lieutenant-general Lake cannot attend to any terms offered by rebels in arms against their sovereign ; while they so remain, he must use the force entrusted to him, with the utmost energy, for their destruction.

" To the deluded multitude, he promises pardon, on their delivering into his hands their leaders, surrendering their arms, and returning with sincerity to their allegiance.

Enniscorthy, 22d June, 1798.

G. LAKE."

The inhabitants of Wexford, who saw this rebel column advancing at a great distance, were much alarmed, dreading that they would plunder and burn the town.

When lord Kingsborough was invested with the command of it, he sent a note to Scallion,\* who was on board the prison-ship, to desire he would bring Mr. Solomon Richards of Solsborough to him, as he wanted his advice and assistance, in the critical situation in which he then stood. The rebels attempted to sink the boat in which he went, as he passed under the bridge, which was very high, by darting their pikes through it ; and would have effected it, but that they were prevented by Scallion.

Soon after Mr. Richards waited on lord Kingsborough the rebel column entered the town, headed by father Murphy, who advanced to his lordship's lodgings, mounted on a fine horse fully caparisoned, having a case of pistols and a broad sword. Lord Kingsborough addressed him from his window, and told him he would endeavour to obtain favourable terms for him and his friends, provided they conducted themselves properly ; and said, he hoped he was coming to give up his arms : On which, the sacerdotal hero, in a paroxysm of rage, dismounted, and ascending to his lordship's apartment, asked him, with much rudeness and petulance, who he was ? and on being informed, he said, with great indignation, " I had you tried and condemned this morning at the camp at Vinegar-hill, and I'll have you taken out and executed this night."

Doctor

\* He was created an admiral by the republick, for having taken his lordship prisoner.



Doctor Caulfield, the titular bishop, who had just arrived, began to expostulate with him; on which lord Kingsborough desired him to respect his bishop; but Murphy flourished his hand over the bishop's head, saying, "I was once your priest; but I am now a general." However, when his anger cooled, he knelt down, kissed his hand, and acknowledged his superiority.

Whelan, Murphy's aid-de-camp, who was present, had a large whiskey bottle in his pocket, and a pistol in his hand; and he boasted that he had just shot his officer outside the town, alluding to the murder of ensign Harman. He also said, he would shoot lord Kingsborough; on which his lordship cocked his pistol, presented it at his breast, and declared he would shoot him, if he moved his hand, which prevented the perpetration of his sanguinary design.

Mrs Richards, her sister, and some officers wives, had sought an asylum in his lordship's lodgings at this critical and alarming moment; and fearing that they should all be massacred if lord Kingsborough shot Murphy, or his aid-de-camp, one was in hystericks, another fainted, and another fell on her knees to deprecate his lordship's anger.

While they were in this state of perturbation, Perry the rebel general entered his lordship's apartment, and carried Murphy and Whelan off; and soon after he led the band of rebel assassins out of town, but left his two aid-de-camps, who were wounded, with lord Kingsborough, who had them taken care off.

The sudden flight of the rebels is principally to be imputed to their fear of the king's troops, who were advancing; and the sudden arrival of a few brave yeomen, which I shall describe, and whom they took for the advanced guard of our army, occasioned their precipitate retreat.

It is certain that doctor Caulfield used every means in his power, and succeeded, in preventing the rebels from murdering lord Kingsborough; partly by his spiritual authority, and partly by telling them that he was a valuable hostage, and that by preserving his life, and conciliating him, he would probably obtain favourable terms for them and their friends, and prevent the soldiers from desolating the town and the country.

When general Moore's army was within about two miles of Wexford, they perceived the house of a protestant in the suburbs on fire, from which they concluded, that the rebels were burning the town. Mr. James Boyd, representative

representative for the town, who commanded the Wexford cavalry, trembling for the fate of his wife and children, asked permission of the general for him, and as many of the yeomen cavalry as would accompany him, to push forward to the town, and to make a desperate effort to save their families and their property. The following persons, with great magnanimity, volunteered in that perilous service, and ran a risk of devoting their own lives to save the property and lives of the protestant inhabitants who remained in the town; they were all Members of the corps but one. Captain James Boyd, member of parliament, lieutenant Perceval, high sheriff for the county, corporal John Stetham, corporal William Hughes, A. H. Jacob, of the Enniscorthy corps, and the following privates, John Tench, Joseph Sutton, Archer Bayly, Marcus Doyle, Abraham Howlin, John Byrne, and William M'Cabe, Mr. Boyd's servant. Christopher Irvine, permanent serjeant of the troop, followed them rapidly on foot, his horse having been shot. They dashed into the town with a degree of valour bordering on despair, and announced with a loud voice, that the army was at their heels. This gave the rebels such an electric shock, that, panick struck, they fled in all directions, some over the bridge, others to the barony of Forth. Their consternation was so great, that very few of them attempted in their flight to injure the inhabitants of the town. One rebel fired at Messrs. Jacob and Rudd, but the latter soon dispatched him. A rebel fired at lord Kingsborough in the street, for which another person, a loyalist, instantly shot him.

During this scene of confusion which their flight occasioned, the bloody Thomas Dixon, mounted on a very fine horse which he had taken from Mr. Cadwallader Edwards, rode through the streets, with a broad sword drawn, and upbraided the rebels for their timidity and their dilatoriness; and said, "If you had followed my advice in putting all the hereticks to death three or four days ago, it would not have come to this pass." Mrs. Dixon, who accompanied him on horseback, with a sword and a case of pistols, clapped the rebels on the back and encouraged them, by saying, "We must conquer: I know we must conquer:" and she exclaimed repeatedly, "My Saviour tells me we must conquer!"

They repaired to the bridge to stop the retreat of the rebels, but in vain, though Mrs. Dixon drew a pistol and swore vehemently that she would shoot any one of them who would refuse to return with her to put  
the

the remainder of the hereticks to death. They endeavoured to raise the portcullis of the bridge, to prevent their retreat, but were unable to do so.

Governor Keugh came into the street, and cried aloud, "Gentlemen, fly to the camp at the mountain of Forth; you have nothing else for it: Go there and defend yourselves." Some of them, as they were retreating (but particularly young M'Gauley, of Oulart, who was afterwards hanged) cried out, "let us set fire to the town!" but they had not time to do so, for in a few minutes there was not a rebel in it.

A very respectable lady informed me, that father Roche, the general, on horseback, and with a drawn sword, harangued the rebels in the street, and endeavoured to inspire them with courage, before her window. He told them, "that they were of the only true faith, which was the faith of Jesus Christ, and that if they would support him in the extirpation of hereticks, they would soon have but one religion; but they were deaf to his exhortations, and some of them said, "By my soul, father Roche, we have stood by you too long; we are sorry we ever came to you, for you have deceived and ruined us!" I have already quoted the journal of a respectable lady, who resided near the bridge. I shall now give the reader her observations on the events which took place the day that the town was evacuated. She mentioned before, that the black flag had been carried about in procession, to announce that the massacre was to be renewed.

"About four o'clock Mr. Redmond and doctor Jacob came to us. They had been fired at in the street. The doctor was as composed as I am now; but I really never saw such firmness of mind as he possesses on all occasions. Mr. R—— said, "The general massacre is going to begin, and that he came to save us, or rather to share our fate, for he feared we could not escape;" however he had got a boat, with men on whom he thought he could rely, to the end of our house, that we should try to get into it, stand the fire of the rebels from the quay and in passing under the bridge; and if we got clear, throw ourselves on the mercy of the gun-boats. This was truly desperate: I walked up stairs, and went to a window; the rebels were settling themselves as before, on the bridge, and sending a boat to the prison-ship; when, conceive my astonishment, I saw them all begin to run. I flew down stairs, doubting my senses,

to



to tell doctor Jacob. He came to the window. It was no illusion; run they did, in such confusion, that I was amazed numbers were not trampled to death. A general cry, "The army are come, they are in the town," explained their flight. Wretches ran out of the infirmary in their shirts. In an incredible short space of time the streets were almost clear. Above fifty armed rebels rushed into our house, tore out their green cockades, threw their arms under the beds; and hoped to escape by being found under doctor Jacob's roof. He put on his regimentals, and went into the street. A villain that was going off, turned about, and fired at him, but missed him.

"Mr. Perceval, the sheriff, galloped down the quay to our door, and said, "Here are twelve thousand soldiers with us." Imagine, if you can, our feelings! I never shall forget Elizabeth's countenance as she came down stairs and shook us by the hand. The boat that was sent to bring them † to torture and to death, brought them to liberty and to rapture. Several came to us. No kind of decorum was observed. Nothing but kissing and embracing. Most of the men cried violently. I saw above five thousand men fly from one horseman. It was supposed that four thousand of them fled from one end of the town. My bridge acquaintances are those who, under the command of Perry and Fitzgerald, have since spread misery and destruction over the counties of Wexford and Wicklow. We never learned what became of Dixon. None of us saw him go over the bridge; and as he is a very large man, and rode a tall white horse, he could hardly escape the observation of twelve of us who were anxious to see him depart. Mrs. Boyd told me, that she and lady Ann Hore were sitting in their lodgings, expecting the entrance of the murderers, when they heard a horse gallop and stop at their door."

The lady whose journal I quote, and many others who were in Wexford at that time, have declared, that the preservation of the town and protestant inhabitants can be imputed to nothing but the determination of the rebels to murder lord Kingsborough, to whose lodging they repaired with father Murphy, and that that object diverted them from their nefarious design, till the alarm, which I have mentioned, occasioned their general dispersion and flight.

About

† The prisoners from the prison-ship.

About eight o'clock in the morning of the twenty-first, the day of their deliverance, father Broe the friar having visited the prison-ship, and recommended to the prisoners to be christened, as he said it might be the means of saving them from the rage of the rabble, about fifteen of them consented. He gave those who submitted to that ceremony the following certificate :

“ I hereby certify that A. of B. in the parish of C. has done his duty and proved himself a Roman catholic, and has made a voluntary oath that he never was an orangeman, nor took the orange oath. Dated Wexford, June twenty-first, 1798.

F. JOHN BROE.”

This unquestionably proves that father Broe knew that a second massacre was intended ; and that there was no safety for any person but a Roman catholic.

As the rebels were retreating over the bridge, one of them fired at the gentlemen on the deck of the prison-ship, but the ball passed over their heads.

General Moore having sent the Queen's regiment into Wexford, between eight and nine o'clock, encamped that night about two miles from it, on the south side of the Slaney. The army under generals Lake and Dundas encamped on the north side of the Slaney, between Temple-hill\* and Carrick-ferry.† As they were encamping, they found in the hedges about fifty rebels, with their pikes, who had fled from Vinegar-hill, whom they shot ; which induced them to search some brushwood which was contiguous, and they found there many more, whom they also put to death.

General Johnson remained on the south side of the Slaney, and not far from general Moore. General Lake entered Wexford on the morning of the twenty-second of June, and established his staff in Keugh's house, where he, as governor of the town, and a rebel general, had held his staff a few hours before.

As many false and scandalous reports were propagated by the disaffected, that several wanton and barbarous outrages were committed by the king's troops on their entering Wexford, that many persons were immediately and without any criminal process put to death, I think it proper to observe, that

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infamous

\* See Plate III. 4, 5.

† Ibid. 6.

such infamous calumnies were perfectly groundless; that peace and good order were preserved there, and that none but those who took a very active part in the rebellion were punished. I give the reader, in Appendix, No. XXI. 4. a list of the delinquents who suffered there during the space of two years after, and general Lake's humane proclamation.

To palliate the atrocities committed in Wexford by the rebels, it has been falsely insinuated, that they were provoked to perpetrate them by lord Kingsborough's having violated the terms which he had made with them, but this is totally without foundation.

Keugh on his trial made a very able and manly defence, during the whole of which he was cool and deliberate, and so eloquent and pathetick, as to excite the most tender emotions in the breasts of his auditors. Lord Kingsborough, Mr. Lehunte, and other respectable witnesses, proved that he acted on all occasions with singular humanity, and endeavoured to prevent the effusion of blood; and that they owed their lives to his active interference. He said, "That after the massacre on the evening of the twentieth of June, he was sitting in his own house, when he received the following message from the commander in chief, "Roche, the priest, by Thomas Dixon, that as he was leaving town, on particular business, he ordered him under pain of death, on the next morning before twelve o'clock, to put to death one hundred more of the prisoners\* in the same manner that ninety-seven had suffered that day." He then stated, that his brother, who had lived many years in his house, and had long served the king with reputation as an officer,† was as noted for his loyalty as for every moral virtue: That on hearing the sanguinary mandate of Roche, delivered by Dixon, he ordered himself to be put to bed, as from feebleness and decrepitude he had not been able for many years to move from one place to another. The next morning he crept, all fours, to the governor's apartment, in his absence, where having found a case of pistols, he blew out his brains. He was frequently interrupted in the course of this doleful narration, by crying and sobbing. He declared that his only object was to reform and improve the constitution; but that popish fanaticism had defeated his designs, and borne down every thing. He lamented that he had totally neglected the cultivation of the  
protestant

\* This shews that the massacre intended next morning, which was announced by a second procession with the black flag, was a deliberate act, and planned by the rebel leaders.

† Being an amiable old man, and very loyal, he was filled with horror at the situation to which his brother was reduced.



protestant religion, in which he had been bred ; however, he was attended in his last moments by a protestant clergyman. After having prayed devoutly on his knees, he rose and then prayed aloud and fervently for the king and the royal family, and that his majesty might long sit upon the throne, and that the constitution in church and state might never be overthrown. His pathetic eloquence and strength of argument on his trial moved the audience so much, that a general officer, who was present, ran hastily to general Lake, and requested that he might be respited ; but he assured him, that he found among his papers sufficient indications of his guilt. See in Appendix, No. XXI. 5. a list of rebel leaders found among them. Roche, the priest and commander in chief, one Fenlon, a schoolmaster, and two obscure persons were executed at the same time with Keugh. The former, about forty years old, was tall and corpulent, and had a ferocious countenance. While Keugh and the other prisoners were on their knees, he continued motionless, and shewed no appearance of devotion, except that when they were preparing for his execution, he knelt down and kissed the ground.\*

Soon after Roche was suspended, the rope broke, and he fell senseless on the ground ; but on recovering, he arose and exclaimed, “ G--d’s blood, what are you about ? why do you pull my stock so tight ? ” He then mounted the fatal step a second time, and was launched into eternity !

Some of our officers who conversed with him, while in prison, assured me that they thought he was born a general, from the judicious remarks which he made on some actions, particularly that of Vinegar-hill. He said, that they were very much deceived in the county of Wexford, as they imagined that the insurrection would have been general all over the kingdom, and then they must have succeeded. He allowed that the object of the Irish union was the subversion of the constitution.

John Hay, the rebel general, was taken at his own place, hiding in a shrubbery, by general Dundas’s army, who encamped near it on the twenty-second of June, and was hanged next day. He was of an ancient popish family, and the son of Mr. Harvey Hay of Ballankeelee,† noted for his hospitality. He had lived a great while in France, and had served in the French army. Though his manners were polished, and he appeared generous and liberal, he was a bigot, and displayed a most cruel and sanguinary

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disposition

\* A common practice among his savage sectaries.

† Plate III. 3.

disposition during the rebellion. He was so besotted with superstition, as to wear a scapular, which was found hanging on his breast when they were going to execute him.

On the trial of general Edward Roche, Thomas Hatchell proved that he heard Mr. Hay at Vinegar-hill propose the murder of all the protestants, and that Roche opposed it. The cold-blooded murder committed by him of Gray Thomas, at the same place, was also proved on Roche's trial.† Thomas Smithson confirmed the evidence of Thomas Hatchell.

The arrest of B. B. Harvey and John Colclough was attended with some curious circumstances, which I shall relate. On the flight of the rebels from Wexford the twenty-first of June, they retreated to the largest of the Saltee Islands,‡ which Mr. Colclough rented from Mr. Grogan. Doctor Waddy, a physician, who served in the yeomanry, having got intelligence of their retreat, applied to general Lake for a proper party, and an armed vessel, to go in quest of them, which he readily obtained.

About three o'clock on Sunday afternoon the twenty-third day of June, he set sail in the Rutland cutter of ten guns, commanded by captain Willoughby, with lieutenant Turner of the Queen's, a detachment of his regiment, and a man of war's boat, with a party of sailors well armed. The island is about six leagues from Wexford, and four or five miles from the southern coast of that county. The weather was so tempestuous, that they were obliged to reef their sails; and the wind being adverse, they did not descry the island till about four o'clock in the morning, and could not cast anchor along side it till eight. When they were approaching it, they saw a small boat pass from the island to the main land. As it is surrounded with high precipices, and is inaccessible but in one place, and as they expected to be opposed by a party of armed rebels, who it was believed had accompanied Harvey and Colclough, captain Willoughby prepared to cover their landing with the cutter's guns, and they were attended for the same purpose by the man of war's boat. On landing, they repaired to the only house on the island, occupied by one Furlong, who rented it from Mr. Colclough. They found there an excellent feather-bed, with fine sheets, which were warm, a handsome tea equipage, some genteel wearing apparel, belonging to both sexes, particularly, a pair of pantaloons,

† See Appendix, No. XIX. 7.

‡ Plate III. 12.

loons, which doctor Waddy had seen on Mr. Colclough before the rebellion; and near the house some silk shoes and other articles, hid in high ferns. They searched every suspected spot in the island, particularly a place called the Otters cave, but in vain; though they had not a doubt of their having been there, as they had found, among other things, a chest of plate concealed in a place belonging to Colclough.

The doctor resolved to make another effort, by going round the island in a boat, for the purpose of reconnoitring the sides of it. In doing so, he perceived, on the edge of a high precipice, one rock lighter-coloured than the adjoining ones; and as the earth near it seemed to have been recently stirred, he suspected that they had been making preparations there for their concealment. He therefore again ascended the island, and found that the approach to the place which he wished to explore was steep, serpentine, and through some crags. The light-coloured stone covered the mouth of the cave, and above it there was an aperture to let in the light. The doctor called out to Colclough, and told him, that if he did not surrender immediately, and without resistance, he should receive no quarter. Colclough asked, "Is that doctor Waddy?" and on his saying, "Yes," he said he would surrender; and soon after he, at the doctor's desire, gave up his arms through the hole in the cave. The doctor threw down the precipice the stone which covered the mouth of it, which fell with a monstrous crash; on which Mr. and Mrs. Colclough came forth, dressed in the meanest habits of peasants, for the purpose of disguising themselves. Then B. Harvey came out, saying, "My God! my God!" and so pale and weak from fatigue and anxiety of mind, that the doctor was obliged to support him. He also had a chest of plate concealed, which he gave in charge to the doctor and his party.

They arrived in Wexford harbour about nine at night; but as the tide was out, the prisoners could not be committed till next morning.

Messrs. Harvey and Grogan, and Patrick Prendergast, a rich maltster, were executed at the same time.

The former was a weak man, who fell a sacrifice to the malign influence of base and designing men, who cherished in him disaffection to the state; which made him a sanguine advocate for reforming our constitution; the various excellencies of which he was as incapable of discerning, as an insect is the grandeur and elegance of a magnificent edifice.

Mr.



Mr. Grogan, who was executed at the same time, denied his guilt, and declared on his trial that he had acted by compulsion, which was certainly true, though it was proved that he had been frequently seen with a green cockade, marching in and out of Wexford, at the head of a large body of rebels; and that as commissary to the republick, he had seized the provisions of different people in its vicinity, so as to leave their families quite destitute.

Mr. Harvey, in his defence on his trial, said, "That he became a member of the Irish union three years before; that he imagined the only object was to reform the constitution; but that he did not till recently discover that the popish priests were deeply concerned in it, and that the extermination of protestants was their main design:† That having opposed their sanguinary views, he was deposed, and the command was given to that infamous villain father Roche: That he was then carried to the Three-rock camp as a prisoner, where he remained a few days, and was so far at liberty as to be allowed to walk about; but so closely watched, that, with every wish to make his escape, he found it impossible, till the evening the rebels fled in every direction on the approach of the king's troops."

He died in a very decent manner, having been attended by a protestant clergyman, and prayed most fervently. A short time before his trial, a particular friend of his and mine, having asked him, how he came to consent to the bloody business of Scullabogue, he, very much shocked, replied, "That it was brought about by an infamous sanguinary popish faction."

Mr. Harvey wrote the following letter to lord Kingsborough, a short time before his execution. It was the last grasp for life, and shews manifest signs of perturbation:

"My lord,

"I take the liberty of requesting your lordship will let me have an opportunity of seeing your lordship before you leave Wexford. You cannot but recollect how repeatedly I wished to speak to your lordship alone; that I was always prevented by fear; and whenever I met you and was allowed to speak to you, I was ever ready to accede to proposals of restoring order and government.

I am, with submission,

Your lordship's most obedient,

B. B. HARVEY."

Mr.

† This was kept a profound secret from the protestant leaders.

Mr. Harvey, in a numerous company, and at the house of a relation in Dublin, in the year 1796, began to broach some of his republican opinions, which I endeavoured to refute. At last, I said to him, with much emphasis, “Beware that your life and property do not fall a sacrifice to your absurd republican notions!”

The following fact proves that he was a man of humanity: The reverend Mr. Wilson, minister of the parish of Mulranken, in which he lived, and such of his protestant parishioners as could not make their escape were taken prisoners, and sent to Wexford gaol on the first of June; but Mr. Harvey ordered them home, on their taking the united Irishmen’s oath.

From the following incidents we may infer, that, with the best military talents, and the warmest zeal in the rebel cause, his power could not have been of any duration. Mr Solomon Richards assured me, that a priest refused to grant him a protection, the day after our troops evacuated Wexford; but on applying to B. Harvey, he gave him one, which afforded him liberty and security till Mr. Harvey’s power began to decline, and then no respect was paid to it, and he was committed to prison.

Matthew Green, an inhabitant of Wexford, who was hanged there for being a rebel captain, and for having been concerned in the murder of Murphy on the third of June, went on board the prison-ship, and said, with an air of insolence, to Mr. Richards, “So, you would not take my advice in joining us, and in taking a command. See whether B. Harvey’s advice or mine is best, and whether he or I will be the greatest man in a day or two; but mark my words, that he and all the protestant generals and prisoners will go, for we will have but one people. I doubt whether you can escape with your life.”

John Colclough, of Ballyteige,\* died with much decency and firmness. He was the only person of his name who was a papist, and who was publickly accused of being a rebel. He was descended from John Colclough, who became a convert to popery about the beginning of the 18th century, and who from his great bigotry was called the Saint. He left only one child, an infant son, who he desired might be bred a protestant; conscious, I suppose, that the religion which he professed, would have a tendency to make him a bad subject of a protestant state. With a loud voice, and much compofure, he exhorted the bye-standers to avoid the absurd prejudices  
and

\* Plate III. 9, 10.

and opinions which had brought him to an untimely and ignominious death ; and he expatiated on the extreme folly of endeavouring to overturn a regular and well-established government ; and he ended with these notable words, “ From what I have seen these last three weeks, I am not sorry for dying.” Alluding, I suppose to the massacres.

Fanaticism had made the lower class of people so blind to their own interest, and so insensible to danger, that some of them were convicted in Wexford, soon after the king's troops arrived there, of using seditious language, and of endeavouring to seduce them ; though so many of their fellow-traitors had recently suffered capital punishment.

Some attempts of this kind were made on the Queen's regiment, the first which entered the town on the twenty-first of June, though it consisted of Englishmen. Thomas Graham, an inhabitant of Wexford, was convicted of trying to seduce John Nailor of that regiment, while a sentry on his post, a few days after the regiment had landed in Ireland.

The sailors continued so disaffected, that they refused, in the autumn of the year 1798, to convey goods from Dublin to Wexford for a Roman catholic merchant of that town, because he was notorious for his loyalty, though he had offered a very high price for the freight. This spirit of disaffection and combination was investigated, and fully proved, before a committee of the house of commons.

Soon after the massacres at Wexford, on the twentieth of June, the following sentences were carved on the rails of the portcullis of the bridge, the place where they were perpetrated ; and they were legible in the month of June 1799 : “ Sacred to the christian doctrine of sending orange-men to the meadows of ease, June 1798 : The holy hereticks that were slain.”

The rebel column, which, after the defeat at Vinegar-hill, had retreated to the north of the county of Wexford, and the county of Wicklow, were joined by a large body belonging to the latter, headed by Garret Byrne, of Ballymanus, and his brother William, and continued to spread desolation there, burning the houses of protestants, and murdering such of their occupiers as fell into their hands. The first achievement which they endeavoured to perform in this new scene of action, was an attempt to destroy Hacketstown.\*

As

\* There was an attack made on this town the twenty-fifth of May, by a numerous body of rebels ; but they were repulsed by the yeomen and a small party of the Antrim militia.



As numbers of the people of the country were seen, on the twenty-fourth of June, assembling on all the adjacent hills, no doubt for the purpose of joining the column which I have already mentioned, the garrison, consisting but of forty of the Antrim Militia, commanded by lieutenant Gardner, and fifty of the Hacketstown infantry, commanded by captain Hardy, sent intelligence of it to the officers commanding yeomen corps in the neighbourhood.

At six o'clock on the morning of the twenty-fifth, Captain Chamney, with thirty of his infantry, captain Hume, with thirty of the Talbot's-town cavalry, and lieutenant Braddell, with twenty-four of the Shillelah cavalry, reinforced the garrison, and marched with them a short distance from the town, to meet the rebels, who were thought to be thirteen thousand strong, and were commanded by generals Garret and William Byrne, Messrs. Perry, Mc. Mahon, Michael Reynolds, and Edward Fitzgerald. The garrison had gone but a short distance from the town, when the rebels began to file off on each side, for the purpose of surrounding them. In consequence of this, the Talbot's-town and Shillelah cavalry were obliged to retreat, for fear of being cut off, by the road to Clonmore, and could not afterwards return to assist in defending the town.

In the retreat, captain Hardy, a brave and intelligent officer and a most amiable gentleman, and four men were killed. The infantry, about one hundred and twenty in number, took post in the barrack, part of them having lined a breast work which the captain had raised some days before in the rear of it. The remainder defended the front.

The reverend James Mc. Ghee collected nine protestants, and with them occupied and resolved to defend a house which commanded the main street, and one side of the barrack, which was thatched, and which those inside it could not defend. The family of Mr. Mc. Ghee, all the protestant women of the town, and even the wife of general Byrne, (whom, it is said, he wished to get rid of,) took refuge in it. Mr. Mc. Ghee barricaded the lower part of the house, placed four of his men in its rear to prevent it from being burnt, and the other five in the front, not only for its defence, but to cover the side of the barrack which was exposed.

The town was soon surrounded by a prodigious number of pikemen, who set fire to it in different quarters, and one thousand and fifty musketeers commenced a heavy fire on it. In about two hours the whole

town, except the barrack and two houses more, was in flames, which presented a dreadful scene, the horrors of which were much heightened by the incessant fire which the rebels maintained, and the very thick smoke in which the town was involved, and which entered even into the house, so that its defenders could scarcely see each other. About one o'clock the houses fell in, and a wind having sprung up which dispersed the smoke, they were able again to see the rebels; who finding that they could not set fire to the barrack, which was ably defended by captain Chamney, without having burnt the house in which Mr. Mc. Ghee kept garrison, they relinquished the former, and approached the latter in great numbers, and with dreadful yells, crying, "Liberty or Death!" having their colours flying, and sounding their bugle-horns, they pushed cars before them with feather beds in them as breast-works to cover their approach. A well-directed fire from the house, for about twenty minutes, made them retreat, leaving behind them their cars, and twenty-eight men killed.

During the engagement, which lasted from six in the morning till half after three in the afternoon, the loss of the protestants was but eleven men killed and fifteen wounded. It was universally believed, that no less than five hundred of the rebels were killed. They carried off upwards of twenty car-loads of dead and wounded. When any of their men were so badly wounded as to be unfit for service, they threw them into the flames, in which they also burned many of their killed. It was a common practice with the rebels to put their wounded men to death, lest they might turn informers.

Next day great numbers of dead bodies were found in ditches; and immediately behind Mr. Mc. Ghee's garrison they found fifty dead men with their pikes, and thirty over whom a little clay had been thrown. That gallant party would have been unable to defend themselves for want of ammunition, had not lieutenant Fenton, of the Talbot's-town cavalry, been providentially prevented from attending his duty by a contusion, occasioned by a fall from his horse, as he sat behind a pier between two windows making cartridges; and to the immortal honour of Mrs. Fenton, she continued to go about the house, and to supply the besieged with refreshment during their laborious and perilous service; and when their stock of balls was exhausted, she broke up her pewter plates, and cast bullets of them with her own hands, which her husband made up into cartridges.

The

The garrison were obliged to retreat to Tullow the evening of the action, for the following reasons: They were exhausted with fatigue; their ammunition was expended; and all the houses in the town, except three, were consumed, and the rebels returned and burned them. Thus circumstanced, had they waited for a second attack in the night, which the enemy meditated, it must have been fatal to the garrison.

This body of rebels burnt every protestant house within six miles of Hacketstown, in every direction, and murdered such of their inmates as they could seize.

Wherever they encamped, they, as usual, sent out parties in quest of protestants, whom they murdered. Mr. William Byrne, of Ballymanus, frequently was present at, and gave orders at the massacres, for which he was soon after hanged.

Isaac Langrell, a protestant, was piked near Gorey; after which, as some signs of life appeared in him, a ruffian, with a hay knife on the end of a stick, gave him a stroke across the neck, which almost severed his head from his body; on which William Byrne, who was present with a drawn sword, and seemed to command the party, ordered them to march off, saying, "For the heretick will rise no more."

The following fact was proved on a court-martial at Wexford, the 19th of May 1800: Henry Hinch, a protestant, was taken from his own house, near Gorey, by a band of assassins, and conveyed to the rebel camp, where Mary Forde saw him on his knees, begging his life; when Mary Redmond, his neighbour, whom he had regarded as a friend, insisted that he should be killed; on which he was shot, and when he fell she struck his body with a stone, and called him an orange rogue. Then a rebel of the name of Philips fired another shot at him. This poor man, who had lived by his industry, left a wife and nine children.

As that column still continued to infest the country contiguous to Gorey,\* general Needham, on the morning of the thirtieth of June, sent Hunter Gowan, captain of the Tinahely cavalry, with a part of his corps, to reconnoitre near Moneyseed.† From a hill near that town, about three o'clock in the morning, he perceived the rebels in a hollow under him in very great force, having received great reinforcements since

3 U 2

their

\* Plate II. 4.

† Plate II. 3, 4.



their flight from Vinegar-hill. He sent intelligence of it to general Needham, who ordered colonel Puleston, of the Ancient Britons, to join him immediately with detachments from his own regiment, the 4th and 5th dragoons, the Ballaghkeene, Gorey and Wingfield yeomen cavalry. The latter, before the reinforcement arrived, killed eight or ten scattered rebels, and among them one Brien, who the day before went to general Needham, pretended to return to his allegiance, surrendered a pike, and in consequence of it obtained a protection; but on that day he was armed with a musket.

The rebels advanced to Tinahely,\* and having turned off to Wingfield, † burned the old mansion there, and then proceeded to Moneyfeed, where our troops first got sight of them. From thence they pursued them for two miles, to a place called Ballyellis, ‡ where the rebels, being closely pressed, placed their baggage and their cars in the road, and posted a number of pike-men in their front. As soon as our cavalry came in sight of them, at the turn of a road, they charged them with great impetuosity; but when they were within a short distance of them, the pike-men leaped over the hedges at each side, on which the horses in front were entangled in the cars; and those in their rear pressing on them, a shocking scene of confusion ensued; both men and horses were involved and tumbled over each other: The rebels fired on them from behind the hedges and a park wall which was near, and while they were in this state of embarrassment, killed numbers of them with their muskets, and piked such of them as happened to be unhorsed.

Colonel Puleston, whose horse they shot or piked, was with difficulty saved by his men. Captain Giffard, of the Ancient Britons, and Mr. Parsons, adjutant of the Ballaghkeene cavalry, who had served with reputation abroad, and about sixty privates of the military and yeomen, were killed.

I have been assured, that this action would have been more fatal to the loyalists, but that the Wingfield corps, who were on the right, went through a lane to a hill which commanded the rebels, whom they put into confusion by a well-directed fire, and of whom they killed from twenty to thirty.

The

\* Plate II. 1.

† Ibid. 2.

‡ Ibid. 4.

The design of the rebels was to surprize the town of Carnew, which was about a mile distant, to have killed fifty yeomen, who garrisoned it, and to have burnt the few houses which they had not destroyed before; but the garrison having been apprised of their design by some of the cavalry in their retreat, took post in a malt-house, and defended the town so well, that the rebels, unable to pass through it, retired to Ballyellis,† and in their retreat burnt a fine new house of sir John Jervis White.

They then took post on Kilcavan-hill,\* near Moneyseed, and to the north west of Gorey, where the Wexford rebels separated from those of the county of Wicklow, who were commanded by Garret Byrne of Ballymanus; for, soon after the battle of Vinegar-hill, they had united and co-operated. This separation was occasioned by a dispute between their leaders. They repaired from Kilcavan, where they remained but an hour, to Ballyraheene-hill, which lies between Carnew and Tinahely.

In their progress they killed twelve protestants, among whom was a farmer of the name of Driver, and burned some houses. They were pursued by detachments of the Wingfield and Shillelah cavalry, the Tinahely infantry commanded by captain Morton, the Coolatin by captain Chamney, and the Coolkenna by captain Nixon, the whole making about one hundred and twenty. They endeavoured to gain the hill of Ballyraheene, which was high and steep, before the rebels, but could not succeed. However, though they were posted on an eminence, and behind hedges, and notwithstanding their great superiority of numbers, the brave and loyal yeomanry, with a degree of valour bordering on rashness, attacked and engaged them for three quarters of an hour; but were at last obliged to retreat, as the rebels were endeavouring to surround them. Captains Chamney and Nixon, and seventeen privates, were killed, and many were wounded. Though Garret Byrne had been the particular friend of captain Chamney, he ordered his house, which was within a quarter of a mile of the action, to be burnt; but lieutenant Chamney having taken post in it with forty yeomen, defended it all night against the whole host of rebels, of whom they killed great numbers. One of them was shot in endeavouring to set fire to the hall-door, bearing a feather bed on his back for his defence. This engagement took place the second of July, two miles from Tinahely, and four from Carnew.

Garret

† Plate II. 4.

\* Ibid. 3, 4.

Garret and William Byrne of Ballymanus, who headed the banditti, which committed these outrages and barbarities, piqued themselves on the antiquity of their family. Garret, the eldest brother, had an estate, and was reputed a gentleman, from his birth, property and education. Edward Fitzgerald also was a man of independent fortune, and had received a good education.

On the fourth of July, general Needham, who was stationed at Gorey with a small force, received information that this body of rebels had for two nights been assembled at the White heaps,\* a very elevated spot, which had an extensive plain on the top. It is about six miles to the north of Gorey, and near the village of Coolgreney. Thinking it a very favourable opportunity for attacking them, he concerted measures for that purpose with general sir James Duff and the marquis of Huntley; the former commanded at Carnew,† the latter at Arklow.||

General Duff's column was destined to cut off the retreat of the rebels by the Wicklow gap, that of the marquis of Huntley was to occupy the summit of Croghan mountain,§ which lies to the north of Coolgreney, and to intercept their flight by that ascent.

General Needham was to make the attack. At dawn of day he approached within half a mile of the White heaps, when his advanced guard was perceived by some videttes of the rebels, posted near a farm-house, in which several of the rebel leaders had slept the preceding night. These videttes gave the alarm to the main body, and it unfortunately happened that soon after a fog arose, so thick as to retard the movement of our troops, and to afford a cover to the rebels to escape. When general Needham arrived on the White heaps, he found very visible marks of the enemy having slept there the night before; however he met but a few stragglers, who were put to death. About twelve o'clock, the fog clearing off, he observed the rebels ascending Croghan mountain, where, meeting by surprise the marquis of Huntley's corps, they descended rapidly, and endeavoured to escape by Wicklow gap, which lies to the south-west of Croghan; where, approaching in the fog, close to sir James Duff's column, a few rounds of grape shot compelled them to change the course of their flight towards a hill near Moneyseed, where they were closely pursued by sir James, when, on the dispersion of the fog, they

\* Plate II. 1, 2.

† Ibid. 4.

|| Ibid. 1.

§ Ibid.



they were perceived by general Needham, who, though at two miles distance, joined in the pursuit; and finding that his infantry could not advance with sufficient celerity, he pushed on his cavalry, which joined that of sir James Duff. At length the rebels, after having been pursued and harassed by our cavalry for above twelve miles, and finding themselves unable to proceed, resolved to try the issue of a contest, and for that purpose formed behind hedges, and under cover of a coppice wood, at Ballygullen, near Mount Nebo,\* and three miles from Gorey.

They waited our attack, which began by grape shot, from four six-pound currie guns, but finding that our guns were protected by cavalry only, and the few gunners who worked them, they made many desperate efforts to take them, having maintained a very heavy fire of musketry, and advanced a numerous body of pikemen; but they were repulsed by the singular bravery and steadiness of lieutenant Hemmings, who commanded the artillery, and captain Ledwell with a detachment of lord Roden's fencibles. At length the head of sir James Duff's column arriving, the rebels were soon routed, and a vigorous pursuit was made, in which the earl of Roden,† at the head of his regiment, acted with his usual spirit and gallantry. About three hundred of the rebels were thought to have fallen. On that day the yeomen cavalry, under captain White, cut off great numbers of the rebels.

Some farmers and labourers, who were concerned in this affair, declared to their landlords, after an amnesty had been granted by government, that in this pursuit they threw away their clothes to lighten themselves; and that they were so much overcome with hunger and fatigue, that they wished for death. After this defeat the rebels never appeared in any part of the county of Wexford in such force as to meet the military or the yeomen in a pitched battle; but many bands of assassins continued to rob and murder. Part of those who were dispersed on this occasion, went into the counties of Kildare, Carlow and Meath, under Fitzgerald, Aylmer, Garret Byrne, Perry and Kearns, and spread desolation in their progress. The two former surrendered themselves at the castle; the two latter were hanged at Edenderry. Many of their followers died by the sword and the gibbet; others turned robbers; and but few returned to their respective homes.

The

\* Plate II. 4.

† That gallant nobleman was in the most perilous service during the rebellion, and volunteered whenever his regiment was not on duty.

The mountains of Wicklow continued for many months after the asylum of a desperate banditti, who, under Holt and Hacket as leaders, committed plunder and assassination in all the adjacent country. That county, from the strong posts and fastnesses which its steep craggy mountains and deep defiles afford, was the last place in Ireland in which rebellion was subdued in the reigns of Elizabeth, Charles I. and king William.

Some persons of acute discernment in the counties of Wexford and Wicklow have made the following observations to me, which prove that the war was a religious one: That no papist ever lamented, or does so to this hour, the relations they have lost in the rebellion: No wife was ever seen to shed a tear for the death of her husband, or a father or mother for the loss of a son. In one instance only, nature prevailed, and a tear started from the eye.

Another circumstance observed by the same persons proves it to have been founded in religious bigotry: That men who bore formerly very excellent moral characters, were guilty of murder, robbery, and perjury without remorse; and that numbers were persuaded, contrary to the sentiments of nature, and the obligations of true religion, not only to neglect, but to violate all the ties of duty, friendship, gratitude and humanity, in prosecuting the war.

In the course of the rebellion, some parishes were more cruel and sanguinary than others. Wherever the rebels happened to be encamped, and to have the country at their devotion, they massacred protestants for some miles round them; which is fully proved by the atrocities perpetrated by them in the vicinity of Carrickbyrne, Enniscorthy, and Gorey.

In the parishes of Killan, Rosfdroit, Clomnora, Adamstown, and Newbawn, no protestant was spared. In the former, which lies near the west side of the Black-stair\* mountains, the rebels were on the point of committing the following barbarous act: A band of assassins were sent out to collect all the protestant women and children in it, in order to burn them in the church. They drove the victims into an out-house, belonging to a Mrs. Kelly, within gun-shot of it, where they were to be kept till they could procure a sufficient number of faggots to accomplish their horrid design. The ruffians who were employed in it, frequently called the  
church

\* See Plate III. 1.

church the protestant pie. In this dreadful situation were these helpless and miserable women, embracing each other, and pressing to their bosoms, for a last farewell, their innocent babes, when Providence interfered, and saved them in a most miraculous manner. The army commanded by general Johnson, in their way to Enniscorthy, drove the rebels from Lackenhill. One of them, a native of Killan, fled home in great consternation with the news, and added that the king's troops were close at his heels. The guilty keepers, fearing the just punishment of their crimes, forsook their charge and fled. A few, more brutal than the rest, detained twelve of the youngest girls all night, and forced and dreadfully abused them. Four of these assassins were afterwards convicted of these crimes at Newtown-barry, and, by the orders of general Taylor, were executed in the village of Killan, on the twenty-eighth of November 1798, opposite to the house where they had committed that brutal act, and not far distant from the spot which gave them birth. All these circumstances were proved on the trial of these monsters by the concurrent testimony of the sufferers.

Michael M'Grath proved, by affidavit, that a few days before the action at Vinegar-hill, he saw five protestant girls, viz. Eliza and Hannah Shields, Anne and Hannah James, and Rachael Murphy, all in tears, in custody of Christopher Drohan and four other men; that he asked Drohan, where he was conducting them? that he answered to Killan prison; and that, at the risk of his life, he rescued them from said persons.

Rachael Murphy, Anne and Hannah James swore on the trial of these men, that Drohan, while they were his prisoners, informed them, that their intention was (meaning himself and his party) to ravish them, viz. the said five girls, that night, and to burn them next morning; and that, previous to this, their fathers had been murdered.

The following paper was found in the pocket of a rebel, who was shot near Coolgreny, by Captain Hugh Moore, of the 5th dragoon-guards:

“ Jesus I H S Maria

“ Trust 4 Thee.

“ This is measured of the wounds of the side of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was brought from Constantinople unto the emperor Charles, within a gold chest, as a relief most precious to that effect, that no evil or any thing might take him which reads it, hears it, wears it, cannot be

3 X

hurted



hurt by any tempest, fire, water, knife, sword, lance or bullet. Neither the devil shall hurt him; he shall be victorious, and never die an unnatural death, and shall be a sure safety to women with child."

Many of the same purport were found in the county of Wexford during the rebellion. One of them was found on Pat. Prendergast, a rebel in the county of Mayo, while the rebellion raged there. One of them is to be seen in doctor Bernard's history of the siege of Drogheda.

Another piece of superstition to which the common people in Ireland of the Romish religion are much attached, is the scapular, a religious order, the mysteries of which are various and profound.\* Its sectaries wear on their shoulder and breast, and next to their skin, a piece of cloth, about three inches square, with I H S worked on it; meaning Jesus hominum salvator. It is supposed to avert much moral and physical evil; and that it will prevent a person from dying, though shot through the heart, till he receives the rites of his church.

I mentioned before a practice of putting red tape on the necks of popish children: It prevailed much in that part of the county of Carlow bordering on the county of Wexford.

A popish schoolmaster at Tullow inflicted a severe punishment on a protestant boy, for having worn it. A magistrate received information, that John Hannigan, parish priest of the parishes of Coolkenno and Clonmore, ordered pieces of red tape to be put on the necks of popish children, to distinguish them from protestants; and that he knew that a massacre of the protestants was to take place.

Some officers, who, when on duty, traversed many parts of the county of Wexford, assured me, that they saw, in various places, the sign of the cross on the doors of some dwelling-houses; and on others, the following words: "Protection for this house." They were inscribed on the house of Mr. Devereux, of Carrigmannon, and even on the gates leading to it; which, it is believed, was done because he was a Roman catholic.

In the neighbourhood of Gorey, the chapels of father Francis Kavenagh and some other priests, who had acted very treacherously and cruelly towards the protestants, were burnt by the latter, who compelled them to fly

\* They are to be found in a little book called the Scapular, published by Elfaner Kelly, in Dublin. The form of one of them is to be found in Plate V.

fly to Wexford, where they continued to receive their parochial dues. During their residence there, the priest of each parish announced, by letter, to his parishioners, that he would say mass precisely at a certain hour; and they went regularly at that hour to the walls of their respective chapels, where they prayed, and went through the ceremony of mass, at the time appointed, with as much devotion as if the priests were present, on a supposition that they were acting in unison with them.

The following calculation of the inhabitants of the county of Wexford will, in a great measure shew the reader their number, and the proportion of those who were in actual rebellion against the best of kings, and the only constitution in Europe that affords its subjects any degree of rational liberty. It will also prove by induction, that the population of Ireland is much less than is generally imagined.

A hearth-money collector, well versed in calculation, made an exact census of the people in three baronies and a half, so late as the month of March 1800; and he included in it the populous town of Wexford. These baronies contain at least one-third of the population of the county, and they were less depopulated than any other parts of it; besides, this calculation has been made since the rebellion.

I consider the county of Wexford, which is very populous, a good average from which to deduce the number of inhabitants in Ireland, according to the quantity of square acres which it contains, in proportion to those in the kingdom at large; and I conceive that it is nearly a thirty-fourth part of it. The following table will in a great measure establish the positions which I have made:

Baronies.	Population.	Total.	Population of the county Wexford.
Wexford,	7,405		
Forth,	5,575		
Bargy,	6,072		
Shelmalier, west of the river Slaney }	3,977	23,029	69,087
Acres in the county of Wexford.	Acres in Ireland.	Population of Wexford.	Population of Ireland.
343,000	11,607,650	69,087	2,348,958
		Dublin	200,000
		Total of the population of Ireland	2,548,958.
	3 X 2		On

On the trial of Mr. William Byrne of Ballymanus, at Wicklow, on the twenty-fourth of July 1799, it was proved, that he, Perry and Redmond, who were leaders, made a regular muster of the rebel army before they marched from Gorey to attack Arklow, and that they amounted to thirty-one thousand.

The inhabitants of the county of Wexford	-	-	69,087
The army that attacked Arklow,	-	31,000	
There were three large rebel camps besides,			
one at the mountain of Forth, one on			
Vinegar hill, one on Carrickbyrne, and			
allowing 5000 for each,	-	-	15,000
Allow for small rebel posts,	-	-	3,000
			<hr/>
			49,000
			<hr/>
			20,087

On the same trial it was proved, that when the rebel army under William Byrne went to burn Tinahely in the night, they ordered such of the inhabitants as were Roman catholicks to put up lights in their houses, which they did; and none of them, in consequence of it, were burnt, but that all those of the protestants were consumed. It was proved also, that father Toole, a priest, said mass near the town, while it was in a state of conflagration.

It is astonishing how successful the rebels were in their endeavours to seduce the king's troops, and they never failed to exert themselves for that purpose, though they might have been quartered ever so short a time in one place.

Lord Blayney assured me, that there was a dreadful mutiny in the 4th light brigade of militia under his command, at Ferns,\* in the month of August 1798: That he discovered one morning, that they were to have risen that night, and to have murdered him and all the protestant officers and privates in the brigade; but he seasonably defeated their design, by suddenly marching them off to another camp at Scarawallsh bridge.† It appeared that they had been plentifully supplied with money, and had a constant and unremitting intercourse with a neighbouring priest, who, lord Blayney had the strongest reason to think, was active in seducing them.

The following proofs appeared of the mutinous state in which they were by the examinations of serjeant Mc. Man, and other soldiers of the Antrim

\* Plate II. 6, 7.

† Ibid. 8.



trim regiment, sworn before Cornelius Wallace and William Moore, esquires, both magistrates, on the thirteenth of August 1798; that there was a conspiracy in the 4th light brigade of infantry quartered at Ferns, to massacre their officers and all orangemen; and that lord Blayney was to be the first murdered.

By informations sworn before colonel Hugh Clinton, it appeared, that they were to have attacked and stormed the camp at Ferns, and then to have proceeded to that of Scarawallsh; and that part of the Clare, Kildare, Queen's County, Antrim, Kilkenny, and Donegal regiments, were engaged in it; and that one Dogherty, a foldier in the latter, said he must go and consult the priest about it.

Patrick Mc. Mahon, of the Clare militia, stated in his examinations, sworn before William Moore, esquire, the thirteenth of August 1798, that Murray and Gallagher, privates in the same regiment, asked him, in the church yard of Ferns, to be sworn to be true to them and their cause, meaning an insurrection; but added at the same time, that if he had any understanding of his religion, there would be no occasion to swear him.

By a court-martial, held at Waterford, the thirteenth of November, 1798, by order of general Johnson, the mutiny of the 4th light battalion was proved in the clearest manner: That it was to have taken place the night they marched from Ferns; and that they were to have murdered their officers, and all the orangemen and protestants of the regiment.

It is surprising how similar the rebellions in Ireland have been in their origin and progress, and how uniformly destructive in their effects.

The county of Wexford was desolated in the year 1641; and the houses of the bishop of Ferns and Mr. Ram of Ramsfort were destroyed as well in the rebellion of that period as in the late one, which appears by an affidavit, sworn by Mr. Ram the twelfth of January 1641, and lodged in Birmingham-tower.†

The rebels, who escaped from our troops after the battle of Whiteheaps, fled into the county of Kildare, under the command of Garret and William Byrne, Edward Fitzgerald, general Perry, and Kearns, a popish

† See it in Appendix, No. XXI. 6.

popish priest, having been induced to join their fellow-traitors there by Michael Reynolds, who being reinforced by them, was encouraged to undertake, what he had long meditated, an attack on the little garrison of Clonard,§ defended by a few yeomen, commanded by lieutenant Tyrrell, of Kilreny, high sheriff of the county, and of whom I made mention before.

A report having prevailed, that they had this in contemplation, lieutenant Tyrrell acted for some time on the defensive. At last, about eleven o'clock on the morning of the eleventh of July, his nephew, Mr. Richard Allen, who was a member of his corps, galloped into the yard, and announced that he had been closely pursued by a large party of rebels, that he narrowly escaped being taken, and that he was sure they were advancing to Clonard.

It unfortunately happened that some of the guards were absent, not having the most remote suspicion that the garrison would be attacked. Lieutenant Tyrrell, notwithstanding his utmost exertions, could muster but twenty-seven men, three of whom were his own sons, the eldest not seventeen years old, the youngest but twelve. He had no sooner closed the gate of the court-yard, than the firing began.

Though lieutenant Tyrrell had never acted in any military capacity, the coolness, the skill, the good sense, and energy of mind, which he shewed in this critical and perilous situation, would have done honour to a veteran. He stationed in a turret in the garden, which commanded the road by which the rebels were expected to advance, six of his corps, including Mr. Allen, and his son, only fifteen years old. After fixing some other out-posts, he retired into the barrack with the main body, of whom he selected the best marksmen, placed them at those windows from which they were most likely to annoy the enemy, and desired them not to fire without taking good aim.

The advanced guard of the rebels, consisting of about three hundred cavalry, approached towards the turret, in a full trot, without apprehending any danger. Their leader, one Farrell, was mortally wounded by the first shot fired by young Mr. Tyrrell; and the main body having been thrown into confusion by a general volley, fled out of the reach of  
their

their fire. The rebel infantry then coming up, passed by the turret under cover of a wall, and part of them having taken post behind a hedge, maintained a constant fire on it, but without effect. The remainder joined another party, who came by a cross road from a different quarter, for their object was to have surrounded the town. They then stationed a guard on the bridge to prevent any reinforcement from arriving in that direction. The marksmen from the windows soon dispersed and put to flight that guard, after having killed about a dozen of them. This proved afterwards to be of the utmost consequence to the little garrison, as it preserved a communication with the western road.

The rebels, disappointed in their attack both on the house and the turret, resolved to make one desperate effort to storm the latter. A party of them having penetrated into the garden, rushed into the turret. The yeomen stationed there had the precaution to draw up through a trap-door the ladder, by which they ascended to the loft. The rebels endeavoured to mount it on each other's shoulders, but were constantly killed in the attempt. Some fired through the floor, others drove their pikes through it, but without effect. The rebels, persevered in the attempt with inflexible obstinacy, though twenty-seven of them lay dead on the ground-floor. At last they set fire to a large quantity of straw under the turret, which was soon in flames.

Two of the besieged, Mr. George Tyrrell and Mr. Michael Cusack, were shot in endeavouring to make their escape, by rushing through the smoke. The remainder eluded the vigilance of the rebels, and arrived safe to the main body, by leaping from a very high window, and passing under cover of a wall.

Afterwards they set fire to the toll-house, and some cabbins near the bridge, and threw some of the dead bodies into the flames, for the purpose of consuming them, lest their numbers should be known.

The conflict had now lasted six hours, and the rebels seemed determined to maintain it; but very fortunately an event happened, which, at the same time that it depressed their courage, inspired the loyal garrison with renovated valour. One of the guard, who had been excluded on the sudden shutting of the gates in the morning, fled to Kinnegad, and informed the garrison there of the perilous situation of his friends at Clonard; on which, eleven of the Northumberland fencibles, under a  
serjeant,



serjeant, and fourteen of the Kinnegad infantry, under lieutenant Houghton, marched for Clonard.

Lieutenant Tyrrell, with great gallantry sallied forth from the house, and formed a junction with them. After having posted this reinforcement in the most advantageous situation, to gall the enemy, he, with a few picked men, undertook to drive the rebels from the garden, which about four hundred of them still continued to occupy. Some of them were on a mount thickly planted with fir trees, which afforded them a protection, and prevented them from being seen; the remainder were intrenched behind a privet hedge. Lieutenant Tyrrell with great gallantry dislodged the latter, who fled to their friends on the mount.

The conflict then became very warm, the rebels appearing determined to maintain this advantageous post; and the yeomen, but few in number, though six of them were badly wounded, and the remainder were overcome with fatigue, resolved to die sooner than retreat.

Mr. Richard Allen received a ball which passed through his arm, and lodged in his side.\* At last, lieutenant Tyrrell's party, after having displayed prodigies of valour, routed the party on the mount, and drove them out of the garden; and the Northumberland and Kinnegad corps killed many of them in their flight. This victory, obtained by a handful of loyalists over a numerous body of rebels, was one of the most splendid achievements performed in the course of the rebellion. No less than one hundred and fifty of the rebels were killed, and a great many wounded.

During the engagement, the rebels plundered the houses of lieutenant Tyrrell at Kilreny, and Mr. George Tyrrell at Ballinderry, and destroyed the whole of the furniture in both.

The joy which lieutenant Tyrrell and his garrison might have felt, on gaining so splendid a victory, was lost in their great solicitude for Mrs. Tyrrell, who had gone in her chaise to her house at Kilreny that morning about some domestic concerns, and on hearing that the rebels were approaching, she drove back, and endeavoured to arrive at Clonard before them: But she had not gone far, before she heard the noise of musketry, which convinced her of the impossibility of accomplishing it, and therefore turned back; but was soon overtaken and stopped by two  
men

\* He died of his wounds.

men on horseback with drawn swords, who, after many oaths and imprecations, compelled the postillion to turn about and proceed towards Clonard: They met in their way two hundred men armed with swords, pikes and muskets, who searched the carriage for arms. Then three men, armed with muskets, mounted the boot of the chaise, and three behind it, attended by the rest, compelled the servant to drive to the other end of the village of Clonard, where they had a warm altercation about the treatment which Mrs. Tyrrell should receive; some urging that she should be treated with civility, others with brutality. At last she prevailed on them to permit her to go into a cottage, where two men armed with muskets were posted over her as sentinels. She remained there, till the whole body of them, when retreating, stopped at the cottage; and one of their officers approaching, informed her, that she must go into her carriage, and accompany them. She implored them in the most pathetick manner to let her remain behind, and as an inducement to do so, she offered her carriage and horses to general Perry: At first he seemed obdurate, but on falling on her knees, he granted her request. Soon after he left her, a common fellow seized her by the arm, dragged her to the door, and said, she must attend them on horseback, as some of their wounded men must go in her chaise. She addressed herself again to the officer who had been so kind to her before; but he said, that she must go and remain with them as a hostage, till the fate of one of their general officers, a prisoner at Clonard, was determined; but added, that she would be permitted to go in her chaise.

When they had proceeded about a mile, general Perry requested to join her in the carriage: Soon after, a low fellow stopped it, and got into it, saying, "That he had a right to it, as it was he that first obtained it;" and notwithstanding the rank of general Perry, he could not prevent his intrusion, nor check his insolence. At last, one Kearns, a popish priest, rode up to the carriage, and as he had been kindly and hospitably entertained at different times by Mrs. Tyrrell for a week together, she implored him to interfere in obtaining her release; but he coldly answered, by saying, "Oh! yes madam!" and having retired, she saw no more of him. At last, Mrs. Tyrrell was liberated by a captain Byrne,\* and permitted to return to her family at Clonard, but on foot.

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The

\* This was Mr. Garret Byrne, of Ballymanus, who afterwards obtained his pardon on surrendering himself.

The rebels, after their defeat, retreated to Carbery, where they got possession of lord Harberton's house, which they plundered of various articles, and passed the night in drinking what liquors they found in his lordship's cellars.\*

On the twelfth of July, they marched into the county of Meath, by Johnstown and the Nineteen-mile house: They were pursued by colonel Gough, who, with but sixty infantry and twenty cavalry, attacked and routed them with considerable slaughter. They were next pursued by general Myers, with detachments of the Dublin yeomanry and Buckinghamshire militia, and though he was not so fortunate as to overtake them, he drove them towards Slane, where general Meyrick encountered and killed many of them. They were afterwards attacked by different detachments of the military, who in the course of a few days cut off great numbers of them, and finally dispersed them.

Perry and Kearns made their escape into the King's county, where attempting to cross a bog near Clonballogue, they were apprehended by Messrs. Robinson and Ridgeway, of the Edenderry yeomen, who conveyed them to that town, where they were tried and executed by martial law. Perry was chearful and communicative, acknowledged the part he had taken in the rebellion, and seemed to glory in it. Kearns was sullen and silent, except when he upbraided Perry for his candour in frankly confessing his guilt.

This reverend gentleman was at Paris in the year 1794, when in the administration of Robespierre, the French were extirpating the Romish clergy. He was actually hung up at Paris, but the weight of his body (as he was of a huge stature) bent the iron of a lamp-post, to which he was suspended, so much that his toes touched the ground, and prevented animal life from being extinguished. An Irish physician, who perceived this, had him conveyed to his house, and recovered him. Having fled to his native country, he was appointed curate of a chapel near Clonard. From the vehemence with which he unremittingly inveighed against French republican principles, and the warm encomiums which he bestowed on our constitution, he was regarded as a steady loyalist, and a good subject; in consequence of which he was well received, and even at times domesticated in the houses of some of the most respectable gentlemen in the counties of Meath, Kildare and the King's county.

As

\* Some of his lordship's domesticks and labourers soon after murdered his house keeper and her daughter with circumstances of horrid barbarity after having ravished them.



As the defenders were at that time formidable in those counties, he was not only admitted to the conferences of the magistrates, but even assisted them in their nightly patrols against those miscreants.

It having been discovered that he betrayed the counsels of the magistrates to the rebels, he was excluded from their conferences; and positive information having been received, that he had incited some persons to commit a murder, he fled into the county of Wexford, where he became a rebel leader.

On Sunday morning the second of June, intelligence having been received, that a number of rebels had appeared in force near the Scalp and Enniskerry, in the county of Wicklow, the drums beat to arms, and in less than three hours, a large body of yeomen, consisting of detachments from the Stephen's-green and Rotunda divisions, the Lawyers and Attornies cavalry and infantry, with their usual spirit and alacrity set out to meet the insurgents, under the command of general Myers.

On June the ninth, a detachment of captain Beresford's corps patrolling near Rathfarnham, came up with a party of rebels who were on their way from Dublin to the Wicklow mountains, conveying ammunition to the banditti who infested them. They were armed, and had a green flag and green cockades in their hats. Three or four of them were killed, and three who had acted with singular treachery by firing after they had surrendered themselves, were hanged at Rathfarnham; five more were led into town as prisoners.

A numerous body of rebels who escaped from Vinegar-hill retreated into the county of Kilkenny, under the command of father John Murphy, of Boulavogue, by the Scullagh gap,\* and thence they proceeded to Castlecomer, destroying the houses and property of protestants, and murdering such of their inhabitants as fell into their hands.

Lieutenant Dixon, of the Wexford Regiment, was stationed at Gore's-bridge,|| a neat village on the river Barrow, and county of Kilkenny, with twenty-five of his own regiment, and a small party of the 4th dragoon guards.

On the twenty-second of June, they received intelligence that father John Murphy's column was in motion, and on that night they burned

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\* Plate II. 7.

|| Ibid. 6.

the village of Kil Edmond. An express was sent to sir Charles Asgill, to Kilkenny, escorted by all the dragoons quartered at Gore's-bridge, to inform him of their movements; but as the hedges at each side the road were thickly beset with rebels, who kept up a constant fire on them, they were under the necessity of returning. This was towards the morning of the twenty-third. Lieutenant Dixon being determined to protect the village of Gore's-bridge, and to prevent it from sharing the fate of Kil Edmond, stationed his men on the bridge, which crosses the river, not suspecting that the main body of the rebels were near him. He had no sooner taken his post, than he saw the adjacent hills covered with them, and at the same time saw a column, of which he could not discover the extent, move along the road from Kil Edmond. Not knowing that the river was fordable, which it happened to be in many places, he thought there might be a possibility to maintain his position till a reinforcement should arrive; but he soon perceived their intention to surround him, having crossed over the river for that purpose, and that they meant to break and embarrass his party, by driving a number of cattle against them, which they were collecting in the adjacent fields; a common expedient among the rebels. Wishing to provide against this artifice, he procured a number of cars, and made a barricade of them in his front.

But he soon perceived from the greatness of their numbers, and the smart fire the rebels kept up, that they had no other resource but to retreat. Besides, the rebels had brought a swivel to bear on the bridge, and had also planted some large pieces of cannon in a commanding situation. When they had retreated to Low Grange, they were surrounded by the rebels, who assured them, they should receive no injury if they laid down their arms. At that moment, lieutenant Dixon, was so fortunate as to make his escape, having mounted behind a quarter-master of dragoons, who was retreating; and at the same time he heard the rebels exclaim, "Have we got the officer?" The rebels then proceeded to Kellymount, where they put nine of their protestant prisoners to death, with circumstances of savage cruelty.

It appeared by the joint information of the soldiers who escaped, sworn before lieutenant colonel Ram, that the following circumstances attended the murder of the soldiers: That Walter Devereux, who said  
he

he was commander in chief in the absence of the general, (meaning father John Murphy,) ordered the protestant prisoners to be selected from the rest; and they were pointed out by one of their own soldiers, of the name of Bruton, of the Romish persuasion: They were surrounded by a circle of about eight thousand rebels, when Devereux ordered corporal Orange to be dragged out of the circle and shot, having said, insultingly to him, "Orange by name, and Orange by nature."

They proceeded in the same manner to put to death six of the Wexford regiment, and two dragoons: That they remained prisoners with them till the twenty-sixth of June, when the rebels were routed with great slaughter at Kilcomney, near Gore's-bridge, where the Wexford soldiers made their escape: That while they remained prisoners with the rebels, they had no other food but raw meat and water.

Walter Devereux had been principally concerned in the massacre at Scullabogue, and yet he remained unnoticed till the month of November 1798, when being on the point of embarking on board a ship at the Cove of Cork, to sail for America, he was fortunately recognised by some of the Wexford soldiers who had been his prisoners, was apprehended, and afterwards hanged. When arrested, he had the protections of five general officers.

The rebels, in their progress to Castlecomer,\* massacred two more of the Wexford soldiers.

The prisoners declared, that they received the most savage treatment from this band of traitors. Half famished, and overcome with fatigue, they were hurried on precipitately without rest, except when their priests stopped for a few minutes to say mass; which they frequently did, for the purpose of kindling fanaticism in them, as their courage emanated from no other source, and as it never failed to animate them, even when overcome with the want of food and sleep.

On Saturday morning the twenty-third of June, a man arrived at Kilkenny, and informed sir Charles Asgill, that he had been taken prisoner by the rebels at Gorey, and had been obliged to repair with them to their camp at Vinegar-hill; that he had been compelled to attend a numerous body of them, thirty-thousand in number, as he believed, who had fled from thence, and who under the command of father John Murphy had marched into the county of Kilkenny, through the Scullagh-gap, and that he was detained.

\* Plate I. 8, 9.



detained by them till that morning, when he made his escape ; on which sir Charles Afgill ordered the garrison under arms, and marched from Kilkenny in pursuit of the rebels, between eight and nine o'clock ; and having proceeded about three miles, in the line where the rebels were supposed to be, he halted, and called the honourable viscount Loftus and the honourable colonel Howard, whose regiments were on that service, and conferred with them and the other field officers on the plan which he intended to adopt.

On deliberation, they concluded it would be imprudent to proceed farther, without knowing the number of the enemy, and the route they had taken, as sir Charles had left in Kilkenny a large quantity of ammunition, and had well-grounded apprehensions that its disaffected inhabitants only waited for an opportunity of rising ; besides, should he miss the rebels in pursuing them, they might have slipped by him and come to Kilkenny, and have plundered and burnt it in his absence. He had sent, in the mean time, major Lawder, a gallant and intelligent officer, with a party of dragoons, across the country towards Leighlin-bridge, to reconnoitre the rebels, and bring intelligence of their movements. Just before he returned, the wives of some of the men who had been taken by the rebels at Gore's-bridge, and had escaped, arrived, and informed him of their position, and of their numbers, which appeared to have been much less than he imagined ; and soon after major Lawder arrived, and confirmed their account. On this he ordered the troops to move forward to Kellymount, but they had quitted it, and proceeded towards Castlecomer.

As the troops had been fasting and under arms all day, he returned to Kilkenny, after he had sent a large detachment of the cavalry to reconnoitre them ; and they, having approached very near the rebels, would have attacked them, but that a bog happened to intervene.

I shall now proceed to describe the progress of the Wexford rebels, who found in the county of Kilkenny the popish multitude as much disaffected as themselves. The town of Castlecomer being contiguous to extensive colleries, it was to be apprehended that the persons who worked in them would be very susceptible of being infected with the doctrines of the united Irishmen, as they are under little or no control of their employers, as they are led, from the nature of their laborious occupations, to use strong  
liquors,

liquors, and are more prone to turbulence, discontent, and combination than any other set of men.

#### ATROCITIES COMMITTED AT CASTLECOMER AND IN ITS VICINITY.

On the night of the twenty-third of May, the colliers first appeared in arms, and attacked the barrack of Doonane, (about three miles from Castlecomer,) in which there was a company of the Waterford militia. The object of the rebels was, it is said, after taking the barrack, and putting all the loyalists to death, to march to Carlow, and join the body destined for the attack of that town. It unfortunately happened, that most of the Waterford were billeted through the village of Doonane; however, the few that were in the barrack, though taken by surprise, completely beat the rebels off, consisting of at least seven hundred men. Several of the soldiers turned out of the barrack in their shirts, and kept up a smart fire for a few minutes, when the rebels fled precipitately. As they carried with them their killed and wounded, it never was ascertained how many fell in that action.

The honourable James Butler, brother to the earl of Ormond, who commanded the Fassaghineen yeomen cavalry, as soon as he got intelligence of the attack on Doonane, collected as many of his corps as were near the town of Castlecomer; and, together with a detachment of the Waterford militia then quartered in the town, marched with the utmost speed to the relief of Doonane; however, too late to come up with the rebels, who by that time had gained the mountains, and were dispersing.

It providentially happened, that the protestants of Castlecomer were not attacked that night, while the garrison had marched to Doonane; as they must have inevitably fallen a sacrifice to the savage fury of the rebels. Had they succeeded in the attempt on the barrack of Doonane, they would unquestionably have afterwards attacked the town.

On the twenty-fourth of May captain Butler's yeomanry corps was ordered on permanent duty, and the day after a troop of the 5th, or Royal Irish Dragoons, under the command of captain Green, marched in, to strengthen the garrison. With this reinforcement they conceived themselves tolerably secure.

Early

Early in the month of June, sir Charles Asgill received information against several of the Fassaghineen cavalry, as rebels, and in consequence seven of them, all papists, were lodged in Kilkenny gaol. The people of the neighbourhood continued to give up their pikes, and to take oaths of allegiance, in order to lull the magistrates and protestant inhabitants into a supine and fatal security.

They were frequently alarmed by reports of the rebels coming to attack them, and the garrison were several nights under arms; but those reports were generally occasioned by ill-grounded apprehensions. The minds of the people were in such a state, that any unusual noise at night occasioned infinite alarm. However, at length they heard that a body of rebels, who had escaped from Wexford, were making their way to that country, in order to join the colliers, and then proceed to attack Kilkenny.

In the course of Saturday the twenty-third, several loyalists from the mountains, between Castlecómer and Leighlin-bridge, brought intelligence, that the rebels were bending their course that way. They still remained in heedless security. They had been so often alarmed by false reports, that they would not now believe the approaching danger, though each successive express strengthened the former; and though a poor man, who was most dreadfully mangled and left for dead by the rebel advance-guard, was brought into the town to have his wounds dressed. It is impossible to describe the distressing scene which on that evening presented itself, all the protestants with their families flying from the mountains and the colliery. For several hours the roads were crowded with those unfortunate fugitives, with infancy and decrepitude in their train, dreading the furious spirit of fanaticism.

On Saturday night the garrison was reinforced by a troop of the 4th dragoons, a company of the Waterford militia from Doonane, a company of the Downshire, twenty of the Cullinagh infantry, and forty of the Cullinagh cavalry, so that the whole might consist of nearly three hundred, but being mostly cavalry, they were not at all calculated for that country, where the ground is much broken up with colliery pits. That night the rebels slept at a place about five miles from Castlecómer, on a ridge of mountains, near Leighlin-bridge.

Among the loyalists who fled from the colliery and the adjacent country, there were about one hundred who had arms, but very little ammunition.



nitition. They were ordered out in different parties, to watch the movements of the rebels, many of them with not more than six rounds of cartridge. The whole force was drawn out on the bridge, and in the main street; and a reconnoitring party, consisting of one hundred men, was sent out about four o'clock in the morning, to watch the rebels motions. There was such an immense fog early on Sunday morning, that it was utterly impossible to discern objects at twenty yards distance.

About four o'clock, the rebels arrived at a place called Gurteen, near three miles from Castlecomer,\* where they heard mass. It being St. John's day, they had prayers again about two miles off, where they halted. They had proceeded under cover of the fog, so that the troops who were sent to reconnoitre, were fired on before they could see them. At length the fog began to disperse a little, which opened to the astonished troops a view of not less than from eight to ten thousand rebels, those armed with muskets in the front, the pikemen in the rear. The main body had halted on the road, and two wings were extending themselves on each side, the whole forming a crescent. In order to understand the perilous situation of our troops, it is necessary to observe, that for nearly two miles of the road to the town of Castlecomer, there is a long range of wall on each side; and about half a mile of it is planted. While the fog was so thick, the troops could not perceive that the wings of the rebel army had considerably spread themselves, and were advancing in a smart trot to surround the town, while the main body remained stationed in the road; so that captain Green, judging from their numbers, that all resistance was fruitless, ordered a retreat; and the rebels who had got before them, and lined the walls, kept up a smart fire on them. The retreat was very disorderly; and many of the infantry were overturned by the cavalry and left exposed to the rebels fire.

An instance of uncommon audacity occurred within a few perches of the town: A rebel captain, with a green sash, rushed out from a bye road on horseback, and accosting the honourable captain James Butler, brother to the earl of Ormond, at the head of his corps, desired him to surrender, and that he, his men, and the town should be saved. Captain Butler missing fire at him, the rebel wheeled about, fired without effect, and was shot by a yeoman within a few yards of the rebel army.

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\* Plate I. 8, 9.

The retreat of our troops had not been so precipitate, but that many of the rebels had rushed to the bridge, almost as soon as the soldiers; but with such a confused rapidity did the retreating party gallop into the town, overturning every thing before them, that the rest of our force that was posted on the bridge joined the throng, and fled up the street. A very few of the Waterford and Downshire militia kept their ground on the bridge for a few minutes, killed several rebels, and gave the whole a check. At length they took refuge in four houses which were next to and completely flanked the bridge; and, together with a few loyalists of the town, kept up a warm fire from the houses. The right wing of the rebels forded the river above the town, and being joined by the traitorous inhabitants, set fire to the suburbs.

The perilous situation of the loyal few in those houses already mentioned, can be better imagined than described; the bridge crowded with rebels, yelling with rage, crying out for blood, and not a soldier to oppose them; the back-houses all on fire. Here, amidst surrounding flames, and to the very breasts of the rebels, might be seen the gallant captain Butler, single and unsupported, riding down the street, within a few yards of the rebels, endeavouring to rally the scattered force, calling them back in words that would animate the dead. Amidst balls thick as hail, twice did he ride up and down the street, with an heroic intrepidity, as laudable as it was unavailing. And now commenced a very sharp, but ill-directed fire from the rebels on the bridge, which was as warmly and more effectually answered from the houses; for three hours and a half this fire was kept up, and not a rebel was suffered to cross the bridge alive. At length when their ammunition was almost expended, general father Murphy, who had kept aloof from the heat of the action, near the church where they tried their prisoners, sent a black servant of the countess of Ormond, whom they had taken prisoner, to inform those who fired from the houses, "That if they marched out with their hats on the top of their guns, their lives should be saved; that it was in vain to resist any longer, as he expected a reinforcement from Ballyragget immediately." They detained his ambassador for some time, and at length sent the reverend general word, that they would submit if he would by the same messenger send them a written assurance of mercy. This they did to gain time; and soon after they observed the troops from Kilkenny lining the hills,

hills, and taking their positions to attack the rebels. General Sir Charles Asgill, with nine hundred men, went to their relief, and a few rounds of grape-shot soon dislodged the rebels, who retreated the way they came, in a slow pace, and in an irregular manner.

When Sir Charles arrived near the town, he sent a detachment of the Wexford, under lieutenant colonel Ram, (which were soon joined by the grenadiers of the Wicklow) and a party of cavalry, to take post on a bridge contiguous to it, and on the Doonane side of it; and after firing a few rounds of grape into Castletomer, they marched into it. At that time the rebels, a few stragglers excepted, had abandoned it; but two of them, who remained under the bridge, fired up the street several times, and wounded two of the Wicklow Regiment. Lady Ormond's mansion, and several other houses in the town were then in a blaze; and the heat was so great, that the bombardier of the Wicklow regiment requested that Sir Charles would change his position, as he was afraid that the guns might go off; upon which he took post on an eminence which commanded the town.

The family of Mr. Kane, agent to Lady Ormond, had been in a deplorable state. The females had been prisoners in their own house, which the rebels locked up and set on fire; and they retired to the cellar to avoid the flames, but the troops arrived and liberated them before it was consumed. They had previously taken Mr. Kane prisoner, and carried him before father Murphy, who continued in the body of the church, trying, as orangemen, such protestants as they had taken prisoners; and two of whom they massacred before Sir Charles arrived. He tried and would have had Mr. Kane put to death as an orangeman, but that some poor women of the colliery by their tears and entreaties (as he is a gentleman of great humanity) prevailed on the reverend general to let him escape.

Sir Charles having taken an elevated position, posted his guns so as to rake the woods, in which he killed a good many of the rebels, who composed the rear guard of the main body, at that time two miles out of the town, and supposed to be between six and seven thousand men.

As Sir Charles Asgill returned to Kilkenny without leaving a soldier in Castletomer, the protestants were obliged to desert their houses, and leave them and their property to the mercy of those, of whom they soon found they had formed but too just suspicions. To remain in the town,



without military protection or ammunition, would surely have been madness; for at the time of the general's orders to return, the rear of the rebel army was still in view.

I shall not attempt, for I could not describe, the heart breaking sight of all the protestants quitting their homes. The whole road, from Castlecomer to Kilkenny, was one continued and melancholy train of fugitives, men, women and children, who but a few hours before were possessed of peace and comfort, now outcasts from their houses, seeking an asylum among strangers, from the merciless hands of their popish neighbours. That evening the rebels of the town burned every loyalist's house; for infuriate with the plunder of lady Ormond's cellar, they committed every excess. From Sunday to Thursday those savages rioted in the pillage of the town, when at length sir Charles Asgill, on the twenty-eighth of June, sent a party of the Glengarry fencibles and the Fassaghineen cavalry, who surprised them in the midst of their excesses, and killed about twenty-four and took several prisoners, from whose confession it appeared, that a party of Castlecomer rebels, all Roman catholics, had gone to meet the Wexford army on Friday the twenty-second, and induced them to come on to attack it. Most of these have since been hanged or transported.

It would be tedious to mention the several instances of atrocity which occurred at that time in Castlecomer and its vicinity: I shall, however, subjoin a few undoubted facts, which are well known.

On Sunday morning the twenty-fourth of June, James Anderson, who was a vidette in the colliery, was met by the advanced guard of the rebels, as he was returning from his watch, not suspecting that the rebels were in the neighbourhood. They asked him if he was a *christian*; on answering that he was, they desired him to *bless himself* as a proof of it. This he could not do; they then dragged him into a house on the road side, drove a pike through him, under his arms, raised him up from the ground on their pikes, and stabbing him under the ear, bled him like a pig, in a crock which had milk in it. He was a quiet, inoffensive man. He was not an orangeman, but was what the same, in the eyes of the rebels, a protestant.

An instance occurred, which very strongly marks the designs and sentiments of the rebels: A poor man, of the name of Coogan, was pursued by a party of rebels through lady Ormond's plantation; he  
was

was overtaken, and most miserably mangled with pikes; when almost expiring, he begged of them to send for the priest. They cursed him for a stupid vagabond, that he did not tell them at first that he was a christian,\* and they would not have used him so. This poor man luckily survived to tell the story.

Arthur Williams, a quiet industrious tradesman, was taken prisoner in Mr. Kane's house in Castlecomer, was brought to the church, and there was on the point of being shot, when the army appearing in view, they took him with them to Wolf's hill, where his distracted wife followed him, and endeavoured to have him saved by the interference of a rebel captain; but as father Murphy was not then on the spot, he could not be released.

The Downshire militia from Maryborough appearing at a distance, the whole rebel army moved off about seven o'clock in the evening (Sunday) to Doonane, and thence to the Ridge, bringing Williams along with them. Here they put him on his knees, and in the act of prayer, they run him through with pikes, and then shot his face almost off. This happened on Monday morning; his wife could not find him till Saturday after, when she discovered him in a lonely part of the mountain, two miles off the road, so disfigured, that she could scarce recognise him: He was not an orangeman.

Two men, of the name of Conn and Salter, having taken refuge in Castlecomer the night before the attack, brought their families with them. In the bustle and confusion of the engagement they were separated from their wives and children: When the action was over, anxiously looking for their families, they met a man who had been a servant for many years to the former (Conn), who told them that he would shew them where their wives and children were; when bringing them about two miles from the town, collecting near twenty rebels, and snatching a gun from his old master's hand, he shot him almost in the presence of his wife, and then they piked both him and Salter: They buried them immediately; the latter not quite dead: They then took the bodies up, scooped out Salter's eyes, and buried them in a place where they could never since be found.

William

\* Meaning thereby a papist.

William Bradley, his daughter Catherine Nesbitt, and nephew David Leycock, going from their house on Wednesday the twenty-seventh of June across the hills, in order to reach Kilkenny, were pursued by a party of Castlecomer rebels, robbed and barbarously murdered: The woman was pregnant. Their bodies were not discovered until the Christmas after. Neither Bradley nor Leycock were orangemen.

The county of Wexford rebels, after having burned Castlecomer, encamped within four miles of Athy, intending to attack it next morning, and thence to have joined Doorly, the traitorous yeoman and assassin of Rathangan, and William Aylmer at Prosperous.

General Dunn, at that time quartered at Monastereven, hearing the perilous situation of Athy,\* with that spirit which he displayed on all occasions, flew to its assistance, with a six-pounder and one hundred of the city of Cork militia. His arrival gave such spirit to the yeomanry, that they only wished to be led against their enemies. The general selected one hundred of the yeomen, in addition to the city of Cork detachment, and conscious of the goodness of his cause, at twelve o'clock at night marched to the attack of the rebel camp. His intentions were frustrated, as the moment he arrived at Athy, the reverend Mr. K——, a popish priest, was seen posting to the rebel camp with great expedition, to inform them of the intended attack.

When the general arrived there, he found it had been deserted at an early hour in the night, and that they had retraced their steps. He pursued them for many miles without any success, except that in flying from him, they fell into the tract of the gallant major Mathews of the Downshire, who, with four hundred men, pursued them; and having apprised sir Charles Apgill of it, he joined in the pursuit, overtook them at Kilcomney, near Gore's-bridge, and completely defeated them.

A body of troops having marched from Maryborough, on the twenty-fourth of June, by order of sir Charles Apgill, for the purpose of co-operating with him, proceeded towards the collieries of Castlecomer and Doonane, and on the road they saw Castlecomer on fire, after sir Charles Apgill had retreated from it to Kilkenny; they consisted of four hundred of the Royal Downshire militia, commanded by major Mathews, captain Poole, with the Ballyfin yeomen cavalry, and captain Gore, with the Maryborough corps.

As



As soon as they arrived at Moyad, they saw the rebels under father Murphy in great force, on the high grounds above Doonane. As it was late in the day, they resolved on retiring to Timahoe, and to attack them early next morning. Soon after they received an express from sir Charles Apgill, desiring them to return to Maryborough; but they answered, by proposing to him to attack the rebels next morning on the Doonane side, and that they would attack them on the road from Timahoe in the opposite direction: Sir Charles answered them next morning, at seven o'clock, by saying that his troops were too much fatigued to co operate with them, but that they might engage the rebels, should circumstances prove favourable for that purpose.

They then returned to Moyad, with an intention of attacking the rebels next day; but the cavalry who were sent out to reconnoitre, and having brought intelligence that the rebels had retreated to the bridge of Old Leighlin, they again pursued them, but were disappointed in their design of bringing them to action, as they had marched to Gore's-bridge. The cavalry having proceeded to Old Leighlin,\* captain Poole sent an express to sir Charles Apgill of the enemy's motions, and of their intention of attacking them the first opportunity that offered. At Old Leighlin they met Mr. Vigors, an active and intelligent officer, who had retired from the service; and he supplied them with a number of cars to carry their men, as some of them were overcome with hunger and excess of fatigue; and he also accompanied them to the scene of action, giving them at the same time his advice, and every assistance in his power.

About twelve o'clock at night they arrived at Leighlin-bridge, and in two hours after received an express from sir Charles Apgill, desiring them to meet him at Gore's-bridge, at five o'clock in the morning. They instantly marched in pursuit of the rebels; but soon after, major Mathews having received intelligence that they had bent their course towards the mountains, changed his route for the purpose of intercepting them; and sent intelligence of his design to sir Charles Apgill, by Mr. Moore, collector of Leighlin, who, with his brother, Mr. Pierce Moore, attended them, and to whose advice and assistance major Mathews attributed their having intercepted and overtaken the enemy.

After a march of three hours, they came in sight of the rebels posted on Kilcomney-hill, near Gore's-bridge,† and fired some cannon shot at them,

\* Plate II. 3, 4.

† Ibid. 6.

them, on which they retired about a mile and a half, to form their line. Our troops followed them in column, with the cannon in front, and the cavalry in the rear. They no sooner formed, than they heard fir Charles Aſgill's cannon on the other ſide of the hill. After a few diſcharges of our artillery, the rebels were broken and fled, and our troops continued to purſue them for ſix miles with great ſlaughter.

All their cannon, baggage, horſes, ſtores and proviſions, fell into our hands, and ſome unfortunate ſoldiers and proteſtants, who happened to be their priſoners, were retaken. The remainder of the rebels fled into the county of Wexford, through the Scullagh-gap.

Father John Murphy, a prieſt, who acted as aid-de-camp to the great ſacerdotal hero, John Murphy, of Boulavogue, and who had accompanied him from Vinegar-hill, fell in this action. He had a dove and a crucifix on his buttons; and letters directed to him were found in his pocket, recommending to him proper places for encamping.

Father John Murphy, the commander in chief, who fled from the field of battle, was taken at an alehouſe by three yeomen, one of them of the name of Mc. Cabe, and was led a priſoner to Tullow,† the headquarters of fir James Duff. He was introduced into a room where the general, his aid-de-camps, colonels Foſter and Pigot, the earl of Roden, captain Mc. Clintock, and in all about twenty officers were ſitting. Major Hall having aſked him ſome queſtions which gave him offence, he in a violent rage made a blow of his fiſt at the major, which would have knocked him down, but that he warded it off with his arm, on which he received a ſevere contuſion. On ſearching him, they found in his pockets his veſtments, and ſome letters from Mrs. Richards and other ladies, priſoners at Wexford, imploring him to ſave the lives of their huſbands and relations. He was hanged on the ſame day. His body was burnt, and his head was fixed on the market-houſe of Tullow. He was about forty-five years old, light complexioned, bald pated, and about five feet nine inches high: He was well made, uniting ſtrength and agility: He was irascible, and when in a paſſion, had ſomewhat the aſpect of a tiger. His pix, his oil ſtock, and a ſmall crucifix were found in his pocket.

In order to do away in ſome degree the ſtain which his infamous conduct might bring on the Iriſh prieſthood, it has been ſedulouſly propagated that he was excommunicated; but this is abſolutely falſe, for he

continued

† Plate II. 1, 2.

continued to exercise his clerical function, and was regarded as a pious and learned priest, till the breaking out of the rebellion ; when,

“ He did so ill translate himself,  
 “ Out of the speech of peace that bears such grace,  
 “ Into the harsh and boisterous tongue of war,  
 “ Turning his books to glaives, his ink to blood,  
 “ His pens to lances, and his tongue divine  
 “ To a loud trumpet, and a point of war.”

SHAKESPEARE.

It is no less singular than true, that the lower class of Irish papists never think that their priests can suffer any stain or contamination from the commission of crimes, how heinous soever ; for they always regard them as martyrs, when they fall a prey to the vengeance of the law.

Father Nicholas Sheehy is added to the bead-roll of their saints ; and I need not give any other proof of the reverence in which the memory of that famous sacerdotal hero, John Murphy, is held, than the following :

A piece of superstitious trumpery is now printed by William Jones, No. 75, Thomas-street, Dublin, entitled, “ Revelations revealed to saint Augustine, saint Bridget, and saint Anne, by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.” The second part of it is said to explain the twelve golden Fridays in the year ; and the devotions, together with some solitary acts, by the late reverend father John Murphy, D. D. In this he points out the number of paters and aves that are to be said each golden Friday, and on certain holidays ; and it is stated in it, “ That what man or woman soever shall carry it about them, shall be not only free from their enemies, but also from a sudden and unprovided death ; and if any woman travelling with child shall wear it about her, she shall be not only safely delivered, but likewise be free from the fear of death in child-bed ; and what house or place it is kept in shall be free from evil spirits ; to him or her who shall carry it about them, the blessed Virgin shall appear to forewarn them of their future blessed state : The devil shall have no power over them at their last hour : They shall see our blessed Saviour nailed to the cross, (in the same manner as he suffered for our redemption,) before their death.”

This curious piece is in the hands of the popish multitude in the county of Wexford, and in many parts of Ireland, who regard this church militant hero as a martyr in the cause of French republican liberty and religion.

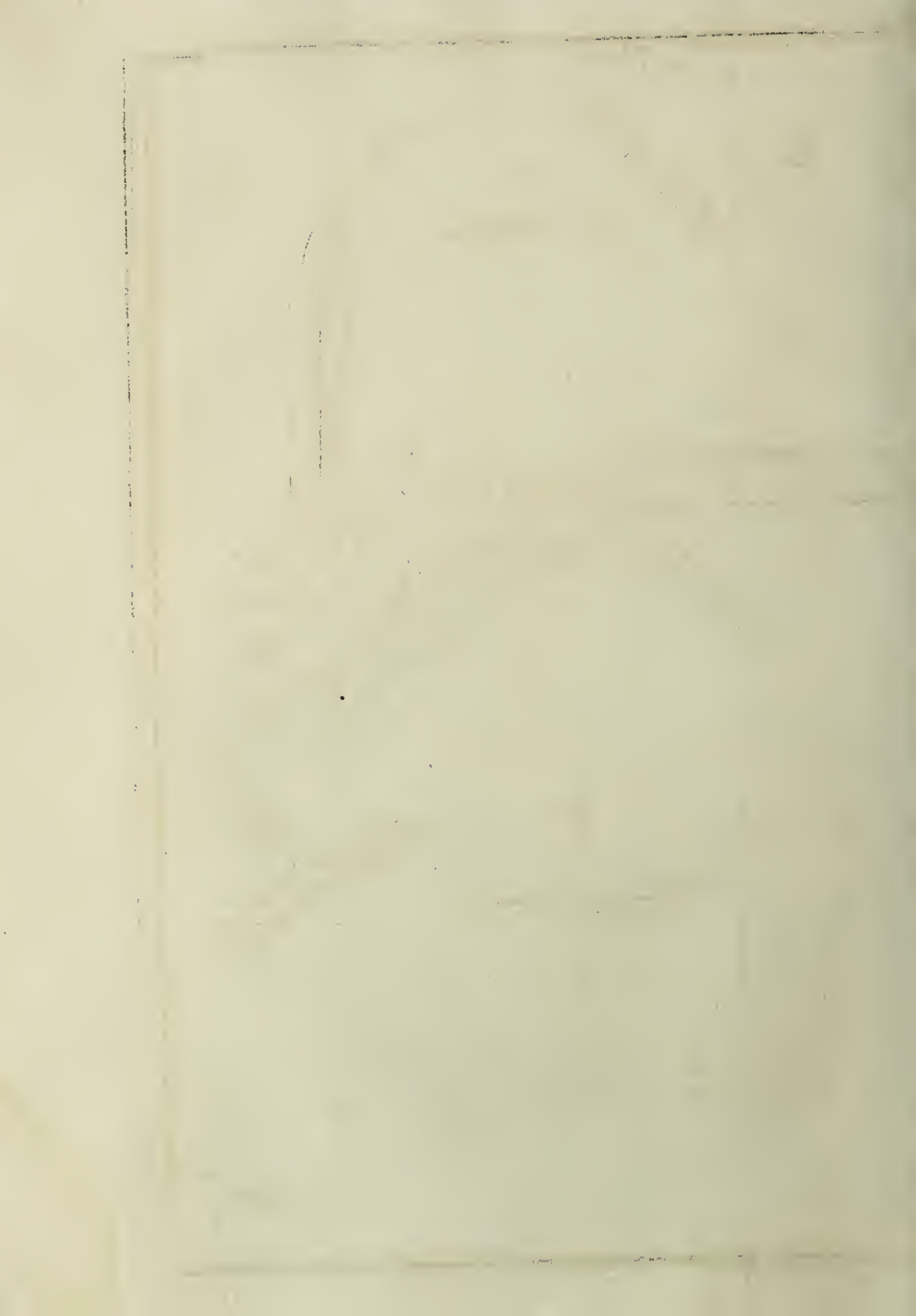


## EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.

- No. 1. Where the rebel columns from Ballyclare and Templepatrick joined.
2. The rebels in close column with a six-pounder in front, when the curricule guns under lieutenant Neville opened their fire on them.
3. Lieutenant Neville, with two six-pounders, flanked by the yeomanry and dragoons under colonel Lumley, firing on the rebels.
4. Colonel Lumley charging the rebels after passing the church-yard.
5. The church-yard lined with rebels, who are represented by the dotted lines, firing on the dragoons, charging as they passed, and among whom they did great execution.
6. The guns under lieutenant Neville, after retreating from No. 3, firing on the second column of the rebels advancing up Bow lane.
7. The second rebel column.
8. The dragoons, after charging, drawn up under the dead wall of lord Massareene's garden, and covered on their left flank by a demi bastion.
9. The yeomanry firing over the wall on the rebels who attempted to get possession of the guns at No. 6, after the artillery had abandoned them, and the dragoons had retreated across the river.
10. The watering-place over which the dragoons retreated.
11. The entrance to lord Massareene's court; the dotted lines from it represent the road by which the yeomanry retreated to take post in the garden, where they could only be attacked by the narrow walk through which they got in.
12. Lord Massareene's castle.
13. Lord Massareene's demesne.
14. Lord Massareene's walled garden.
15. The Six-mile water.
16. Colonel Durham with the Monaghan militia, and capt. Coulson of the artillery, firing on the rebels retreating by the Ballymena road.
17. The light battalion from Blaris camp under colonel Clavering drawn up.
18. Distillery.
19. Barracks.
20. Doctor Macartney's house.
21. Flour-mills.
22. Market-house with the prisoners.
23. Little guard-house, behind which lord O'Neil was killed.
24. The rebel reserve column under colonel Orr.

A MAP  
of the  
TOWN OF  
ANTRIM.







## THE BATTLE OF ANTRIM.

The conspiracy had been more alarming in the North than in any other part of the kingdom, as numbers of presbyterians concerned in it there had more improved intellects, more courage, and knew better the use of arms, than the inhabitants of Leinster and Munster; but the conciliatory measures used by government had detached numbers from the union, and the salutary coercion, used by the general officers in disarming the multitude, abated the spirit of the conspirators, by diminishing their hopes of success.

For these reasons we may suppose, the conspiracy did not break out in the North for some days after it had exploded in the province of Leinster. Though the detention of the mail coaches had been the signal for a general insurrection, the presbyterians, wary and cautious, hesitated to rise, till they had heard that their friends in the South were actually in arms, and yet they had made preparations for that purpose; but in Leinster, the war being purely religious, and the people being blinded by fanaticism, and impelled by the irresistible influence of their priests, rushed into action on the night of the twenty-third of May, appointed for the general rising.

Lord O'Neil, who resided at Shane's-castle in the county of Antrim, having received certain intelligence that an insurrection was shortly intended, as governor of the county, summoned by publick notice the magistrates of it to meet at Antrim, on the seventh of June 1798, for the purpose of concerting measures to prevent it. To counteract his design, the leaders of the conspiracy resolved to bring forward the rising on that day, to attack the town of Antrim, to seize his lordship and the magistrates, and to keep them as hostages; and they intended at the same time to have seized a quantity of arms surrendered at different times, which were deposited in that town.

General Nugent, having received intelligence of their intentions, sent orders to Blaris camp, for the second light battalion, consisting of the 64th regiment, and the light companies of the Kerry, Dublin, Tipperary, Armagh, and Monaghan militia, and one hundred and fifty of the 22d light dragoons, with two currie six-pounders, and two five and a half inch howitzers, to march to Antrim with all possible dispatch; and two hundred

and fifty of the Monaghan militia, a troop of the 22d light dragoons, and the Belfast cavalry, under the command of colonel Durham, to march to Antrim, by Carmoney and Templepatrick, and the light battalion from Blaris, commanded by colonel Clavering, and the dragoons by the honourable colonel Lumley. He also dispatched orderly serjeants to major Seddon at Antrim, to inform him of the intended attack, and of the reinforcements which were going to his assistance.

The orderlies arrived at Antrim at nine o'clock, but did not perceive any extraordinary movement in the country, or any indication of insurrection. However, the drums immediately beat to arms, the yeomanry assembled in a short time, and the inhabitants of the town were called on to turn out in its defence. In sending the summonses through the town, it was discovered that all the notorious united Irishmen had left it early in the morning, which convinced major Seddon that general Nugent's information was well founded. Of four hundred men, capable of bearing arms, two hundred turned out on the occasion; but they could be supplied with no more than eighty stand of arms, as there were no more serviceable; and there was so great a scarcity of ammunition, that after borrowing eight hundred rounds from major Seddon, the yeomanry had but twelve rounds a man, and those who volunteered but five.

About ten o'clock, many persons came in from different parts of the country, with intelligence that the rebels were forcing great numbers to join them, and that the mass of the people were in motion.

At twelve o'clock, James Stewart Moore, esquire, captain of the Dunfrevrick cavalry, and Mr. Gamble, lieutenant of the same, with fifteen men, came into Antrim from Ballymena, after having cut their way through about two hundred rebels near Kells: Both these gentlemen were magistrates.

Lord O'Neil slept at Hillsborough the night of the sixth of June, on his way from Dublin to Antrim, and passed through Lisburn at ten o'clock in the morning of the seventh, without being known, and got to Antrim at half past twelve. He did not perceive any movement in the country, though his servants, who were about ten minutes after him, were robbed of their arms by the rebels. Had lord O'Neil been known in Lisburn, he would have been prevented from proceeding, as general Nugent had sent orders.

orders to have the intended rising communicated to all the magistrates in that neighbourhood, and to prevent them from going to Antrim.

The plan of the rebels was, to advance with four columns, one from the district between Antrim and Belfast, and to enter the town by the Belfast road;\* the second from Ballynure, Ballyclare and Doagh, to enter by the Carrickfergus road, and join the Belfast column at the end of the Scots-quarter; a third from Connor, Kells, and Ballymena, and to enter it by Paty's-lane; a fourth from Shane's-castle, Randalstown, and Dunoilty, to enter by Bow-lane. The first three columns were to make their attack at half past two o'clock; and at the same moment, the fourth, under the command of colonel Samuel Orr, brother to the famous William Orr, was to make its attack a few minutes after. The first two columns reached the end of the Scots-quarter, just as the advanced guard of our second battalion was coming over the bridge from Lisburn, which is at right angles with the main street, and nearly the centre of the town.

The advanced guard was commanded by the honourable colonel Lumley, and consisted of one hundred of the 22d light dragoons, and two curricule guns, which opened with case shot from the centre of the main street, opposite the bridge, and were flanked by the yeomanry. The cavalry were drawn up in the rear.

The town of Antrim is nearly a mile long, and that space from the Scots-quarter to the market-house is about two-thirds of its length, and nearly a straight line. The main street is a continuation of the Scots-quarter, and is at right angles with the wall of Lord Massarene's garden, which is about forty yards from the market-house, and the latter lies nearly in the centre of the street. The wall of the garden completely commands the main street, and the entrance to the market-house, which is a square building, supported by stone pillars, and very difficult to set fire to. The guard-house was there, and a number of prisoners confined in it. There was a second wall at right angles with the garden wall, which flanks it, and commands Bow-lane. The two walls are joined with each other, and with one part of an old fortification. The wall is about fifteen feet high towards the street, and being but four feet high on the garden side, forms a good parapet or breast-work. The church is about half way between the market-house and the end of the Scots-quarter. It is built on a rising ground, and is  
surrounded

\* See Plate IX.



surrounded by a wall, which is about eight feet high towards the street, and four on the inside. The church is nearly on a line with the houses on one side of the Scots-quarter, and part of the wall is parallel to the houses at the opposite side, and the distance between it and the houses is about twelve yards.

The church is about seventy yards from Massareene-bridge, where the guns began to play on the rebels, who were at that time about seventy yards above the church, advancing from the upper part of the Scots-quarter, in a close column of about twenty-two in front, and about four thousand strong. Their front was composed of about eight hundred musketeers, who were excellent marksmen. Whenever they came within sight of the dragoons and yeomanry, they commenced street-firing, and by the time they came within one hundred and fifty yards of the army, they fled to the rear. Their six-pounder\* was then in front, with which they fired two rounds of grape shot, and did great execution, having killed and wounded three yeomen, two artillery men, and four or five dragoons. The recoil of the second shot disabled the gun so much, that they could not fire any more. The case shot from our curricule guns did such great execution, that the rebels perceived they could not advance without immense loss. However, their musketeers pressed on, and got possession of the church-yard, from whence they maintained a heavy fire.

The greater part of the pikemen went across the fields, and formed in Bow-lane, to take our army in the rear, which being perceived, the gunners were ordered to retreat under lord Massareene's wall, where the guns could play on the rebels advancing up that lane; and at the same time the dragoons were ordered to charge, in order to cover the retreat of the guns; but before they could reach the rebel column, they had to pass the church-yard, within four or five yards of the rebel musketry, planted in security behind the wall. About eighty dragoons, headed by the honourable colonel Lumley, having made the charge, near twenty of them were killed and wounded.

\* They brought this gun from Temple-patrick, where they had it and another brass six-pounder, concealed under one of the seats of the dissenting meeting house. They cut a tree, of which they made a trail, and they mounted the gun on the wheels of Mr. M<sup>c</sup>Vickar's carriage, lord Templeton's agent, and had wedges to elevate and depress it. It was formerly attached to the Belfast volunteers, but lay concealed for six years. They had originally eight, which also lay concealed, but six of them were discovered by general Nugent about a week before.

wounded. However, they bravely cut their way through, totally broke the rebel column, returned and renewed the charge by the church-yard wall, after leaving seventeen men dead in the street, about thirty wounded, and forty horses killed, all in the space of about two minutes. The officers who made that charge, were colonel Lumley, major Seddon, captain Baker, cornet Dunn, cornet Reid, and Mr. Gamble of the yeomanry, of which cornet Dunn and Mr. Gamble were killed; the former shot through the heart, the latter had his horse shot under him, and was afterwards perforated with pikes. Colonel Lumley, major Seddon, and cornet Reid, were wounded; the two latter with pikes. The former was shot through the ankle bone. Quarter-master Simpson was likewise killed. The yeomanry retreated, and took possession of lord Massareene's garden, from whence they could command the main street and Bow-lane, and in some degree protect the guns, which were under the wall along with the dragoons. Lord O'Neil and the reverend doctor Macartney, of Antrim, had remained in the street, with a party of dragoons, during the whole of the action.

When the rebels came within the range of the case shot in Bow-lane, they were warmly received. However, they continued to advance with great intrepidity; on which, colonel Lumley, who was wounded, seeing the loss he had sustained in the charge, ordered a retreat, and the guns to be abandoned. He then retreated across the river, and proceeding by the shore of the lake to the Lisburn road, joined the second battalion of our troops who were within two miles of the town. Lord O'Neil's horse having been wounded, became restive and refused to advance. Doctor Macartney staid with him a considerable time, after the dragoons had retreated, endeavouring to get him to proceed with him; but finding it impossible, he galloped his horse through the rebels; and being unable to overtake the dragoons, he joined Mr. Staples, member for the county, and got with him into a boat, rowed across to the county of Tyrone, and informed general Knox, at Dungannon, of the events which had taken place at Antrim, and of which he had been ignorant until that moment. The general immediately assembled all the yeomanry of the country, marched to Toome with one thousand five hundred of them, and prevented the county of Derry rebels from rising, and joining the other insurgents.

Lord.

Lord O'Neil, while endeavouring to get his horse forward, was knocked down by a pikeman, and then mortally wounded, within thirty yards of the yeomanry behind the wall. His lordship shot one of the men who attacked him, and the yeomanry two more; but the man who had given him the mortal wound escaped.

On the retreat of the dragoons, the rebels, flushed with success, rushed on with a horrid yell, and seized the curricule guns; but every man of that party was killed by the yeomen, and the remainder retreated into the houses and bye lanes of the town. On that, Mr. John Macartney,\* lieutenant of the Antrim yeomanry, assisted by his brother, Mr. Arthur Macartney, lieutenant of the Royal Irish artillery, who volunteered on the occasion, made a sally from the garden, with twenty of the Antrim corps, and drew up, in the midst of the rebel fire, the guns and the ammunition cart; and having planted them on the garden wall, they dislodged the rebels by a few discharges of round shot; however, they assembled again in several places round the town, to renew the attack; but colonel Orr, frightened on hearing the cannon, marched his column, which was one thousand five hundred strong, back to Randalstown.

Before the rebels had arranged matters for a second attack, the reinforcement from Blaris and Belfast arrived, on which they fled in all directions. But a great many of them were killed by the dragoons and the light companies of the Armagh and Monaghan militia, who were detached across the fields to cut off stragglers. Colonel Durham on arriving over the town, was informed that the rebels were in possession of it, and therefore opened his guns on it with round shot, and was on the point of doing much mischief before he found his mistake. The rebels left about one hundred and fifty dead in the town, and nearly two hundred  
were

\* At that time this young gentleman was little more than sixteen years old, and his brother was but in his eighteenth year. The courage and the loyalty of these amiable gentlemen render them an honour to their parents and their country. Mr. Arthur Macartney displayed great spirit and patriotism in detecting and opposing the base designs of some traitors who had insinuated themselves into the university of Dublin. Their father, the reverend doctor Macartney, a gentleman highly respectable, was the first person who gave any important information to government on the alarming state of the conspiracy in the North. It consists of papers inserted in the report of the secret committee of the house of commons, under the head of papers seized by a magistrate in a distant part of the county of Antrim.



were killed in the pursuit, in which lieutenant Murphy of the dragoons was severely wounded with a pike.

It has been since discovered, that a considerable number of rebels had got into the town previous to the action, in small parties, through lanes and the back doors of the houses. About one o'clock, and before the rebels arrived, several pikes were discovered in a garden in the Scots quarter: in consequence of which, the house to which the garden belonged was set on fire, and the flames communicated to seven more, which were consumed. The rebels having perceived the fire as they were marching towards the town, halted for near half an hour, doubtful if they should make the attack, not knowing the real cause of the fire. During that delay, there arose a dispute among the Roman catholicks and protestants of Orr's column; the former insisting on putting the orangemen in Antrim to death, but were opposed by the latter, who declared they would not consent to any act of cruelty.

The attack upon Antrim was made a quarter before three o'clock. The reinforcements arrived at four. If the rebels had not halted on seeing the fire, they would have been in Antrim before colonel Lumley arrived; and of course would have taken the town.

Nearly one half of those who joined the rebel force which attacked Antrim were compelled to do so by terror. In their flight they left behind them about three thousand pikes and muskets; and as they could not mount the two six pounders at Templepatrick, they fell into the hands of our army on the ninth of June.

The rebels attacked Randalstown at half past one on the seventh of June, and got possession of the lower part of the market-house, in which there were fifty of the Toome yeomanry, and set fire to it; on which they surrendered, and were taken out of the windows by ladders.

Colonel Clavering and colonel Durham marched to Shane's-castle the evening of the seventh. The rebels evacuated Randalstown at ten that night, and marched to Toome, where they remained two days; and on seeing general Knox advancing towards them, they broke down the bridge to prevent him from crossing the Bann. The rebels went from Antrim\* to Ballymena and Donegore hill, where they remained till Monday the eleventh, when colonel Clavering granted them an amnesty, on surrendering their arms, and promising to return to their allegiance. The

4 B

rebels

\* See Plate I. 3.

rebels posted at Ballymena, said to be ten thousand strong, attacked Larne on the morning of the seventh, but were repulsed by a detachment of the Tay fencibles, aided by the yeomanry, and the loyal inhabitants.

The death of lord O'Neil was universally and deservedly lamented, as he possessed in a very eminent degree every good and amiable quality. He was generous and humane, warm and steady in friendship, and so mild and beneficent, that he was ever ready to forgive injuries. He had such innate goodness and philanthropy, that he could scarce be induced to think ill of others; and he had such fine feelings, that he never heard a tale of woe without sympathising with the sufferer, and wishing to administer to his relief. It might be truly said, that,

“He had a tear for pity, and a hand

“Open as day for melting charity.”

#### BATTLES OF SAINTFIELD AND BALLYNAHINCH.

As a report prevailed on the ninth of June, that there was a rising at Newtownards\* in the county of Down, colonel Stapleton marched with a detachment of the York fencibles, and some yeomen cavalry and infantry, and two pieces of cannon, towards Saintfield, and was informed between Comber and that town, that there was no appearance whatever of a rising. The main body of the rebels lay in ambush, in a hollow way, through which he was to pass, within a quarter of a mile of Saintfield. The hedges on each side were very high and numerous, and the rebels, who were concealed behind them and in some plantations, having suffered the principal part of colonel Stapleton's party to pass unmolested, opened a very heavy fire on their rear, consisting of the yeomen cavalry, whom they threw into confusion, as they were exposed to the enemy in a narrow road, where they could not deploy, or make any movement for their defence. The reverend Mr. Mortimer, vicar of Portaferry, his nephew, and seven or eight yeomen, who had just joined them, were instantly killed. Those who attempted to cross into the fields to form, were butchered with pikes. At last, colonel Stapleton, with the most cool intrepidity, dismounted, went into the fields, and formed the grenadiers there. Captain Chetwynd, lieutenant Unit and ensign Sparks, in attempting to follow him, were killed. Colonel Stapleton, having attacked the insurgents with the grenadiers and the cannon which he brought to bear upon them, repulsed and killed three hundred and fifty of them.

The

\* See Plate I. 3.

The rebels having retreated towards Newtownards attacked, next day, a small party, consisting mostly of invalids and old men, who were posted in the market-house there, to guard a quantity of baggage and ammunition, and who repulsed them; but, expecting next day to be attacked by a much larger party, they capitulated, evacuated the town, and marched to Belfast, eight miles off.

The rebels, flushed with their success, and with the acquisition of a considerable quantity of ammunition, formed a committee, and having laid a plan for their future operations, sent horsemen round the country, to summon their friends, and by force compelled those to join them who shewed an unwillingness to do so.

In consequence of this, a large body having assembled, they, on Sunday, entered the town of Bangor, where they compelled great numbers to join them, and plundered Mr. Ward's house of arms. The reverend James Clewlow, with laudable fortitude, and in the most pathetick manner, represented to them the fatal consequences of their conduct, and advised them to lay down their arms; but could not succeed. They then repaired to a hill near Newtownards, where, having disagreed, the Bangor people quitted them, returned and restored Mr. Ward's arms to Mr. Clewlow, in hopes of his getting for them a protection from general Nugent; to obtain which, he repaired to Belfast; but before he could return, two presbyterian clergymen, Messrs. Townsend and Hull, abused them as cowards and traitors to their cause, compelled them to re-assume their arms, and marched them to a hill called Scrabo, near Newtown, and thence to Saintfield, where they took possession of the houses of Messrs. Price and Clewlow, which they plundered. They sent a party from Saintfield to the house of one Mc. Kee, a farmer in the neighbourhood, and having set fire to it, he and his whole family perished in the flames. He was obnoxious to them, because he had prosecuted some united Irishmen. He, at first, with very great bravery, beat off a party of about twenty, but was overpowered by a large reinforcement. Though old, he displayed great spirit, having been seen firing at them in the midst of the flames.

A numerous body of rebels kept possession of Saintfield, till Monday the eleventh of June, when they marched to Ballynahinch, and joined the main body, who were posted in what they called a camp, on the lawn before lord Moira's house, which was a favourable position, on a



commanding eminence, and skirted with thick wood. The commander in chief was general Henry Munroe, a linen draper, and an inhabitant of Lisburn, who had been formerly adjutant to a volunteer company, and acquired some reputation for military knowledge.

On the morning of the twelfth of June, general Nugent marched against them from Belfast, with the Monaghan regiment of militia, part of the 22d dragoons, and some yeomen infantry and cavalry; and was joined by lieutenant-colonel Stewart, near Ballynahinch, with his party from Downpatrick, making in all about one thousand five hundred men. Information having been received at the rebel camp, that general Nugent was on his march to attack them, a party of five hundred was detached by Munroe, under the command of one Johnson, to annoy the general, and retard his progress. They advanced near four miles to Creevy-rocks, at the Ballynahinch side of Saintfield, but were dispersed by the flanking parties of the army, and did not return to their friends at Ballynahinch.

A numerous body of the rebels were posted on the Windmill-hill, about a quarter of a mile from the town, but were soon driven from their position by the discharge of the artillery, and joined the camp at lord Moira's house. On that occasion, one M'Culloch, a rebel colonel, was taken prisoner, and immediately hanged. General Nugent and his party then occupied the Windmill-hill, where he halted that night, and made proper dispositions for attacking them next morning.

A council was held in the rebel camp, in which the expediency of an immediate attack was debated with some warmth. Munroe advised them to wait till morning, and his recommendation ultimately prevailed.

Between two and three o'clock on the morning of the thirteenth, colonel Leslie and the Monaghan militia marched into the town, and were vigorously attacked by a detachment of the rebels, and obliged to fall back. They, however, immediately rallied, and repulsed them with considerable slaughter. The rebels were so furious in their charge as to lay their hands on the carriages of the battalion guns, and some of them were almost burnt to a coal by their explosion.

The detachment under lieutenant general Stewart, consisting of a part of the Argyleshire fencibles, and some of the 22d dragoons, and some yeomanry corps, were likewise attacked; but they defeated the rebels, and killed a great number of them. The dispersion now became general,  
and

and though the retreat was made in a confused and irregular manner, it was much favoured by the woods and the nature of the country, which prevented the cavalry from any long or effectual pursuit. Near five hundred rebels are said to have been killed. The town of Ballynahinch was burned by the military.

Munroe fled towards the mountains without any guard or escort, and was afterwards accidentally discovered and taken by three orangemen, as he lay concealed in a potatoe furrow, under some litter, in an open field, about six miles from Ballynahinch. He offered them forty guineas to let him escape; but the loyalty of his captors was not to be corrupted. They brought him to Hillsborough, together with a young man of the name of Kane, taken with him in the same furrow, and who was formerly employed as a clerk in the office of the Belfast Northern Star. They were sent under a guard to Lisburn, where Munroe was tried by a court-martial, and executed opposite to his own door. His head was fixed on a pike, and placed on the market-house. Just before he was suspended, he said that he wished to settle an account with a neighbour, to whom he was indebted. He accordingly got a pen and ink, and adjusted it with all the coolness of deliberation.

The rebel army at Ballynahinch chiefly consisted of presbyterians, and other denominations of protestant dissenters, with few, if any, Roman catholics, as 2000 of them deserted the night before the battle,\* which inflamed the presbyterians very much against them.

On the night of the ninth, and the morning of the tenth, the insurrection from Newtownards to Portaferry was general; and a body of rebels, to the number of one thousand, attacked the latter about four o'clock in the afternoon. They were said to be chiefly under the direction of one Warwick, a presbyterian probationer, since hanged; and they were headed by one Mc. Mullin, of Portaferry, a shopkeeper, and two farmers in its vicinity. The town was gallantly defended by that brave veteran, captain Charles Mathews, and the Portaferry yeomanry, who took post in the market-house, and converted it into a garrison.

Captain Mathews having received intelligence in the morning that the town was to be attacked, had the arches of the building filled up with a dry temporary wall, to prevent the rebels from setting fire to the loft, which their leaders had resolved to do. Captain Hopkins, being in  
the

\* They remained about two miles off, on the Seaford road, and could not refrain from expressing their satisfaction that the protestants were mutually destroying each other.

the river, with the revenue cruiser which he commanded, rendered the most important service on the occasion with his guns. The loss of the rebels was considerable, while not a single yeoman was hurt. Three volunteer loyalists, who worked two swivels outside the market-house, having no cover, were killed.

The event of this action was of the utmost consequence, for had the rebels succeeded in it, they were to have crossed the lake at Strangford; and the rebels in the barony of Lecale, who were numerous, were to have joined them.\* Downpatrick must have fallen, and an immense force, thus prevented, would have increased the army of Ballynahinch.

The boldness and courage which the insurgents in the North displayed during the very short period that the rebellion existed, prove how dangerous and formidable it would have been, but that government very wisely and seasonably averted the horrors of it, partly by conciliatory measures, and partly by coercion; and the dreadful and cold-blooded massacres of protestants perpetrated in the South, having convinced the northern rebels of the cruelty and treachery of their Roman catholic confederates, and that their own destruction would be involved in that of the constitution, detached them from the union, and completely extinguished the flame of rebellion in the North.

Dickey, a rebel leader, who was hanged at Belfast, declared a short time before his execution, that the presbyterians of the North perceived too late, that, if they had succeeded in subverting the constitution, they would ultimately have to contend with the Roman catholics.

Some respectable gentlemen of the county of Donegal have assured me, that the presbyterians and Roman catholics of a large and populous district in it, called Fanet, were so jealous and suspicious of each other, as soon as the massacres in the South were known, that they continued for some time watching each other, without going to bed at night; the former dreading the fate of the protestants in Leinster, and the latter fearing that the presbyterians would be revenged of them for the massacre of their brethren. Numbers of presbyterians, who had been united, deserted their associates, joined the yeomanry, and became orangemen.

The judicious disposition and active exertions of lord Henry Murray, under lord Cavan, from Coleraine, in June 1798, aided by the yeomanry

\* See Plate I. 1.













manry of the town, and the like conduct on the part of colonel Leith, aided by the Londonderry and Bevagh corps of cavalry, not only checked the designs of the ill-affected in the country which they occupied, but completely checked the progress of the Antrim rebels, and kept them at the Antrim side of the Bann; all the bridges of that river having been well secured, and the boats drawn on shore to the Derry side by a party of orangemen.

The massacres of the South alarmed and animated many thousand protestants, who suddenly volunteered, armed themselves, and joined general Knox, whose approach from Moneymore towards Toome convinced the Antrim rebels, that they had no business to quit their own country; and he would have given them a complete overthrow, and have extinguished, for a century, a disposition to rebellion in that county, but that colonel Clavering, who had made terms with them at Ballymena, went express to stop the general's approach. The tranquillity of the county of Armagh is chiefly to be imputed to the zeal and activity of the orangemen.

The amnesty granted to the rebels by colonel Clavering, though it was done with the best intentions, has been condemned by many northern gentlemen of very good sense, as it was said to have fed the flame of rebellion in the county of Antrim for many months after it took place, as much as general Dundas's negotiation did in the county of Kildare.

It should be remembered with the liveliest sense of gratitude by the loyal subjects of Ireland, that some regiments of English militia, feeling for their danger and distress, voluntarily offered to go to their relief and assistance; that some of them went there so early as the month of June 1798, and that no less than thirteen of them arrived there in that year.

It will reflect immortal honour on the marquis of Hertford and the marquis of Buckingham, that they first set the example, and arrived in Dublin early in the month of June, at the head of their respective regiments.

#### THE REBELLION IN THE COUNTIES OF MAYO AND SLIGO.

The gentlemen and landholders in the province of Connaught piqued themselves on the peaceable demeanour, and a respect for the laws, which the lower class of the people there continued to evince, when most other parts of the kingdom were disturbed by the united Irishmen. But it has since appeared, that the mass of the people were universally infected with their malignant doctrines, though they had not broken out into acts of open

open outrage ; for at a provincial committee held at Dungannon,\* the fourteenth of September 1797, it was stated, that the province of Connaught was in a tolerable state of organization ; that a great number of united Irishmen had been made there, and more since the proclamation.†

In the beginning of the year 1798, a number of fugitive families arrived in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, from the north of Ireland ; who, as they alleged, sought for protection from the orangemen, who were persecuting them on account of their religion. They were all Roman catholicks, and from their appearance of decency and industry, the plausibility with which they represented their sufferings, and the knowledge which they possessed of the linen manufacture, they readily obtained an asylum from the gentlemen of the country, and were considered as a great acquisition to it. They had also an apparent solemnity and sincerity in their manners, and shewed such attention to the duties of their religion, as not only procured them the esteem of persons of their own persuasion, but excited the pity of protestants, who considered them as an innocent and persecuted people.

This was the general idea entertained of them ; but some gentlemen, who conceived that their improper conduct must have been the cause of their alleged persecution and expulsion, were not inclined to encourage or protect them. Nevertheless some hundred families of them spread themselves over the country, particularly near the sea-coast, and for some time demeaned themselves in a peaceable and industrious manner.

But it was soon discovered, that they were much addicted to speculate on politicks ; that they held clubs and meetings, where newspapers, for which they subscribed, were constantly read ; and that they were perfectly well versed in all the political subjects which were then the topics of conversation. They also brought with them a number of strange and absurd prophecies, which they pretended were delivered by the ancient Irish bards and prophets, foretelling the wars and calamities which were shortly to take place in the country, and which were to prove nearly fatal to the catholicks.‡

In

\* Report of the secret committee, Appendix, No. XIV. p. 104.

§ This alludes to the proclamation of the seventeenth of May, inviting the people to return to their allegiance, and offering an amnesty to such as should do so ; and it proves the contumacy of the traitors in spurning at the benign and conciliating measures of government.

‡ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such prophecies were used during the civil wars, to rouse the people, as may be seen in Spenser, Morison, Temple, Laurence, and Harris.

In one of these it was asserted, that the upper part of the county of Mayo, particularly the mountain of Croagh Patrick, near Westport, § would be the safest place of refuge, whenever these calamities would commence; which induced numbers of people to repair there, some for protection, others to perform pilgrimage, and to do other pious offices, as it has always been considered as a holy place.

These prophecies || have a very great effect on the minds of the lower class of people, who are persuaded that the events predicted must necessarily come to pass; and they were ready to catch at every rumour which seemed to correspond with the ideas which they had inspired. They breathed nothing but death, bloodshed and devastation, painted the rivers as running crimson with blood, and a pestilence raging through the country, occasioned by the effluvia of putrid carcases, which remained unburied; with every other horror which a dreadful civil war produces.

Such prophecies were one of the many artifices used to excite hatred in the popish multitude against protestants, who were figured under the title of the black army, and were destined to commit those atrocities against the catholics, and to furnish a pretext of massacring them, whenever an opportunity should present itself.

These northern families were but a short time in the county of Mayo, when a person of high respectability informed the magistrates and country gentlemen, that they were deeply concerned in the conspiracy then carried on in the North, and that most of them, conscious of their crimes, fled from a country where they were closely watched, and dreaded the vengeance of the law, to one where, not subject to suspicion, they might easily execute their designs.

Orange societies had at that time commenced in the North, whose avowed object was, to protect themselves and their country from the machinations of a set of popish traitors, who had bound themselves by the most solemn ties to overturn the constitution and extirpate the protestants, and that in so secret a manner, that many thousands were united before a discovery could be obtained. At their secret meetings, which were generally held at night, they methodized their operations, employed

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emissaries

§ Plate X. 6.

|| I have already mentioned that many popish families had emigrated from the county of Tyrone to Connaught, in consequence of prophecies.



emissaries to propagate their doctrines; collected money for the purchase of arms and ammunition; laid plans for attacking the houses of protestants, and taking away their arms; and finally concerted the means of a general rebellion and massacre, in conjunction with the rebels of every other part of the kingdom.

The gentlemen and magistrates of the country were well aware that such mischiefs were hatching, but found it very difficult to procure full and convincing proofs to substantiate the facts, and to bring the traitors to punishment.

It was in this critical state of things, that the spirit and promptitude of the orangemen, alive to the interest of their country, and attached to that constitution for which their ancestors fought under king William, associated under the strongest bonds of loyalty and affection; and relying on the goodness of the cause in which they had embarked, they, without fear or restraint, hunted these traitors to their dens, developed their dark proceedings, and dragged them to punishment. By their well-timed and spirited exertions, they delivered that part of the kingdom from those horrors which were ready to burst upon the heads of the loyal inhabitants.

This was the persecution which the disaffected so much complained of, and which afforded a plausible pretext for the outrages afterwards committed by the rebels.

The conduct of these northern families on the landing of the French proves with what malignant designs they were originally actuated; for, when that event took place, they threw off the veil of religion, and the cloak of humility, boldly assumed the iron front of war, pressed forward to receive arms and ammunition from their new deliverers, chose leaders among themselves, erected the standard of rebellion, and plundered and desolated the houses and the property of their protestant friends and benefactors.

It is very remarkable, that these men, despising the want of courage and abilities in the Connaught rebels, refused to serve promiscuously with them, but formed a separate corps, who kept together during the rebellion.

The peasantry of the counties of Mayo and Sligo, (I mean of the Roman catholic persuasion,) are savage, ignorant, and superstitious; and  
though

though they were organized and sworn to assist the French on their landing, yet I am convinced that they would not have had spirit or resolution enough to rise in rebellion, if that event had not taken place, however well inclined they might have been.

The gentlemen and men of landed property, with but few exceptions, were protestants of the church of England, and consequently loyal, and strongly attached to the established government. To these were added an equally loyal and very respectable protestant yeomanry, mostly freeholders, and planted rather thickly over the country. All these were tolerably expert in the use of arms, having served in the volunteer and yeomanry corps.

These two bodies, united in common interest, and roused by the danger which surrounded them, would have continued to overawe and restrain an ignorant and unarmed rabble, without men of property or consequence at their head, and stimulated to action only by some low emissaries from other countries, or by their weak and infatuated clergy, many of whom were found among the foremost in joining the enemy, and in strengthening the ranks of rebellion.

The landing of a little more than one thousand French, achieved, almost instantly, what the united Irishmen could never have effected, notwithstanding all their arts, to make the popish multitude rise in rebellion.

Struck with a sudden panick at the unexpected appearance of the French, the loyalists, for the most part, abandoned their houses; the rebels, armed and encouraged by the French, elated with their first success, and animated with a desire of vengeance, and the hope of plunder, entered sword in hand into the deserted abodes of the fugitive loyalists, where, not content with pillage and rapine, they, with the most savage barbarity, like the Goths of old, sacrificed to wanton revenge every thing valuable, which art and science had formed and collected for the comfort and delight of the virtuous and intelligent; and in a few days defaced those ornaments and improvements which human industry had been raising for a century before.

Another circumstance which contributed to promote the cause of rebellion in those counties, and to cement its votaries, by a bond still more binding than the oath of the united Irishmen or defenders, was the propa-

gation of the mysteries of the Carmelites among the Roman catholicks. This was originally a religious order, which was said to have been instituted for the advancement of piety and morality, but it was now perverted to the purpose of associating men for the express purpose of committing treason, murder, sacrilege, and robbery, with every other inferior crime, which depravity might suggest, or opportunity afford.

As its malignant influence operated much stronger in Connaught than in the province of Leinster, where also it was made a vehicle of rebellion, I shall give the reader a more minute description of it. In the neighbourhood of Ballina,\* there were some mendicant friars, who were led, by the poverty of their situation, to convert the credulity of the popish multitude to their benefit, by inducing them to believe, that an admission into this fraternity would ensure them eternal happiness; and this foundation being once laid, it was not difficult afterwards to persuade them to pay a small sum of money for its attainment.

At their initiation they received a square piece of brown cloth, with the letters I. H. S. inscribed on it, meaning *Iesus hominum Salvator*,§ which was hung round the neck with a string, and lying on the shoulder next to the skin, was, from its situation, called a scapular. The price of it on initiation was, to the poorer class, one shilling; to those who could afford it, higher in proportion to their ability. This distinguishing badge of the order, having received the priest's benediction, was supposed to contain the virtue of preserving the disciple, not only from outward dangers and injuries, but also from the attacks of the ghostly enemy. They ascribed to these scapulars the power of protecting a house, in which one of them happened to be, from being consumed by fire, or of extinguishing one on fire, if thrown into the flames; while the sacred extinguisher would remain perfectly safe from the power of the fire, like the three Hebrews in the Babylonian furnace.

The ignorance and credulity of the popish multitude were imposed on by the following device: The cloth of which these scapulars were originally made, being composed of the Asbestos, possessed a quality to resist fire; and on receiving the priest's benediction, they were committed to the flames, where, to the astonishment of the beholders, they were found

to.

\* Plate X. 3, 4.

§ *Iesus*, the Saviour of mankind. See it in Plate V.



to preserve themselves safe and entire; and having undergone this fiery ordeal, the supernatural power which produced it was ascribed to the priest's benediction.

Many of these were cut off the necks of the rebels when taken prisoners, and their virtue was put to the test by exposing them to the fire, where they gave a convincing proof of their frailty, by being (as the inventors themselves have long since been) reduced to dust and ashes.

The parish priests in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, either convinced of the efficacy and utility of this order, in promoting the cause of religion, or seeing that the sale of scapulars was very profitable, procured a power from the friars before mentioned to dispose of them, and admit candidates into this holy order. Bags of them have been often sent to fairs and markets, and sold to the credulous multitude.

The officiating priest at Ballina, curate to the popish bishop, was the person then intrusted with the distribution of this sacred symbol, a large number of which he conferred on the worthy claimants.

This soon became the signal by which those of the true faith were to know each other, and the rallying point for those devotees who carried on the crusade against the hereticks; and a shop was opened soon after the landing of the French, where all the sons of Erin,\* with their pikes in their hands, were supplied with scapulars at regulated prices.

These were intended, not only to unite them more strongly against the common enemy, but to arm them with fresh courage, and protect them from danger in the hour of trial. Good God! will that day ever arrive, when a pure, a simple, a rational, and undefiled religion shall be established among the deluded natives of Ireland; when the clouds of superstition and ignorance, which so much obscure the human mind, shall be dispelled by religion and reason, those bright luminaries which the Deity has benignly afforded to erring man, to direct his wandering steps through the thorny paths of life, and to guide his feet in the ways of peace?

We may say to the popish multitude of Ireland, in the words of holy writ, "Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures." Mat. xxii. 29.

The better to inflame the passions and awaken the fanatical fury of the popish multitude against protestants, a report was universally propagated

\* The Irish for Ireland.

gated in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, some months before the French landed, that the orangemen had combined, and were determined to massacre the Roman catholics, a device which was practised in every part of Ireland.

At Balle, near Hollymount,\* in the county of Mayo, a patron was held some time in the month of July, when the dissemination of that report had such an effect on the inhabitants of that town and its vicinity, that they remained in large bodies all night in the fields, where the leaders of rebellion organized and swore them.

An active intelligent magistrate informed me, that he expatiated on the dangerous tendency of such reports to the parish priest of Foxford,† some time in the month of July 1798, and recommended to him to undeceive his flock, by assuring them, from the altar, that they were false and groundless; but he objected to it, alleging as an excuse, that it would offend some of his most respectable parishioners.

The leaders of rebellion had recourse to another very curious invention, to incense the minds of the Roman catholics against the protestants, and inflame them with a spirit of revenge; and though the absurdity was more likely to excite ridicule than serious attention, it had the wished for effect on the semi-barbarous rabble.

A few days before the French landed, a report was industriously circulated, that the protestants had entered into a conspiracy to massacre the Roman catholics, and that they would not spare man, woman, or child. It was said that, for this purpose, a large quantity of combustible stuff had been introduced by the orangemen, who made a kind of black candles of it; that they were of such a quality, that they could not be extinguished when once lighted; and that in whatever house they should be burnt, they would produce the destruction of every person in it.

It was said also, that this deleterious system was to be carried into effect through the whole country in one night; and the people in the villages were cautioned not to sleep in their houses, lest they should be surprized.‡

Multitudes, impressed with this idea, sat up all night, or slept in the fields.

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\* Plate X. 7.

† Ibid. 5.

‡ This imposition was practised in the county of Wexford.

The magistrates, finding that this report was universally credited by the lower class of people, posted up an advertisement at Ballina to undeceive them, and convince them of the futility and absurdity of this report; but they were taught to believe that this notice was only an artifice to lull them into security, that they might more easily become a prey to their persecutors.

As soon as the French landed, one Crohan, who served as clerk to a popish chapel, was seized in the act of proclaiming in the parish of Kilmeckshalgan, in the county of Sligo, that the orangemen were murdering the Roman catholicks.

Most of the parish priests in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, to disarm the suspicion, and lull the vigilance of government and the magistrates, collected their flocks, and with them swore oaths of allegiance before magistrates, whom they solicited to administer them.

In the month of April 1798, father O'Donnell, parish priest of Kilmeckshalgan, asked Mr. Hillas, of Seaview, to attend him and his flock for that purpose; and they, in the presence of him and counsellor Webber, gave that test of their loyalty; yet as soon as the French landed, that same priest seized Mr. Hillas's best horse, and joined them.

The priests of different parishes, after the French landed, were heard to say to their flock, from the altar, "God help you, poor people! Pray for your souls; I cannot answer for your safety; the king's troops and the orangemen will put you all to death."

In the course of the summer of 1798, it was observed, that the petty shop-keepers, mechanicks and servants, of the popish persuasion, used to hold frequent meetings at the low tippling houses in Ballina, and its vicinity, which induced well grounded suspicions that they entertained designs of a treasonable tendency; particularly as such associations were constantly attended by some of the northerns, who were active and zealous in making profelytes to their pernicious doctrines. They also kept up a constant intercourse with their friends in the North, by means of emissaries, who passed and re-passed in the guise of hawkers and pedlars. This intelligence having been privately communicated to the reverend Mr. Neligan, of Ballina, a very active and intelligent magistrate, (whose zealous exertions on this and other occasions became a source of many future calamities to himself and his numerous family) he and a few friends, in whom  
he



he could confide, were constantly on the watch, in order to detect and counteract the treasonable plans of this party; but they were conducted with such secrecy, as to elude their vigilance, and prevent them from receiving any certain information of their real designs; however it had the good effect of filling them with alarm and diffidence, and of preventing them from disseminating their doctrine in as wide a circle, and with as much rapidity as before.

Mr. Neligan, ever attentive to the duties of his office and the peace of society, having learned that an idle young man of the name of Reynolds, who often frequented the town of Boyle,\* as a pedlar, was deeply concerned in the machinations of those traitors, wrote to a friend there, to have him arrested, and interrogated on the subject. On his examination, he assumed an appearance of the most perfect innocence, and denied every charge which was brought against him; but a few lashes of a cat-o'-nine-tails having been inflicted on him by order of the officer commanding at Boyle, he discovered the whole plot, and those who were associated with him. The information having been sent to Mr. Neligan, he was astonished at the number and respectability of the persons concerned in it; however, the events which took place in the course of the rebellion verified his allegations; for the persons whom he charged were the most dangerous and desperate in it.

From the very critical state of the country, it would have been very dangerous to attempt the arrest of so many persons of the before mentioned description; for there was no military in the country, except a small detachment of the carabineers, a troop of yeomen cavalry, and a company of yeomen infantry; and above one half of the latter, according to Reynolds's evidence, were united Irishmen, having, regardless of their oath of allegiance, enlisted merely for the purpose of procuring arms, and joining the French when they should land; an event which was strongly and earnestly expected. It was then thought prudent to dissemble, and conceal a knowledge of the business, and to arrest but a few of the leaders, which might cast a damp on the spirit of the party. Eight only then were taken up, and among these two of the name of Walsh, who were sent to general Taylor at Sligo† for examination; but they were discharged

\* Plate X. 5.

† Ibid. 2.

discharged by the intercession of some gentlemen and magistrates of the neighbourhood, who assured him of their upright characters, their loyal and peaceable deportment, though it was declared upon oath, that they were the principal persons to whom the rebels in the barony of Tyrawly were to look up to for advice and instruction. Two of these magistrates had soon reason to retract their opinions of their liberated friends; for the elder, dreading the punishment due to his crimes, fled to America, after having defrauded one of the magistrates at whose instance he was liberated. The younger Walsh was apprehended in the house of the other gentleman, who had been his encomiast, with a predatory party in arms, ready to establish liberty and equality, at the expense of his benefactor.

This fact affords a persuasive lesson to men of property and influence, with what caution they should interpose between the criminal and the laws of his country, particularly when their interference is intended, not to elucidate the innocence of the accused on his trial, but to rescue him before it takes place from the hands of justice.

From the following circumstances, which preceded the arrival of the French, no person can doubt but that they were expected by the rebels of Mayo and Sligo :

They had an immense quantity of pikes in readiness: To inflame the Romanists against the protestants, they spread the usual reports about orangemen and their sanguinary designs; and their priests and their congregations were very eager to take oaths of allegiance, in imitation of those of the county of Wexford, to put the magistrates off their guard, and to prevent the introduction of troops into the country.

As some of the Romish clergy and their flocks in the county of Mayo expressed a desire of testifying their allegiance by taking oaths for that purpose, doctor Stock, the bishop, and some of the magistrates, desirous of encouraging so laudable a desire in them, supposing that it would tend to keep the common people quiet and steady to the government, held a meeting at Ballina, early in the month of June 1798, entered into resolutions, and formed a committee for carrying their intentions into effect.

An active and intelligent magistrate of my acquaintance entertained a very different opinion of that measure, well knowing that treason was then hatching among the people, and that it would soon burst forth into action; and therefore he absented himself from the meeting, though he had been

appointed one of the committee, as he had strong reasons to doubt the sincerity of the Roman catholicks.

According to the plan adopted, the magistrates divided the country into districts; and in order to accommodate the lower class of people, they attended at the popish chapels on successive Sundays, where the priests were directed to have their flocks assembled, and where they had the oath solemnly administered to them, beginning with the priest, and going through the whole of his congregation. By these means, (aided also by the several landlords who took care to bring their tenants forward) almost the whole of the inhabitants, clergy and laity, had the oath administered to them. The magistrate, to whom I alluded, would not attend, because he had many documents to prove, and was even informed by one of their own persuasion, that they meditated the subversion of the constitution, and that the favourite toast at their convivial meetings was, "A total extirpation of the protestants!"

Similar perfidy, but still stronger, took place in a yeoman corps, commanded by captain Jones, of Ballina. The magistrate whom I mentioned, received positive information, that about thirty of them, who were Roman catholicks, had all been united men, and had been sworn to join the French on their landing, which he communicated to their commander, but he could not be prevailed on to give credit to it. He, however, having mentioned it to them, they seemed very much hurt, and proposed that a very strong test, in addition to the oath of allegiance which they had sworn, should be framed and administered to them; and captain Jones having complied, they all took it with the greatest readiness. This served as a mask to their treachery for the present, but which they soon threw off, when an opportunity was afforded them of joining the French, which they all did, except three, adding desertion, perfidy and perjury, to the crime of treason.

There are two priests in the neighbourhood of Ballina, who have not been taken up or put on their trial. One of these constantly visited the French and rebel generals at Killala, and gave directions and orders to them; and when an alarm was given one day, while he was celebrating mass, that the king's troops were approaching, he ordered every man who had arms, and was able to march, to repair without delay to the French standard to oppose them. The other lived in a parish the most notorious  
for



for disaffection in the county of Sligo, and a letter from him was discovered, written to a rebel commander at Killala, communicating the state of the country, and mentioning the necessity of sending a quantity of spirituous liquors to keep up the courage of his people, and to make them ready for service.

There were at least a dozen Romish priests who went to pay their respects to the French, and lived in habits of intimacy with them at Killala, and other places, eating, drinking, and making merry with them, on the spoils of the unfortunate protestants who had either fled or had been imprisoned; whilst none of the Romish persuasion, though reputed loyal, were known to fly the country, through apprehension of danger, or to join the king's troops, or the armed loyalists.

It was not uncommon to see some of these spiritual guides introducing into the court-yard of Killala some of their half-naked raggamuffins, taking clothes out of the stores, which were kept there for that purpose, and arraying them for actual service. There were two, however, of this class, who could not be induced, either through fear or promises, to partake with their flocks in the rebellion, but strongly exhorted them to continue in their allegiance, and to attend to their industry, forewarning them of the consequences of their disloyalty. One of these was Mr. Conway, priest of Ardagh; the other, Mr. Grady, priest of Rathrea; of whom the latter was treated with great severity, and dragged from the altar by his rebellious flock, because he refused to partake in their wickedness, and accompany them to Killala. He had even the boldness to denounce vengeance on their guilty heads, should they persevere in their treasonable schemes.

The persecution levelled against the protestant clergymen, was not confined to the imprisonment of their persons, joined to the insults and menaces offered to them, and the destruction of their houses and property, but was extended even to the demolition of their churches, which they gutted of all the timber and carpenter's work, and most wantonly and insultingly abused and tore the books which they found in them.

Amongst the churches most damaged were those of Lackan, Easky, Killmacfige, and Enniscrone, in the parish of Killglass, and county of Sligo. Of the latter they tore up the floors, demolished the pews and the communion table, rifled the tombs with great indecency, and insulted

the remains of the reverend Mr. Valentine, who had been vicar of and resident in that parish, fifty-three years, and who died in the year 1765, in his ninetieth year, noted and universally revered for his humane and charitable disposition. He left 600*l.* for the support of the widows of the clergy of the diocese, and 400*l.* for maintaining a charity school in the parish, and for apprenticing the children who were instructed in it. Doctor William Cecil, bishop of Killala, had a monument erected to him, on which his virtues and good qualities were inscribed, as an example to his successors.

The meeting-house belonging to the dissenting congregation of the Moy Water, near Ballina, fell a prey to their destructive rage. This was a colony brought there by sir Arthur Gore, from the North, near one hundred years ago; and from their preserving their primitive manners and dialect, and not holding much intercourse with the common people of the country, they were more odious to the Roman catholics than the protestants of the established church, and were treated with great severity. They were distinguished by the name of Albanaugh.\*

The treatment which Mr. Little, vicar of Lackan, met with from these savages, deserves particular notice: This gentleman resided constantly at his glebe-house, and a great part of his time was employed in enquiring into, and relieving the wants of his poor parishioners, of every religious persuasion. He applied himself very much to the study of physick, and went to no small expense in purchasing medicine for their relief, which he bestowed liberally on them. The Roman catholics (who, from their numbers and poverty, were most likely to be the objects of his bounty) soon forgot the kind offices conferred on them, and requited his benevolence with unrelenting cruelty. Though he and Mrs. Little were in a very feeble and declining state of health, they forced them from their house without a horse to carry them, and scarcely clothes to cover them, and then plundered them of every thing worth taking, wantonly destroying a valuable library, and every other article which they could find no use for; and joined to all this, they demolished his church.

The reverend Mr. Neligan, of Ballina, a gentleman of elegant taste and extensive learning, and an active and intelligent magistrate, narrowly  
escaped

\* This is much of the same import with Saffinagh, which signifies equally protestant and Englishman; but alludes more particularly to the Scotch.

escaped from that town with some more loyalists; and after having passed through a country infested by banditti, who were roaming in quest of protestants,§ and after much peril and difficulty, arrived at Seaview, the seat of Mr Hillas, in the county of Sligo. On his arrival there, some of the popish servants of Mrs. Hillas informed her, that she would run a great risk of having her house demolished by harbouring a protestant clergyman.

At length, the event so eagerly wished for by the Mayo and Sligo rebels arrived; for on the twenty-second of August 1798, three French frigates appeared in the bay of Killala,\* a small town in the county of Mayo, which is the residence of the bishop; and as they had English colours, Messrs. Edwin and Arthur Stock, the bishop's sons, and Mr. James Rutledge, the port surveyor, were tempted to visit them, and were not undeceived till they were made prisoners.

As the bishop held a visitation at that time, and the town afforded but very bad accommodation for strangers, his lordship had a very numerous company in his house. Soon after dinner, a messenger arrived in the utmost consternation, to announce that three hundred French troops had landed about a mile from the town, and were marching towards it.

Two carabineer officers, who dined there, rode off instantly to their quarters at Ballina, to convey intelligence of their landing, and to transmit it to Castlebar.

The prince of Wales's fencibles, and the yeomen of the town, in all about fifty, resisted them for some time; but as they would soon have been overpowered by the great superiority of numbers, they retired into the castle,† but not until Mr. Kirkwood, who commanded the yeomanry, after standing many shots, had fallen into their hands, and two of his corps had been killed.

The reverend doctor Ellison, of Castlebar, one of the bishop's guests, with great gallantry, appeared in the ranks, with a musket, and received a wound in the heel from a spent ball.

Mr. Edwin Stock, and many other prisoners, appeared at the gate, following general Humbert. The enemy entered the court yard of the castle,

§ This practice prevailed as much in Mayo and Sligo as in Wexford.

\* Plate X. 3.

† The bishop's palace is so called.



castle, and made prisoners captain Cills and a party of the prince of Wales's fencibles, but not without a very spirited resistance on the part of the captain, who wounded, in two places, the officer who led them on, and then shut the gate. After having entered the yard, they called for the bishop; and on his lordship's appearing, the general declared, that he came to give them liberty, and to free them from the English yoke.

They put in requisition all his lordship's horses, and some of his cows and sheep, saying, at the same time, that he should be paid for them by the Irish directory, which would be immediately established in Connaught.

The French officers gave the following account of the expedition: That about eighteen days before, one thousand five hundred men, some of whom had served under Bonaparte in Italy, the rest had been of the army of the Rhine, embarked on board three frigates at Rochelle, and of a very dark night eluded (beyond their expectation) the vigilance of the English fleet, which was close behind them. Two of them had forty-four guns, eighteen pounders, the other thirty-eight guns, twelve pounders. They said also, that they brought nine pieces of cannon, and arms for one hundred thousand men; but this was a French gasconade, as they had arms only for five thousand five hundred men, and but two four-pounders. The meagre persons, and the wan and fallow countenances of these troops, whose numbers did not exceed one thousand and sixty rank and file, and seventy officers, strongly indicated the severe hardships which they must have undergone.

They hoisted a green flag in front of the castle, with the Irish words, "Erin go bragh!" inscribed on it, which signifies in English, "Ireland for ever!" and they invited the people to join them, having assured them, that they would enjoy freedom and happiness by doing so.

The first day they passed in landing their arms and ammunition; the second in clothing and arming the natives, of whom great multitudes flocked to their standard, and in granting commissions to Irish officers.

Every person endued with any degree of wisdom and virtue must lament the state of the popish multitude, who were so perverted in principle, and blinded by fanaticism, as to join a ferocious foreign enemy against their king and country; though the paucity of their numbers precluded the most distant hope of being able, with their assistance, to subvert the government; and it is astonishing that their clergy, who had more im-  
proved

proved intellects, should have incited and stimulated them to do so, as it must have terminated in their inevitable destruction.

General Humbert, commander in chief, sent captain Cills and the prince of Wales's fencibles on board ship, and detained the yeomen two days, but afterwards liberated the latter on their parole, having on all occasions made a striking difference between the native Irish and the English, from a supposition, that the former without distinction hated the latter, and wished to separate Ireland from England.

The arms taken from the fencibles were delivered to the rebels, who said on receiving them, that they would kill every Englishman and orangeman in Ireland.

General Humbert told the bishop that the object of this invasion was, to rescue Ireland from the tyranny of England, and to give her a free constitution under the protection of France; and that he had not a doubt but that it would be accomplished in the space of one month, as another very powerful armament would soon arrive from France, to second his operations.

He informed his lordship, that a directory would shortly be established in Connaught, and said, that he should be glad to avail himself of his lordship's talents and consequence, to preside over that important department; but he excused himself, by saying, that he was bound to the king by repeated oaths of allegiance, which he could by no means think of violating.

General Humbert desired the bishop to issue his edict, to have all the horses and cars in the country collected, to convey his cannon, ammunition and baggage to Castlebar. His lordship assured him, that he had been but a short time resident in the country, and had not sufficient power and authority to effectuate his desires, but that he would do his utmost to serve him.

Next morning, Humbert finding that no cars or horses had been procured, became furious, uttered a torrent of vulgar abuse, presented a pistol at the bishop's eldest son, and declared he would punish his lordship's disobedience, by sending him to France; and accordingly he sent him off towards the shore, under a corporal's guard. When he had advanced about half a mile, the general sent an express on horseback to recall him,  
and

and at his return, he made him an apology, and pleaded necessity for what he had done.

On the morning of the twenty-fourth of August, a small detachment of the French marched from Killala to Ballina, but meeting with a more spirited opposition than they expected, from a party of the carabineers and yeomen infantry, commanded by major Kerr, they returned the same day.

In the evening, major Kerr, having received considerable reinforcements, advanced towards Killalla, but was obliged to retire, after an unsuccessful skirmish, in which two dragoons were wounded, one mortally; and the reverend Mr. Fortescue, rector of Ballina, and nephew of the earl of Clermont, received a ball in his groin, of which he died in a few days, in excruciating pain.

In one point, the Irish rebels were very much disappointed, for they imagined that the invaders were to commence their career with the slaughter of the protestants, and the destruction of their property; that the popish religion was to be established with the utmost splendor, on the subversion of the established church; and that the estates, which had been forfeited in former rebellions, were to be restored to the old Irish families. But their astonishment was great on being informed by the French, that their object was to give them a new constitution similar to that of France; that they would not suffer any person to be persecuted for religious opinions; and as they considered both religions as ridiculous and absurd, they laughed at those who contended about them.

On Sunday the twenty-sixth of August, the main body marched towards Ballina, with a prodigious number of the native Irish, whom they had armed and clothed; but they left behind them two hundred privates, and six officers, for the purpose, as the general said, to protect the protestant inhabitants from the sanguinary spirit of the popish multitude; but it is presumed they had also another object in contemplation, that of guarding a large quantity of ammunition, which they left at Killala, and of securing a retreat. They took five hostages with them, of whom Mr. Edwin Stock, the bishop's son, and the reverend Mr. Nickson, were two.

When the French approached Ballina, they blindfolded the hostages, and led them to the house of colonel King, in the midst of a vast concourse



course of pikemen, who insulted and reproached them as hereticks in the most opprobrious language. They passed the night under the protection of four Frenchmen, but were exposed to the invectives of some hundreds of the rebels, who threatened to force the guard, and put them to death.

As their horses could not be found next day, general Humbert at his departure permitted them to return.

On setting out for Castlebar, he left one Truc, a French officer, of a savage disposition and vulgar manners, to keep possession of Ballina.

Our troops, before they left that town, hanged a man of the name of Walsh, whom they found in the act of recruiting for the French, a commission from whom they found in his pocket. This was Walsh the younger, who had been charged at Sligo, before general Taylor, with treasonable practices, but whom he liberated in consequence of the excellent character given of him by some magistrates and others.

The French officers having found his body suspended when they entered the town, each of them gave it the fraternal embrace, and bedewed it with tears of sympathetic civism; and after having exposed it some time in the street, to excite the indignation of the populace against the loyalists, it was carried to the Romish chapel, where it lay in state with as much pomp and ceremony as if he had been the greatest hero or patriot of the age.

On the twenty-eighth of August, Mr. Richard Burke was brought a prisoner from Ballina, where he had been haranguing the populace, and inciting them to murder the protestants, which they had been but too well inclined to do before.

The French were very much astonished at finding that no protestants would join them; for not a single person in the whole country of the established church could be found to do so, except two drunken vagabonds at Killala, who in reality were destitute of all religious principle, though they passed for protestants; and they went through the ceremony of conforming to popery, and were baptized, thinking that it would recommend them to the French.

The bishop might have made his escape before the French arrived at his palace, but with laudable fortitude he resolved on remaining, by which he

materially assisted the French officers in maintaining social order, and in preserving the lives and properties of the protestant inhabitants.

The popish priests very soon displayed an ardent zeal to promote the interest of the French. Father Thomas Munnelly lived in a place called the Backs, where he officiated as curate in a parish which belongs to the popish bishop, doctor Bellew. Soon after the invasion he repaired to Killala, and offered his services to the French, who gladly received them, well knowing the unbounded influence of the priests over the popish rabble.

He was employed in carrying them recruits, in equipping them with arms and clothes, and in searching for orangemen, as the protestants were indiscriminately called. Having heard that Mr. Knox of Bartra, brother to counsellor Francis Knox, a gentleman of good property, had still continued to defend his house, he voluntarily offered his service to visit him, and to carry him a prisoner to the French. His offer having been accepted, he put himself at the head of a party of armed rebels, marched to Bartra, entered it by surprise, and with a pistol in his hand, forgetful of his allegiance, and of the sacredness and respectability of the sacerdotal character, he descended to the meanness of a common robber, and obliged Mr. Knox to deliver his purse, consisting of a few guineas, and then conveyed him, tied, as a prisoner, to the quarters of his new allies.

This villain defrauded the gallows of its due, for, after absconding some time, he surrendered himself under the proclamation, and has been transported with many culprits of notoriety.

Father Sweeny lived near Westport, in the county of Mayo, and enrolled himself in the service of the French, soon after they landed. He repaired to the bishop's palace, and though uninvited, stationed himself there at bed and board, supposing that his new allies would be desirous of availing themselves of his influence over the popish rabble.

He said to the French officers, "As every thing belonging to the protestants will be confiscated, I should be obliged to monsieur Charost, if he would let me have the bishop's library, as I am fond of reading;" but Charost, turning from him with contempt, said, "The bishop's library is as much his own now as ever it was."

This man took uncommon pains to prevail on the parishioners of Mr. Conway, a loyal priest, in the neighbourhood of Ballina, to take a part in the rebellion, in which he was strenuously opposed by the other, who

who constantly preached up the duties they owed their king and country, in which he had considerable success.

Sweeny was apprehended and tried by a court-martial at Castlebar, where he was convicted on the most unquestionable evidence; and the testimony of the before-mentioned loyal priest tended much to bring him to the shameful and well merited death which he there suffered, having been hanged for his crimes.

From the very great contempt which the French shewed for the bigotry of the common Irish papists, and the strong opposition which they gave to their desire of massacring and plundering protestants, it is astonishing that they flocked to them in such numbers. The officers were filled with amazement on hearing the Irish recruits say, when they offered their service, that they came to take arms for France and the blessed Virgin!

It is astonishing also, that the priests should have been so zealous for them, as they manifested the most striking dislike, mingled with contempt, towards them; though common policy required that they should use every art to conciliate them, as they had unbounded influence over their flocks; and as many of them had a smattering of French, they served them as interpreters.

Monfieur Charost said, "That they had just driven the pope out of Italy, and did not expect to find him so suddenly in Ireland."

James Conroy, parish priest of Adergool, in the barony of Tyrawly and county of Mayo, a few weeks before the invasion of the French took the oath of allegiance, in his own chapel, and in the presence of some hundreds of his flock, who followed his example; and he exhorted them from the altar to be loyal to the king and obedient to the laws, in a long speech, conceived in such forcible language, that the magistrate, who administered the oath, was convinced of his sincerity; and yet, in violation of it, he repaired to Killala, which was twenty miles distant, as soon as the French landed there, embarked warmly in their interest, and was the first person who shewed them the practicability of marching to Castlebar, by Barnageehy, instead of the usual road by Foxford.\*

As his house was in their route, he entertained the French and rebel officers: He converted his chapel into a guard-house for them, his man-

\* See Plate X. 5.



sion was their banquetting-house, and the oxen which they took from his neighbours were slaughtered in one of his out-offices.

It has been since discovered, that a messenger had been dispatched to general Hutchinson, to inform him that the French were advancing towards Castlebar, by Crossmalina, instead of Foxford; but Conroy and his coadjutor stopped him, made him swear the united Irishmen's oath, and enrolled him in the rebel ranks. His name was William Burke. He was afterwards hanged at Castlebar. The stopping him was the occasion of many calamities to this kingdom.

Conroy, conscious of his guilt, and fearing that he should be arrested, kept guards constantly round his house, after the arrival of our troops at Killala; but a party detached by general Trench surprised his videttes, killed two of them, wounded a third, and took the fourth prisoner. They were all in French arms and uniforms. They found in his house a French carabine, and some cartridges; a printed proclamation of the French, offering liberty to the people of Ireland; and the entire correspondence which had taken place between him and one Maguire of Crossmalina,\* a noted rebel leader.

He was hanged at Castlebar, without either confessing or denying his guilt; and though he was sure of eternal salvation for having opposed an heretical state in support of the true faith, he had scarce sufficient strength to ascend the fatal step.

On the first of September, lieutenant-colonel Charost received orders from general Humbert, to send off all the French troops to Castlebar, but that he should remain at Killala, as commandant of it, with another French officer of the name of Ponson.

This intelligence filled all the protestants with the most gloomy apprehensions, lest the authority of the commandant would not be sufficient to protect them from that sanguinary spirit which the lower class of people had so often manifested; and they dreaded the fate of the protestant sufferers at Wexford-bridge, Vinegar-hill, and Scullabogue.

Charost, a man of sense and honour, and naturally benevolent, shewed great horror at the bigotry of the Romanists, sympathised most tenderly with the protestants, and used the most unremitting exertions to protect them from its baneful effects. He had two hundred Irish recruits under  
his

\* See Plate X. 4.

his command, but the envenomed hatred which they had already shewn towards all loyal subjects, proved that they could not place much reliance on their protection. The commandant, wishing to adopt measures for securing the lives and property of the inhabitants of the town and the adjacent country against robbers, invited them without any distinction of religion or party, to accept of arms, but on condition that they would return them when called for. The inhabitants of the town, and especially the protestants, embraced the offer with alacrity, and the distribution took place on the evening of September the first.

The rebels objected strongly against supplying the protestants with arms, as they said that they would turn them against the French and their allies, as soon as an English army appeared; and two of their officers, of the name of Mulheeran and Maguire, who were spokesmen on the occasion, became clamorous and vehement, the former having manifested his disgust so much as to lay down his arms.

The protestants, intimidated by the menaces of the rebel soldiers, resolved to surrender their arms, and to rest their defence on the fidelity of the Irish recruits.

As the rebels continued their murmurs and complaints, and harraffed the protestants with domiciliary visits, in search of arms, the commandant, at the instance of the latter, issued a proclamation, requiring that no person should appear in arms, except recruits for the French service.

In addition to the terror of being deprived of their arms, the protestants were very much alarmed at the accounts which were constantly received of depredations committed on the houses of persons of the established church, in all the adjacent country. Every night some house was plundered; and scarce an hour passed, in which the bishop was not importuned to redress some grievance, or to obtain from the commandant protection for some house against the rapacity of banditti.

Deal Castle, the elegant seat of lord Tyrawly, was made a perfect wreck of. The commandant, therefore, issued a proclamation for dividing the country into departments, and appointed a civil magistrate, aided by a certain number of rebel soldiers over each. Mr. James Devitt, a Roman catholic tradesman, of good sense and moderation, was appointed to preside over the town, and had one hundred and fifty men under his command.

About

About twenty men mounted guard in the castle, which was considered as the head quarters of the allied army. This institution afforded in some degree peace and protection to the town ; but the most shocking depredations continued to be committed on the houses of protestants in all the adjacent country, by those very rebel guards who had been appointed to protect them.

This is not surprising, as the rebels were elate on the arrival of the French, with the hope of being allowed to indulge their sanguinary rage against protestants, and to plunder their property with impunity ; and they were much vexed and disappointed when it was given out in publick orders, that any depredations committed on private property should be punished with death ; and the rebel leaders submitted to such orders with the utmost reluctance, for they were in many instances little better in point of moral character than the semi-barbarous rabble whom they headed.

At Ballina, and in its vicinity, any miscreant who could influence forty or fifty ruffians, became captain of a company of pikemen, and obtained a commission from Truc the commandant ; and the first act by which he signalized himself was, by dragging in orangemen, by which they meant protestants, and by plundering their houses.

Before I proceed to describe the operations of the main body of the French army at Castlebar, I will give the reader a sketch of the characters of some of the most conspicuous rebel leaders in the neighbourhood of Ballina and Killala.

Henry O'Keon was the son of a cow-herd of lord Tyrawly, and was born at Kilcomin, within three miles of Killala. Having acquired a smattering of Latin at a hedge school, he repaired to Nantz in France, where he studied divinity, and received holy orders in the year 1788.\* On the abolition of his order in France, he enlisted in the service as a private soldier, and was gradually advanced to the rank of a captain of grenadiers.†

The following commission, found among his papers, proves that he came as an interpreter to the French, and that their expedition was intended for the place where they landed :

“ Army

\* His testimonium was found among his papers and produced on his trial.

† His commission was also produced.



“ Army of } Liberty! - . - Equality!  
expedition.

“ General Humbert, on account of the civism of citizen Henry O’Keon, has chosen him to be employed in quality of an interpreter, and he shall be considered amongst the number of the staff. Citizen O’Keon will embark on board the *Franchise* frigate, with adjutant-general Fontaine, and shall be admitted in the number of the staff of general Humbert, commander in chief of the expedition.

“ HUMBERT.”

O’Keon, well knowing the superstitious credulity and the fanaticism of the popish multitude, assembled a vast concourse of them in the street of Ballina, and having mounted the rostrum, he related the following story to them in his native tongue, which he spoke better than French or English: “ That he dreamt one night in France, that the virgin Mary visited him, and informed him that her votaries in Ireland were suffering the most grievous persecution, and she recommended to him to go to their relief. As he regarded it merely as an idle dream, she made him a second visit, and bemoaned, in the most doleful accents, the state of her friends in Ireland, and repeated her former advice; but as he shewed no regard to it, she made him a third visit, and gave him a violent box on the ear. Convinced by this that her Holiness was serious, he repaired to the French directory, and persuaded them to undertake this expedition; and he assured them that there could not be a doubt of its success, as it was undertaken by the advice, and under the sanction of the blessed Virgin.” The besotted multitude persuaded of the truth of what he said, testified their joy and their approbation of it by vociferous acclamation.

O’Keon was humane, having upon all occasions opposed the blood-thirsty disposition of the popish multitude.

Father Prendergast lived near Westport, and was of the order of mendicant friars who support themselves by the voluntary donations of such persons in their neighbourhood as can afford to exercise acts of liberality; but he, like many others of his order, extorted very large contributions from the bigotted herd of papists, who have an extraordinary superstitious reverence for their sacerdotal guides of every description.

Such.

Such was father Prendergast, a stout, sturdy, well fed priest, who batten-  
 tened on the fat of the land, *Epicuri de grege porcus*, without giving him-  
 self any trouble about his spiritual concerns, except when he could turn  
 them to profit.

The most fruitful source of lucre which his vocation afforded him, was  
 the sale of scapulars, of which he often sold a basket at fairs or patrons.

He also dealt in charms and prophecies. One of the former, of which  
 I give the reader a copy, was found on the person of one Prendergast, a  
 farmer, who obtained it from this holy friar in the year 1798, by a very  
 respectable magistrate in the county of Mayo, near Westport. I have given  
 one of them found on a rebel in the county of Wexford; and a similar  
 piece of superstitious trumpery is to be found in doctor Bernard's history  
 of the siege of Drogheda, written in the seventeenth century.

“ *Jesus I. H. S. Maria*

“ *Trust 4 Thee.*”

“ This is measured of the wounds of the side of our lord Jesus Christ,  
 which was brought from Constantinople unto the emperor Charles, within  
 a gold chest, as a relief most precious, to that effect, that no evil or any  
 thing might take him who reads it, hears it, wears it, cannot be hurt by  
 any tempest, fire, water, knife, sword, lance, or bullet; neither the devil  
 shall hurt him. He shall be victorious, and never die an untimely death,  
 and it shall be a sure safety to women with child. Amen, so be it.” To  
 Pat. Prendergast.

As soon as the French landed, father Prendergast attached himself in  
 the strongest manner to them, and was very successful in promoting their  
 interest, from the great influence he had over the lower class of people.  
 When the king's troops again took possession of the country, he, with  
 many others, fled to the mountains, where for some months he endured  
 much from want, anxiety and disease.

A party of the king's troops, who went in search of a banditti which  
 infested the country, found this holy friar a most miserable instance of the  
 uncertainty of human affairs, lying in a wretched hut, almost consumed by  
 that most dreadful and loathsome disorder called *morbus pediculofus*,\* of  
 which

\* The lousy disorder.

which he died soon after ; and such were the putrid effluvia which issued from his body, that it was both dangerous and offensive to approach it for the purpose of interring it.

Father Owen Cowley was the son of a poor peasant, who lived in the parish of Castlecomer, and county of Sligo, within about four miles of Ballina. At a hedge-school he acquired a competent share of Latin to read the mass, and received holy orders, having been sanctified by the imposition of doctor Bellew's hands. One of the crimes charged against Jeroboam was, "That he made of the lowest of the people priests of the high places : Whosoever would, he consecrated him, and he became one of the priests of the high places. And this became sin unto the house of Jeroboam, even to cut it off, and to destroy it from off the face of the earth."\*

The same practice prevails among the Roman catholic bishops of Ireland, as they commonly recruit from the lowest class of the people, to fill the vacancies in the ecclesiastical ranks ; and when such persons are selected to preach the gospel, it is not surprising that vice and immorality are so prevalent, or that the popish clergy are found at the bottom of plots and conspiracies, and that many of them are the most active incendiaries, and foremost in the ranks of rebellion.

Father Cowley, having finished his Irish education, repaired to France, to complete himself in humanity and divinity.

When the French republicans were exercising a cruel and sanguinary spirit against ministers of the gospel, he retired to his native country ; yet such was his disaffection to a protestant king, and a protestant state, that he offered his services to those very republicans, though they were the avowed enemies of christianity, as soon as they landed in Ireland.

Truc, the French commandant at Ballina, employed him as an interpreter, an office which he abused very much, having poisoned his mind against the protestants, whom he represented as pestilent hereticks, and as enemies to French liberty ; and he assured him, that their complete extirpation was essentially necessary for the establishment of the new constitution offered by France.

Truc, though savage and ferocious, refused to accede to his proposal, from motives of policy ; but Cowley having represented, that they were constantly conveying secret intelligence to the king's

4 F

troops,

\* 1 Kings, xiii. 34, 34.



troops, obtained permission to arrest and imprison them. He, therefore, in imitation of the Wexford rebels, sent out gangs of banditti, to search the country for protestants, and they fulfilled the most sanguine wishes of their savage employer; as they seized a great many persons of the established church, and committed them to the house of the honourable colonel King at Ballina, where father Cowley daily vilified and insulted them as hereticks, and denounced death against them in various terrific forms.

At one time, he was heard to declare that he would burn them alive in a kiln; another time with tar barrels; and when he despaired of procuring them, he said, that his purpose could be effected by tying flax round their bodies, and by setting fire to it. Death was presented to their imaginations another time by the ruthless pikemen, of whom some thousands daily passed by the windows of the house where they were confined. This villain had the temerity to inform the rebels (who were panting for the blood of the protestants) that he had procured them permission to assassinate them; and his diabolical design would probably have been carried into execution that night, but for the interference of Mr. Barrett, son of doctor Barrett, of whom I shall speak in the sequel; and his discovery and communication of it to Truc was near proving fatal to him; for the pikemen, indignant at their disappointment, in not being allowed to riot in the blood of their heretical enemies, attempted to wreak their vengeance on Barrett's head, from which the spirit and activity of his horse alone preserved him, when surrounded by a wood of pikes.

His address to the prisoners was often in these words: "Ye damnable hereticks—ye scum of hell—ye breed of the devil—your time is but short—ye have but this night to live, and to-morrow ye shall suffer for your crimes."

This happened in the time of tranquillity, when the country was in the hands of the French, without interruption; but in the hour of danger his sanguinary rage against them did not abate, for when the rebels were ordered to march towards Coloony to reinforce the French, he solicited and obtained permission to march the protestants with them, under pretext that they would escape for want of guards, but in reality with an intention of having them cut off. Thus surrounded by a numerous body of pikemen, these unfortunate people were marched off thirty miles, many  
of

of them barefoot, and almost naked, as the rebels, when they arrested them, stripped them of their clothes, after the example of their Wexford friends.

During the engagement at Coloony, the prisoners were stationed near the church, expecting to be put to death if the king's troops were victorious; but after the battle, the guards being engaged in plundering and revelling, the prisoners made their escape, but were afterwards taken and reconducted to their former prison.

Though this wretch escaped the gallows, he suffered a more severe and painful death. Having wandered about the mountains for some months, suffering all the miseries of hunger, thirst, watching, and fear, his friends formed a subterraneous cavern for him, under a corn field, of which the aperture was covered with a large stone, so as to elude the observation of his pursuers, who often passed close to it. His provisions were let down to him by a rope. At last, he was found dead in his den, and his death was imputed to suffocation from coals, which his friends supplied him with, to correct the humidity of his cavern. His funeral obsequies were performed at midnight by a number of priests, who, it is said, were ordered to attend them by doctor Bellew, the popish bishop. I shall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XXI. 7, for a proof of the brutal treatment which some of the prisoners received from this ferocious monster.

General Bellew was descended from an ancient and respectable family in the county of Galway, and was nearly allied to sir Patrick Bellew.

He was brother to doctor Bellew, Roman catholick bishop of Kil-lala, and when that gentleman was at Rome, studying divinity, their father sent out his second son Matthew, to have him educated for the priesthood under his brother. He submitted for some years, though reluctantly, to the course of study necessary to qualify him for the pastoral office; but being of a lively, volatile disposition, and having formed an acquaintance at Rome with some Austrian officers, who encouraged him to join them, he entered into the Imperial service, and was soon after promoted to the rank of lieutenant; but not finding sufficient employment for the activity of his mind and body at that time in Germany, he entered into the Russian service, where he found sufficient occupation for the

the energies of both, in the bloody war which broke out between the Russians and Turks. Here his courage and conduct were so conspicuous, that he was soon advanced to the rank of major in a regiment of infantry. His rapid career in military fame, of which he ever seemed immoderately fond, was suddenly checked by an unforeseen accident.

At the siege of Ismail the enemy sprung a mine, which blew up part of the works, and buried in their ruins our unfortunate hero and a great many Russian soldiers. Happy had he been to have been numbered with the dead, and to have finished his life like a soldier, as he had begun it! but Providence reserved him for a more ignominious fate, and exemplified in him the uncertainty of human affairs. In his early days he fought for glory in a foreign land, and fought with courage the battles of alien princes. In his maturer years, he incurred disgrace and infamy at home, and took up arms against his lawful sovereign and his native country. When extricated from the ruins, he had but few symptoms of life: He languished a long time under his wounds, and his intellects were so much impaired, that he was found unfit for service. It was thought advisable then to give him a long leave of absence, and to let him return to his friends, in hopes that tranquillity and his native air would restore him.

Fresh misfortunes awaited him on his return to Ireland. As he had no fortune, he lived with his friends and his brother, on whom he had great dependence; but when the gloss of novelty wore away they grew tired of him, and manifested by their conduct that they considered him a troublesome and unwelcome guest. This drove him into low company, and a habit which he had acquired of drinking spirits increased his derangement, and made him disagreeable and offensive. His brother, having quarrelled with him, refused to admit him into his house, and used to billet him among his priests, month about; a situation very disagreeable to him, as he disliked the principles, and was disgusted with the ignorance and vulgarity of his hosts, which in his gayer hours were a subject of merriment and ridicule to him. By the death of an uncle, he became entitled to 600*l.* which he frequently solicited, to carry him back to Russia; but, notwithstanding the most pressing solicitations, he could not obtain it from his brother, who transacted the affairs of the deceased. He was frequently invited to the tables of the genteel and respectable



respectable families at Ballina, particularly by the reverend Mr. Neligan, who was much entertained with the narrative of his adventures ; but, from the want of clothes and cleanliness, and the filth and squalidness of his person, he soon became unfit for society.

Being in this state of misery and wretchedness on the arrival of the French, he had not firmness and fortitude enough to resist the temptations which they offered him to enter into their service. His first offer, however, was to his king and country ; and, just as the enemy were about to enter Ballina, he earnestly entreated Mr. Neligan and Mr. West to supply him with arms and a horse, declaring, that he was ready to accompany them and to share their fortune. With this request, it was impossible at that time to comply : He was left then with no other resource, but to fly or to join the enemy, and he embraced the latter. The French were happy to find a man who could speak their language well, and who was likely to be useful to them, from his long experience in the military line ; they therefore conferred on him the rank and dignity of general in the army of the Irish republick. But, as he continued to give way to his former habits of dissipation and drunkenness, they found him rather an incumbrance than a benefit.

Incensed against his brother for the indignities and slights which he had formerly received from him, he plundered his house of whatever he wanted ; but the doctor, having been appointed by the French commandant president of the municipal government of the town, had interest enough to get the general removed and stationed at Killala.

Mindful of former kindnesses conferred on him, he, previous to his departure from Ballina, posted a notice on the house of Mr. Neligan, denouncing vengeance against any person who should molest it ; but his authority ceasing with his presence, the demolition of it soon took place.

It was usual with him to levy small contributions on the people in the neighbourhood, to purchase whiskey and tobacco, of which he was immoderately fond ; but in no other instance did he offer any violation to the persons or property of the loyalists ; and contenting himself with the pleasures arising from his glass and his pipe, he seemed perfectly indifferent about the issue of the war.

At the approach of the king's troops to Killala, he refused to take up arms, or to march against them, though surrounded by a host of pikemen.

men. He was taken in the town, tried next day by a court-martial, and hanged. His dejection on his trial was such, that he was incapable of making any rational defence. He was a man of quick lively parts, very shrewd in his remarks on men and manners, and had much sincerity and ingenuoufness in his conduct and conversation. He knew the French, Italian, German, and Sclavonian languages well, and spoke the first three with fluency and accuracy. It is much to be lamented, that a man, who might have been a benefit and an ornament to society, should, by a train of misfortunes to which he was not necessary, be reduced to such a state of debasement, and be finally driven to make so ignominious an exit.

Father Mc. Gowen, a fellow of very low extraction, and a noted drunkard, lived at Crofsmalina; but having a dispute with the Maguire family, who made a conspicuous figure in the rebellion, he was obliged to change his residence. Though deeply concerned in treason and rebellion, the loyalists could not obtain sufficient evidence to convict him; but, though he escaped the gallows, justice overtook him in another way. Soon after the surrender of the French at Ballynamuck, a report having reached him, that they had made another descent, while he was revelling at a christening, he, elate at the pleasing intelligence, indulged in the joys of Bacchus to such an excess, that, returning to his own house at a late hour of the night, he fell from his horse, and broke his neck within a few paces of it.

Many circumstances conspired to favour the descent and the progress of the French in the county of Mayo, and to make it difficult for government to oppose them with effect. The oaths of allegiance taken by the popish clergy and their congregations, like those of Wexford, Wicklow, and Kildare, for the purpose of imposing on the government and the magistracy, lulled the vigilance and banished the suspicion of both; and the inhabitants of that county were, in appearance, but feebly organized, and did not break out into any open acts of outrage; and therefore but very small parties of the military were quartered in it.

There was a large army stationed in Munster, as an insurrection was to be apprehended there, and because it was more likely to be invaded by the French than any other part of the kingdom. As the landing of the French in Ireland suddenly occasioned a strong and visible sensation, not only in the disaffected inhabitants of Dublin, but in those of every  
county

county which had previously shewn any symptoms of disloyalty, and as strong indications of an intended insurrection appeared in them, it would have been very perilous to have marched the troops out of such districts.

Major-general Hutchinson, who commanded in the province of Connaught, and who, with major-general Trench, was in the town of Galway,\* on receiving intelligence of the enemy's descent, resolved on marching towards the counties of Mayo and Sligo, with whatever troops he could collect; but, from the slender force under his command, this could not be effected without leaving the counties of Leitrim and Roscommon, notoriously disaffected, liable to insurrection, and the bridges on the upper part of the Shannon without protection. The troops, with which he moved towards Castlebar,† were the Kerry militia from Galway, a detachment of the Frazer fencibles from Tuam,‡ the Kilkenny militia from Loughrea, the Longford from Gort, a detachment of lord Roden's fencible dragoons, four six-pounders, and a howitzer from Athenry.¶ These troops were afterwards joined by the skeleton of the 6th regiment, about one hundred men, from Galway; which afterwards continued to be garrisoned by a few corps of yeomanry only.

The disposition of the country seemed at first favourable, which was by no means the case in the counties of Leitrim and Roscommon, Cavan and Westmeath, in which there was a considerable movement of the people, and the blacksmiths were busily employed in making pikes.

Brigadier-general Barnet ordered the city of Limerick regiment of militia to march from Athlone§ to Carrick-on-Shannon.\*\*

In the mean time reports were received from general Dundas, who commanded in the county of Kildare, that there were strong apprehensions that a general insurrection would take place there, as notices had been circulated by the disaffected, inciting the people to rise; and, as many of the inhabitants had left their houses, he was under the necessity of detaining part of the reinforcements intended for Connaught.

The marquis of Cornwallis, having received intelligence the twenty-fourth of August of the landing of the French, ordered lieutenant-general Lake to proceed to Galway, to take the command of the troops assembling

\* Plate X. 10.

† Ibid. 6.

‡ Plate X. 8.

¶ Ibid. 10.

§ Plate X. 9.

\*\* Ibid. 5.



affembling in Connaught, his excellency intending in person to collect the troops that could be spared from Leinster at Athlone, or Carrick-on-Shannon, and to act in concert with the other general officers, as circumstances should require. He arrived at Philipstown on the twenty-sixth, with the 100th regiment, the first and second battalions of light infantry, the flank companies of the Bucks and Warwick militia, and on the twenty-seventh proceeded to Kilbeggan;\* the troops having made a progress of forty-four Irish miles in two days.

Major-general Hutchinson arrived at Castlebar on the twenty-fifth, and made proper dispositions to receive the enemy. Two roads led from Ballina to Castlebar; one to the east of Loughconn, by Foxford,† a village eleven miles from Castlebar, and situated on the river Moy, which is broad and deep, and is crossed by a bridge of many arches. As this is by far the best road, general Hutchinson detached the Kerry regiment, with their battalion guns, to defend that pass; and brigadier-general Taylor arrived there also, with a detachment of regular troops and yeomanry. As there is a very strong pass, called Barnageehy, on the other road,‡ to the west of Loughconn, and as it is far less practicable, and therefore much less frequented, than the road by Foxford, it was universally believed, and it was reasonable to suppose, that the French would make their approach by the latter; and it is most certain that general Humbert, openly and sedulously announced, some hours before he marched, that he would proceed by Foxford, intelligence of which was conveyed to generals Hutchinson and Trench; and the better to deceive them, he marched part of the road towards Foxford, and then turning suddenly to the right, he proceeded by Loughconn, where a narrow pass, called Barnageehy, through a defile in a high range of mountains, is so strong by nature, that one company with a battalion gun posted there would have checked the progress of the French. But for the reasons which I have assigned, generals Hutchinson and Trench could not have the most remote suspicion that the French would advance by that road.

At the hour of three o'clock in the morning, a yeoman, who had been visiting his farm near Barnageehy, arrived, and informed general Trench that he had seen a large body of men in blue clothes advancing that way; on

\* Plate I. 7.

† Plate X. 4, 5.

‡ Ibid.

on which the general proceeded to reconnoitre, attended by a few dragoons; but when he had advanced about three miles from Castlebar, he was fired on by the advanced guard of the French. He then returned with the utmost speed, and marched the garrison to a rising ground outside the town, which he had fixed on the preceding day as an alarm post, should the enemy advance to attack them. It was on a hill at the north-west extremity of the town, running from east to west, and commanding a rising ground opposite to it, over which the French must necessarily pass, and at the distance of about one thousand yards.

Our line was drawn up in the following order: The Kilkenny militia, the skeleton of the 6th regiment of foot, and a subaltern's detachment of the prince of Wales's fencibles, formed the first line. The Fraser fencibles, with a small corps of Galway yeomen infantry, formed a second line; but both drawn up in irregular lines, so as to occupy the summits of the heights they were destined to defend. The four companies of the Longford were drawn up in a valley in the rear, and a little on the left of the main body of the Kilkenny. The cavalry, consisting of the 1st fencibles, and a part of the 6th dragoon guards, were stationed in the rear of the first line, some piquets excepted, who had been previously sent out, and some yeomen cavalry, who were posted in different quarters.

Captain Shortall, who commanded the artillery, took post with two currie guns in front of the first line, consisting of the 6th infantry and the Kilkenny, who were a little to his right, to support that flank; the two battalion guns attached to the Kilkenny militia being on his left, separated by the road, but parallel to him. He left the two other currie guns in the centre of the town, in an open space, under lieutenant Blundel of the artillery.

They remained in this situation till near eight o'clock, when the enemy appeared in columns, advancing over the rising ground in front. When the French general viewed our line, he covered his column deep with rebels, dressed in French uniforms, to draw the fire on them, and from his own men. A numerous rabble, who were all plunderers, attended them also.

When they had nearly gained the summit of the hill, a round shot from captain Shortall's right gun struck the head of their column, and nearly divided it in two parts. This made them fall back, seemingly in confu-

sion ; but in some time advancing again, a shot from the second gun struck them with the same effect as the first, with this difference, that the part of the column on the right of where the shot entered rushed forward (about fifty yards) to the cover of a house, on which the captain found it necessary to direct his fire against the main body, and soon succeeded in driving them back. After this the enemy disappeared for a few minutes, when they advanced a third time in the same direction, but endeavouring to destroy the effect of the shot, by forcing some cattle into their front. In this attempt they were also frustrated, and obliged to retire under cover of the hill. In a short time they were perceived deploying from the centre, which was performed in a quick and masterly style, with the files very open. In this manner their line advanced, until it was contiguous to the place from whence their column had been previously obliged to retire. Here it was that our infantry committed a fatal mistake, in beginning to fire at so great a distance, that it could produce no effect, which the enemy imputing to panick, or the want of judgment, rushed rapidly forward to some hedges immediately in our front, under cover of which they continued to advance in detached parties, and without preserving any regular line, and at the same time extending their wings with an evident design of outflanking us. In this situation they did not resist him sufficiently with their musketry ; and in a very short time after, the detachment, which was posted for the sole purpose of supporting the guns, retired, leaving behind them the gallant major Alcock, of the Kilkenny, who was wounded.

It was still hoped that they would have rallied in rear of the guns, when they perceived the execution made by the canister shot ; but they ran off ; and captain Shortall had only time to fire three rounds, when the enemy rushed in on his right, and would certainly have put him and all his men to death, but that it is supposed their ammunition was expended. While captain Shortall was at the brithin of his gun, he was closed by a French officer, who having fired a pistol at him, and missed him, was on the point of drawing his sword, but the captain knocked him down with his fist, and then retreated.

In justice to the earls of Ormond and Longford, I think it proper to observe, that they did their utmost to rally their regiments.

The



The earl of Granard, major Thompson, captains Chambers and Armstrong rallied some soldiers of the Longford, and some stragglers of other corps, and covered the retreat of our troops, by maintaining, as they retired, a well-directed fire from behind hedges and walls on the enemy as they advanced. These officers then took post on the bridge with their small party and a curricule gun, well served and directed by corporal Gibson of the Royal Irish artillery, and with great gallantry and good judgment defended that pass for above half an hour against the main body of the enemy. At the same time, lieutenant Blundel, with the other gun in the street, used the utmost exertion to oppose them.

The party who defended the bridge, consisting of the before-mentioned officers, some of the Longford, a few of the Kilkenny and Fraser's, suffered most severely, as it was exposed to a cross fire, both from the roads leading to it, and from the houses on each side. The men often fell back and were rallied by their officers. At length, most of the Royal Irish artillery, who worked the gun, having been killed or wounded, it became useless; and the enemy were able to push forward a body of cavalry, whose charge was however repulsed by this small party, and two of the foremost hussars were killed in our ranks. By this charge however, our numbers were much reduced, and having lost the assistance of one captain and one subaltern, who were desperately wounded, they were obliged to retreat, after having lost near one half of their party.

Captain Chambers fell, covered with wounds; and when down, a Frenchman enraged at the spirited defence which he and his small party had made, drove a bayonet into his mouth, and the savage rebel women leaped on his body, and yet he still survives; but so impaired in his health, being completely exhausted and debilitated by the number of wounds which he received, and the great effusion of blood which ensued, as to be but the shadow of what he was: But it is to be hoped, that some substantial rewards will one day await that signal valour which he displayed in the service of his country, and which renders him an honour to it.

Many of the French officers assured me, that they never saw guns better served or more destructive than those of our artillery; and that the action would have terminated in our favour, if the infantry had stood their ground and supported them for ten minutes longer.

The French approached the new gaol to break it open: It was guarded by a highland Frazer centinel, whom his friends had desired to retreat with them; but he heroically refused to quit his post, which was elevated, with some steps leading to it. He charged and fired five times successively, and killed a Frenchman at every shot; but before he could charge the sixth time, they rushed on him, beat out his brains, and threw him down the steps, and the sentry box on his body.

A party of French dragoons pursued our retreating army above a mile from the town, and took a piece of cannon, which they were on the point of turning on our rear, but a party of lord Roden's fencibles rescued the gun, and killed five of them.

A respectable inhabitant of Castlebar gives the following account of five French soldiers who resided in his house, and of some other particulars: "When they entered my house, I implored them to spare the lives of me and my wife: They raised us from our knees, and said, "Vive!" They demanded bread, beef, wine and beer, and by supplying them with those articles, as far as my purse went, I obtained their good will. The rebels who accompanied them at first plundered us of various articles; but one day when they revisited us, I alarmed my foreign inmates, who expelled and chastised them severely. One of them, by name Philip Sheers, was from Holland; I gave him my watch, but he kindly returned it; another, Bartholomew Baillie, from Paris, was mild, learned, and rather silent: He had been a priest, but on the overthrow of his order, became a soldier: He denied a future existence. One Ballisceau, a Spaniard, was as intrepid as Hannibal: Since the age of fifteen, he had followed the profession of a soldier: He had been a prisoner in Prussia, in Paris and in London: He had been confined in a dungeon at Constantinople.\* He crossed the Alps with Buonaparte, and fought under him in Italy: His body, head and face were covered with wounds: He was a hard drinker, a great swearer, and mocked religion; and yet he was very fond of children, and never entered my apartment without constantly enquiring for my wife, who was on the point of lying-in. The fourth was from Rochelle, and the fifth from Toulon.

"As soon as the French learned that lord Cornwallis was arrived at Hollymount, which was but fourteen miles off, the Parisian came to me  
at

\* Taken prisoner when in the Imperial service.

at midnight, and said, with distress painted in his countenance, " We must depart, for the English, headed by a great general, are approaching."

Every person possessed of moral sentiment must contemplate with horror, mingled with pity, the depraved and degraded state of a people in a revolutionary state like the French; for devoid of every tie, human and divine, accustomed to idleness, and unacquainted with the arts of industry, their only occupation and resource is to plunder and desolate the territories of their neighbours.

On the night of the battle at Castlebar, bonfires were lighted on all the high grounds near it, particularly towards Westport and Newport, for the purpose of inciting the common people to rise, and which it occasioned most effectually. A numerous mob of savages entered the former, and plundered and almost demolished the houses of the protestants, but did not injure one belonging to a Roman catholic. All the loyalists were obliged to fly to Castlebar to preserve their lives.

Though lord Altamont and his family had evinced a very strong partiality for the Roman catholics, and had on all occasions given to government the warmest assurances of their loyalty, their property was not spared. They carried off his lordship's horses, cows, and sheep, drank all the liquor in his cellars, broke some of the doors and windows in his house, which they would have demolished, but that James Joseph Mc. Donnell, accompanied by a French officer, took possession of it as his own mansion. They told lord Altamont's French cook that they would not injure him, as he was a Frenchman and a Roman catholic.

Mount-Browne, the house of the honourable Mr. Denis Browne, his lordship's brother, and member for the county, they plundered and destroyed beyond precedent, where fire was not used; though on all occasions he had been unremittingly the warm advocate of the Roman catholics in parliament. They carried off all his horses, cows and sheep, and cut down many ornamental trees in his demesne to make pikes. In short, the savages plundered the houses of every protestant in the country which was not defended, but in no instance the property of a Roman catholic was injured.

The persons, who took the lead in the rebellion in that country, were James Joseph Mc. Donnell, a barrister, son to Mr. Joseph Mc. Donnell, a magistrate, and a man of good property. The whole country was organized by



by him. John Gibbons, formerly agent to lord Altamont, and for whom his lordship had a very warm friendship: He was the chief director of the pike manufactory: He was far advanced in years. Thomas Gibbons, his brother, and Edward Gibbons, his son, Valentine Jordan, a very opulent farmer, the reverend Miles Prendergast, a friar, all papists. Not a single protestant was concerned in it.

The entrance of the savage natives into Castlebar was truly terriffick, as they made dreadful yells, and were as rapacious and destructive as a flock of locusts. They bore flags, having on them a harp without the crown, and the words, “ Erin go braugh!”†

Soon after the French had gained the town, the popish savages attacked and defiled the church, making obscene figures on some of the pews, and destroying others. They were so prophane, as to pollute with the greatest indecency the bible, which they called the devil’s book. They urged father Egan, the parish priest, to say high mass in it, and he consulted doctor Ellifon on the propriety of doing so, but he dissuaded him from it. They plundered most of the protestant houses, and whenever the French endeavoured to restrain them, they would say, “ Sure it is only the house of a protestant!” supposing that the French harboured the same fanatical hatred against that sect of christians which they did.

Though lord Lucan had been always humane and charitable, and a very good landlord, they made a perfect wreck of his house, breaking the chimney pieces, and destroying every article which they could not carry off. They served the house of the reverend doctor Ellifon, his lordship’s agent, in the same manner, though a gentleman universally and deservedly esteemed.

Some of the savages expressed great surprize and horror at seeing some of the French eat meat of a Friday; but they treated them with contempt mingled with irony.

They debated in lord Lucan’s lawn on massacring the protestants; but the French officers opposed it vehemently, and they were joined by Bartholomew Teeling and Henry O’Keon, who, though papists, were free from the sanguinary spirit which actuated the common herd. The latter said, “ Gentlemen, when you were in the power of the protestants, they did not shed your blood; and when your friends were taken in Wexford,

most

† Ireland for ever!

most of them were pardoned, and but few were put to death,\* though they were in actual rebellion: You should also consider, that you yourselves may soon be in the power of the government; but if you will massacre the protestants, put me to death with them."

The French eat the best of meat and bread, drank wine, beer and coffee, and slept on good beds. They compelled the rebels to eat potatoes, drink whiskey, and sleep on straw. They beat and abused them like dogs, in the name of liberty, equality, fraternity and unity. A volume would not contain an account of the brutal actions of the rebels; and the women, who were worse than the men, carried off hides, tallow, beef, cloth and various other articles.

The following short journal of a person who travelled from the county of Galway to Castlebar, while the French were in possession of it, will shew the reader how universally the spirit of disaffection pervaded the popish multitude, and how much their minds were debased and perverted by superstition: "Left Monivea, within six miles of Tuam,† the thirtieth of August, and found the people idling about the ditches, and eager for news respecting the state of his Majesty's forces. They rejoiced much at hearing of their defeat at Castlebar, and their retreat from it, saying, it was quite consonant to the various prophecies,‡ importing, that the day was come, when protestants would be completely extirpated, and that their property, (a long time usurped by them) would be restored to Roman catholicks, who were the only just and rightful owners of it; that it was all the work of God, who had enabled a handful of Frenchmen to beat a large army of hereticks.

"When I arrived within five miles of Hollymount,§ I found the roads much crowded by people who were very inquisitive about news relative to the army, and of what form pikes should be made. I entered a house to refresh myself, and was soon after followed by a servant of Mr. L——, and the steward of Mr. R——, who was a united Irishman, and who said that I was a spy. They detained me as a prisoner all night. Next morning

\* See a List of them in Appendix, No. XXI. 4

† Plate X. 8.

‡ The popish priests in most places fabricated prophecies, as if made by eminent saints some centuries before, predicting, that hereticks would be expelled from Ireland, with the aid of the French; and the popish rabble really believed that it would be accomplished at that time.

§ Plate X. 7.

ing I arrived at Newbrook, the seat of Mr. Bingham, which was completely plundered by his tenants, who carried off and slaughtered all his bullocks and sheep; declaring that none of his heretick family should enjoy any part of his property, which should be given to Roman catholicks, the original and rightful owners of it."

The bishop of Killala often solicited the French to permit doctor Ellifon to go to see his family at Castlebar, but they would not comply, till they had got possession of it; because, from his influence as the parish minister, and a magistrate, he might have injured them materially; but when that event took place, they permitted him to go there, accompanied by monsieur Touffaint.

The French were on the point of levying a very heavy contribution in money and provisions on the town, but the doctor dissuaded them from it, by assuring them that they would alienate those who were attached to them, and rouse the indignation of the English government, by any act of severity or oppression. On the whole he acted with singular spirit and good sense.

While the French were at Castlebar, doctor Crump, a popish physician, went to general Humbert's lodgings, at the head of a numerous party, and implored him to give the Roman catholicks one hour's revenge against the protestants, for a hundred years of cruelty and oppression. Fifty-three of the Longford militia, who were taken prisoners, voluntarily entered into the service of the French; but some of the carabineers, and the Galway yeomen, refused to do so, though messieurs Teeling and Roche threatened them with instant death, unless they complied.

A person, who joined the French at Castlebar, gave me the following account of the occurrences there: "On my arrival I was introduced to Teeling, who conducted and presented me to general Humbert, who was very inquisitive. Having informed him that I had been recently in Dublin, and had attended the trials of M'Cann, Byrne, Bond, and the Sheares', he asked me many questions relative to them, and invited me to sup with him, which I accordingly did, in company with many of his officers. There was a priest there of the name of Gannon, whose ignorance could be equalled by nothing but his bigotry. He desired Teeling to make me swear whether I was a protestant and an orangeman; but on his declining, the priest swore me. Numbers of people, all Irish, were brought in prisoners,



prisoners, under a charge of committing depredations; but they excused themselves, by saying that it was only protestants that they had plundered.

Michael Gannon, a popish priest, constantly attended general Humbert and his staff, and was active and useful to the French. He had been domestick chaplain to the duke of Crillon in France, who being killed on the abolition of his order, Gannon continued in the same capacity to his duchess; and he used often to boast, when he drank freely, that he was curator, not only of her soul, but her body. On the extirpation of the priesthood in France, Gannon narrowly escaped by flight, and came to his native country, where he made a most fantastick appearance, having a large fierce cocked hat, à la militaire, and silk clothes made in a curious fashion, all the property of the late duke. From the window of Humbert's lodgings, he addressed a large body of rebels who were in the street, in the following words: "That though he wished well to their cause, he could not think of taking any military command, but that he would both pray for their success, and march in their ranks; and at the same time pulling out his oil stock,\* he told them, "that he would heal their wounds with his holy oil."

One Roche, who was an officer in Humbert's army, assured a person of veracity of my acquaintance, that he was sworn an united Irishman at Paris, by O'Coigly, or Quigly, the priest, who was hanged at Maidstone, so early as the year 1796.

While the French were at Castlebar, Francis French of Cottage, in the county of Mayo, a Roman catholick gentleman, of an antient and respectable family, sent a letter to one Roche, or La Roche, etat major to general Humbert, containing, among others, the following paragraphs: "The enemy are coming forward on both sides, and intend to put you between two fires; Plunket is ready with two thousand men whenever he is ordered." La Roche, after reading the letter to Humbert, wrote in answer, "That he was surprised gentlemen should wait for orders to march, knowing they were there; that they should assist them with as many men, horses, cars, and as much ammunition and provisions as they could; and that by the co-operation of the inhabitants they would soon

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be

\* What the popish priests carry their holy oil in.

be able to wrest Ireland from her usurpers." Mr. French was hanged. Plunket, to whom I presume he alluded, was his relation.

Mr. O'Doude, who was of one of the oldest families in the county of Mayo, and of the popish religion, joined the French, and was taken and hanged after the battle of Ballynamuck, when the French finally surrendered.

On the night of the third of September, general Humbert sent off his baggage and cannon, with part of his troops, towards Sligo, and about seven o'clock next morning he set out with the remainder, about four hundred in number. The French found their Irish recruits so prone to desert, that they placed a guard in their front and their rear as they marched.

The same day he sent doctor Ellison with eighty prisoners to lord Cornwallis, as they were but an incumbrance to him. The doctor in his way met colonel Crawford, with a detachment of the Hompeschers, and lord Roden's fencibles. He returned with them, and arrived at Castlebar, about nine o'clock at night, and on entering the town, he announced aloud, that lord Cornwallis was coming, and he even bespoke a bed for his excellency; which intimidated the rebels who were left in the town so much, that they fled, and the French officers immediately surrendered themselves prisoners. Soon after they arrived, they sent for Mr. Moore, whom the French had appointed president of Connaught. He was pressed to inform them of the plans of the French and what route they had taken, but he declared his ignorance of them. On which colonel Crawford ordered one of Hompesch's dragoons to draw his sword and cut his head off. Having made some flourishes over his head, as if they really meant to decapitate him, he shrieked and roared, and was in such consternation from fear, that he produced his commission of president, by which he criminated himself. He was in a state of intoxication, which alone could account for so egregious an act of folly. In extenuation of his conduct, he said, that he waited on the French, and accepted the commission of president, merely to preserve the property of his father, a Roman catholic gentleman, who had an estate of 4000*l.* a year in the county of Mayo. The first act of his office was to issue assignats; I give the reader a copy of one of them:

"No.

“ No. 20.

“ In the name of the French government, good for half a guinea, to be raised of the province of Connaught.

3d September, 1798.

JOHN MOORE.”

Next morning colonel Crawford pursued the French, hung on their rear, kept them in a constant state of alarm, and killed many of them and their rebel allies. There is not a doubt, but that general Humbert had not determined the route which he should take till the day before his departure, because a person of the name of Jourdan, who, at the instance of Mr. James Joseph M'Donnell, had acted as a spy for the French, was sent out to learn what part of the country there was the least probability of meeting our troops, and he reported that the safest and best course they could take was towards Sligo.

The French at their departure from Castlebar were about nine hundred, including officers, and they had a great mob of rebels, who were constantly deserting, notwithstanding their utmost vigilance to prevent them. They did not halt till they arrived at Barley-field, the seat of Mr. M'Manus, whither some of the French officers went to order provisions to be sent thence for their use to Swineford.\* They arrived there about seven in the evening, halted about two hours, and refreshed the troops. General Humbert continued all the time in the field, where he eat his dinner, which had been dressed at the house of a Mr. Brabazon.

From Swineford they proceeded towards Ballahy, having halted the army about two miles from that village, to which they sent an advance-guard. Thence they proceeded towards Tubbercurry, and they halted within two miles of it.

The Corranliney and Coolavin yeomen cavalry, stationed there as a picquet, under the command of captain O'Hara, member for the county, having advanced to reconnoitre the enemy, had a skirmish with them, in which lieutenant Knott was taken prisoner, and his only son was killed.

Captain O'Hara then sent intelligence to colonel Vereker, at Sligo, that the French were advancing.

Captain Ruffel, of the prince of Wales's fencibles, was taken prisoner at Tubbercurry, and though as such he was entitled to the protection of the

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French,

\* See Plate X. 5.



French, a ruthless assassin among the rebels shot him in the back, and dying a few days after, in his seventieth year, he terminated a life which had been devoted to the service of his king and country for above fifty years.

Besides the rebels who marched from Castlebar with the French, a considerable body of them was sent from Ballina across the mountains, to meet them at Tubbercurry, with eighty protestant prisoners, whom they intended to get rid of, by putting them in the front rank, having insultingly told them so; but their distress for food was so great, that they sent them back under a rebel guard.

Those stationed at Ballina being incensed with their brethren at Killa for not putting their heretick prisoners to death, three hundred of them set out with a design of compelling them to do so; but they were pursued by O'Keon, who prevented them, though not without difficulty.

Henry O'Keon more than once prevented the rebels from murdering their protestant prisoners.

The following practice took place in Mayo, as well as in the county of Wexford: A popish banditti was sent about in every part of it, to collect protestants, whom they imprisoned, and intended afterwards to massacre. In Wexford the rebels endeavoured to extirpate the protestants, because they had the county entirely at their devotion, and really believed for some days that the entire kingdom was so; but they did not proceed to such lengths in Mayo, because there was a large body of the king's troops in it, and their sanguinary spirit was restrained by the French officers.

From Tubbercurry\* they proceeded to Coloony,† and in their way the pikemen plundered the house of Mr. Perceval, of Temple-house, because he was a noted loyalist, and had been active against the united Irishmen.

I think it necessary to describe here the circumstances which preceded an action which took place between the French and a detachment of the city of Limerick regiment, and a few yeomen, commanded by colonel Vereker, at Coloony, one of the most brilliant which took place during the rebellion.

When

\* Plate X. 4.

† Ibid. 3.

When the French arrived at that village, which is about five miles from Sligo,\* the inhabitants of the latter, who amount to about fourteen thousand, were in the utmost consternation, as nobody doubted but that their design was to have plundered it, and it contained property to the amount of at least 200000*l.*; there were in its harbour a good many ships, and twelve well furnished bleach-yards in its vicinity. The small force stationed there, not more than six hundred effective men, was ordered to evacuate it; however, colonel Vereker, with a detachment of the city of Limerick militia and a few yeomen, in the whole not exceeding two hundred and eighty-six men, and two curricule guns, marched out, engaged the French and the rebels, and gave them so severe a check, notwithstanding their great superiority of numbers, as to deter them from approaching Sligo, and made them proceed towards Drumahair. The French had about nine hundred men, about two hundred and fifty of the Longford and Kilkenny militia who had deserted, and a numerous body of rebels. Colonel Vereker's right was covered by a rising ground, on which he posted a few men; his left, by a river. They outflanked and forced in his men on the hill, and attacked his rear, on which he was obliged to retreat over a river. The action began at half past two, and lasted one hour and thirty-eight minutes. Of the French twenty-eight were killed, and a great many wounded: they left behind them at Coloony eighteen of their men, who were desperately wounded.

After the action, the grenadiers represented to general Humbert, that it would be useless and cruel to compel them to endure the calamities of war any longer, as the rebels would not support them, and were deserting from them in great numbers; but the general said, he could not think of surrendering to so small an army.

About three o'clock some disaffected people entered Sligo, and announced, that our army had been beaten, and that the French were advancing; on which many protestant women, and some men who could not bear arms, embarked in the ships, fearing more the popish inhabitants than the French; but those who were capable of doing so, to the number of three hundred, marched round the town in arms, and resolved to die in its defence. They were joined by a number of methodists, singing hymns, who were headed by their preacher, Albert Blest, a man of great piety, and noted for humanity and charity.

The.

\* See Plate X. 2, 3.

The king's troops, who remained behind under the command of colonel Sparrow, occupied the most advantageous posts in the avenues leading to the town. Thus they continued under arms all night.

The spirit of popish disaffection and fanaticism appeared no where so strong as in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, particularly in the barony of Tireragh, situated in the latter. It is separated from Ballina and Killala by the river Moy,\* which forms a bay at the latter, not three miles over; and at low water it is easily crossed by a ferry. The protestant inhabitants of that barony, dreading not only the approach of the French, but the cruelty of the rebels, and there being no forces of any kind in the line from Ballina or Killala to Sligo, they fled to the latter for protection.

Many respectable protestant farmers were seen retreating on foot, driving their cattle and sheep before them, and conveying on cars their wives and children, their beds and their wearing apparel. All the protestant clergy were also obliged to fly precipitately.

The popish inhabitants, aided by the Mayo rebels, plundered all their houses, and even demolished some of them. The principal sufferers were Mr. Nesbitt of Scurmore, Mr. Fenton of Esky, Mr. Brown of Fortland, Mr. Grove, parish minister of Kilmeckishaligan, Messieurs Charles and Robert Jones, the Messieurs Woods, and in short every other gentleman, and even the lower class of protestants, all of whom were obliged to fly to save their lives. Nothing could equal the destructive rage of the popish rabble, for they tore up the floors of Mr. Fenton's house, pulled down the ceilings of Mr. Grove's, and danced on his daughter's piano forte; in short, they destroyed in every house such furniture as they could not carry off.

Some protestants on the sea-coast went to sea in boats, to avoid the vengeance of the rebels; and on coming on shore for food, some of them were taken prisoners and conveyed to Ballina. Some fled to the mountains, and hid in caves, others in corn fields, and were almost starved.

Conry, the domestick chaplain and bosom friend of doctor Bellew, the popish bishop, and who had recently obtained the parish of Adergold from him, father M'Donnel, of Esky, and father O'Donnel, of Kilmeckishaligan, and Mangan, his coadjutor, made it a practice of compelling protestants to be christened by a priest, to which they submitted to save their lives and their property.

Mr.

\* See Plate X. 3.



Mr. Hillas, of Seaview, who had administered oaths of allegiance to father O'Donnel and his flock, at their particular desire, in the month of April 1798, asked many of them how they came to violate them, and they answered, "How could we go against our priests?"

That priest used to contend on the following grounds: That the house of Brunswick had no right to the crown of England: That all monarchies were elective or hereditary: That no election could be perfect unless the majority of the people gave their assent to it: That the Roman catholics of Ireland had not consented to the accession of George I. and that he had no hereditary claim, as he descended from a younger branch of the house of Stewart.

A private in the Tireragh infantry happened to fall into the hands of the rebels, who conveyed him to their head-quarters at Ballina, where father Cowley commanded. Being a protestant, they proceeded to try him by a court-martial, of which Cowley was president. He was accused and convicted of being an orangeman, and was to have been hanged next morning; but having insinuated to one of the French, that he was a yeoman, and that punishing him would be followed by retaliation, he was discharged.

Very great disaffection took place in the popish yeomen of the counties of Mayo and Sligo.

The-scapulars, a piece of superstitious trumpery, which I have before described, was found on the bodies of many rebels killed in these counties.

For about a month before the French landed, the papists shewed a great unwillingness to pay any thing they owed, which proves that they expected the invasion.

Father Owen Cowley had one hundred and twenty protestant prisoners at Ballina, whom he mocked, and told insultingly that they should be executed next day; but early in the morning some of the prisoners perceived an express arrive, about whom the reverend father and some of his friends flocked, and interrogated with much earnestness. Soon after, he approached the prison with a dejected countenance, and, instead of contumely, he addressed the prisoners with mildness and complaisance, and told them they might go wherever they chose. The intelligence  
which

which the reverend father received was, that our troops were victorious at Ballynamuck, and that the French had surrendered to them.

From the following circumstance, we cannot be surpris'd at the active part which the popish priests took in the rebellion in the counties of Mayo and Sligo : Captain Nicholas Ormsby, of the Tireragh yeomen cavalry, was quartered with his corps at Esky, in the county of Sligo, soon after the French landed. Having been informed that numbers of the lower class of people had assembled at some distance from his quarters, and had collected a large quantity of cattle for the use of the French, he proceeded to the spot where that event took place, and rescued the cattle and dispersed the people. When he was on the point of returning, a woman told him, that father Dease, a popish priest, was at a short distance, enlisting for the French ; and having advanced a little farther, he saw a great number of people ready to join them. Three of his corps were far before the main body : One of them who preceded the rest galloped by father Dease, who snapped a pistol at him. The next yeoman who came up, galloped swiftly by Dease, and fired a pistol at him, but missed him. Dease was cocking his pistol to fire at the third yeoman, who was coming up, but Mr. Jeremiah Fury, a gentleman of fortune, though a private, seized his arm before he could effect it, and made a prisoner of him. When captain Ormsby arrived, they were on the point of hanging him, but as he fell on his knees, implored mercy, and promised to make a full confession of what he knew, they spared his life. He then declared, what he afterwards solemnly and deliberately confirmed by information, sworn before a magistrate, that Dr. Bellew, the titular bishop of the diocese, encouraged his diocesan clergy, at a general meeting of them, to rise on the present occasion ; and that it was at his instigation that they were so active in assisting the French. The pistols which they found in Dease's possession were French.

One Atkins, of Rathurlish, in the barony of Tireragh, was bred a protestant, but having married a papist, he conformed to popery, and became a sanguinary fanatick. He was to have headed five hundred of his own sect, and to have massacred every protestant from Ballina to Sligo. He owned this to numbers whom he solicited to assist him in perpetrating his bloody purpose, and to his uncle and aunt, a worthy old couple, and both protestants, whom, he said, he would save ; but that he could not protect

protect their grand-children. He declared openly, that he would spare none, from the cradle to the crutch. The day was fixed for the massacre, but the event of the battle of Ballynamuck deterred him from his sanguinary design.

I shall now say something of the movements of our armies, between whom it was impossible to keep up any communication, but by strong patrols, as all the natives were inimical. Lieutenant-general Lake was ordered by the lord lieutenant to proceed from Tuam on the fourth day of September, to which he had retreated after the battle of Castlebar, with the Rea fencible infantry, the Armagh militia, with their battalion guns, a detachment of the Roxborough fencible cavalry, and to take command of brigadier-general Taylor's brigade, whom he joined at Ballyhadirreen.\* He sent thence the honourable lieutenant-colonel Meade, about one o'clock, P. M. N. with a party of dragoons, to learn whether the enemy had left Castlebar, and what route they had taken.

After advancing about four miles to a place between Ballahy and Ballyhadirreen, he was informed by a rebel, taken by an advanced patrol, that the enemy had left Castlebar, and had passed through Ballahy towards Coloony, which intelligence he communicated by a dragoon to general Lake, who came to him, and ordered him to communicate it to lord Cornwallis, supposed to be at Hollymount, which he accordingly did.

When on his way, about fifteen miles from Castlebar, he perceived on the adjacent hills about three thousand rebels, of whom some were near him in a bog. Part of his dragoons charged, pursued, and killed some rebels who were on a bridge, but contrary to his orders and his wishes, as it might have brought on a conflict, and have impeded or even defeated his mission to lord Cornwallis. Having made signs to them, that he would receive them in a friendly manner, a good many of them came to him, and surrendered about sixty French muskets; and probably the remainder would have done so, if he could have remained there long enough. At Swineford† he perceived great numbers of them in the adjacent fields. All these deluded wretches whom he met in his progress had deserted from the French. He overtook lord Cornwallis between Clare and Ballyhannis,‡ where he remained that night.

4 I

Colonel

\* Plate X. 5.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. 6, 7.



Colonel Meade was sent a second time to reconnoitre the French, whom he saw pass the Shannon at Ballintra,† over the bridge, which they endeavoured to make impassable, by blowing up one of the abutments.

He was sent a second time to lord Cornwallis, who was at Carrick-on-Shannon,|| to communicate the motions of the French to him.

His excellency by crossing the Shannon at Carrick kept to the south of the enemy, so as to intercept them, should general Lake, who pursued them with an army of about two thousand men, fail in overtaking or defeating them, which was a most judicious movement; and for the same reason his excellency advanced with rapidity from Carrick to St. Johnstown.§ As a farther security for the capital, he ordered the brigade of guards to Mullingar\* and Kilbeggan, where they must have ultimately defeated the enemy's design of approaching it; and at the same time they were at a convenient distance from the metropolis to awe the disaffected who meditated an insurrection there.

The first day general Lake arrived at Ballinlough; the second at Ballyhadirreen.† Thence he proceeded with these corps, united, to Ballahy, through which, he was informed, the French had passed the preceding evening, about seven o'clock, more than fourteen hours before him.

He reached Tubbercurry about seven o'clock that evening, where he encamped and remained till two o'clock next morning. He was joined there by colonel Crawford, who formed his advanced guard.

General Lake marched from Tubbercurry to Coloony, about eight miles distant, heard there of the action, and found a number of French killed, and some wounded under the care of a French surgeon.

At Coloony, a Longford deserter was recognised by some of the advanced guards, and shot; the whole army marched over his body with indifference; a strong instance of the calamities of war, and how much they obtund the feelings of humanity!

Numbers of the rebels were found all along the road dead or dying, having been killed by colonel Crawford's corps of light dragoons, who formed the advanced guard, and hanging on the enemy's rear, harassed them most effectually.

Between

† Plate X. 4.

|| Ibid. 5.

§ Ibid. 6.

\*Plate I. 6, 7.

† Plate X. 5.

Between Drumshambo and Carrigan, he received orders from lord Cornwallis at nine o'clock, to march at that hour for Cloone. He crossed the river at Ballintra, where the bridge was repaired. The enemy were so hard pressed in the pursuit, that they left two pieces of cannon on the road, about a mile from Coloony, and threw five into the river at Drumahair.

General Lake encamped on the night of the seventh at Ballintogher, between Drumahair and Coloony. He was under the necessity of constantly sending accounts of his movements and those of the enemy to lord Cornwallis, which was distressing, as it could not be effected but by strong patrols. He marched to the south of Drumshambo, halted there about three hours, and proceeded to Cloone, four miles from Ballynamuck; where a little after sun-rise, on the eighth of September, he saw the rear of the French army, whom, with about one hundred and fifty light infantry, mounted behind as many cavalry, he endeavoured to harass as much as possible.

Before day, on the eighth of September, general Lake sent major Hardy to apprise lord Cornwallis of his brigade being near the village of Cloone, where the French had halted the preceding night, and where it was intended to have surprised them, but from the darkness of the night some divisions missed their route. The French were leaving the village as major Hardy entered it, of which he informed lord Cornwallis, whom he met at Mohill, and who ordered general Lake to hang as close as possible upon their rear, and said that he would keep in a parallel direction towards Granard, near enough to afford him assistance, if necessary.

He came up with them about half a mile before they reached Ballynamuck,\* when monsieur Sarrafin, who commanded them, surrendered.

General Taylor having reported to general Lake that the French army had yielded, general Cradock and admiral Pakenham rode forward to the main body of them, who were halted on the road at Ballynamuck, when a French officer informed them that they would be fired on, unless they withdrew; but before they could retreat, a volley was fired, by which general Cradock was wounded.

Previous to this, the French had posted a body of marksmen on the brow of a hill, about a quarter of a mile from where Sarrafin had sur-

rendered, in order to take our troops on the left flank as they passed, General Lake, whose spirit and vigilance are well known, being considerably in front of our light infantry and cavalry, very fortunately discovered them in time to prevent them from doing us any injury. He ordered the light infantry and cavalry to ascend the hill, whose top intervening, prevented them from perceiving each other till they were within a hundred yards. After a few discharges, our light infantry and cavalry charged, on which the French threw down their arms, and the rebels who attended them fled into an adjacent bog. The Frenchmen continued firing their cannon till the marksmen had surrendered, which, if they had been well served must have done very great mischief, as our troops moved down a hill from the place where Sarrafin had surrendered, which exposed them to the enemy's fire.

The following circumstance attended the surrender of the French: The earl of Roden and colonel Crawford, who led on the advanced guard, consisting of his lordship's fencibles, perceiving an officer who seemed desirous to communicate with them, lord Roden ordered his trumpet to sound, which was answered by the French, when his lordship advanced into the French lines. The officer politely asked them what their wishes were? they answered, to save the effusion of blood, and desired them to surrender. The officer said, that he did not command, but that he would go to general Humbert, which he accordingly did. Humbert came up, asked the same question, and received a similar answer. He then demanded half an hour to give a final answer, which was granted, on condition that he halted his troops; to which he made no reply, but retreated with precipitation. Lord Roden then ordered his trumpet to sound the advance, and came up to the first and second brigade of the French army, who surrendered to about three hundred cavalry, under his lordship and colonel Crawford. After this they advanced with about twenty dragoons and took possession of three French guns.

Shortly after, Humbert rallied his grenadiers, the only part of the army, except the chassieurs, that had not surrendered, and consisted of about four hundred men, who surrounded lord Roden and his twenty dragoons. They were given in charge to the hussars. While they were their prisoners, which lasted about fifteen minutes, the French officers loaded the united Irishmen, their allies, with execrations, for having deceived and dis-

appointed



appointed them, by inviting them to undertake a fruitless expedition. They also declared, that the common people of Ireland were the most treacherous and cowardly they ever knew.

Lord Roden continued a prisoner till his regiment of fencibles advanced in quest of their colonel, which the French hussars perceiving, requested that his lordship would desire them to halt, as they meant to surrender, and by doing so, he prevented them from being cut to pieces.

General Humbert surrendered to general Lake, and was afterwards conducted to lord Cornwallis, who was about six miles off.

Our troops made dreadful havock among the rebels, who were mostly dressed in French uniforms. Three of their leaders were taken, among whom was Mr. Blake of Galway, a popish gentleman, who was hanged. As our army pursued the French they found all the houses on the road deserted, their inmates having joined the French.

I must not pass over in silence the spirited and zealous exertions of the army under general Lake, who advanced so rapidly in the pursuit of the French, as to overtake them, though they were fifteen hours before them; and though the farmers and peasants supplied the enemy with a great number of horses, on which the infantry rode in turn, and whenever they halted, with plenty of provisions, for which our troops were very much distressed; for their movements were so rapid, that the heavy baggage could not keep up with them. The French and rebels in their progress destroyed every kind of provisions, and our brave soldiers were obliged to scour the country for cattle, and before they could kill them and cook their meat, they were ordered to renew their march; so that potatoes, which they dug and boiled themselves, were their principal subsistence.

When the French changed their route from Coloony towards the metropolis, the most active exertions were used in all the intervening counties, viz. Leitrim, Longford, Monaghan, Roscommon, Cavan, Westmeath, and Meath, to raise the mass of the people to join them; and some considerable and alarming movements were perceived among the disaffected even in Dublin and its vicinity.

A numerous body of insurgents, supposed to be not less than six thousand, having collected near Granard, on the fifth of September, several yeomen

yeomen corps, under the command of captain Cottingham, engaged, beat, and dispersed them, after having killed about one hundred and fifty.

Many Roman Catholics of consideration urged on and headed the insurgents in the county of Longford, and a well digested plan of co-operation had been concerted with the Monaghan chiefs; but the latter were not to move unless the operations of their Longford brethren proved successful. At the head of these were the two Dennistons, the O'Haras, O'Connells, Farrell, and one O'Reilly, who appeared in arms on the fifth of September 1798, and led on the attack on Granard. But the issue of that affair disconcerted the plan of the Monaghan chiefs, and prevented the Cavan leaders from attacking the different garrisons in their county, which they had meditated. The two Dennistons and Farrell were members of the Mastrim yeomen cavalry, several of whom fought with the rebels on that day. The elder Denniston was first lieutenant of it.

The popish multitude in the county of Roscommon, universally disaffected, were on the point of rising, and waited for nothing but a hint from certain leaders in their respective districts.

A respectable magistrate of my acquaintance, who had a strong regard for a popish gentleman who meant to have headed a numerous body of rebels, obtained a private interview with him for the purpose of dissuading him from so rash an attempt, which he assured him would terminate in the ruin of him and his family. This chieftain spurned at the advice of his friend, and expressed a downright conviction that his party must succeed, as the mass of the people in every part of Ireland were engaged in it, that as they would rise at the same time, the government must be overturned, and that such persons as resisted them would lose their lives and property; and he even went so far as to advise this magistrate to be very moderate in the part he took, lest his intemperate zeal might mark him for the vengeance of the insurgents. So sure were the disaffected that their party must succeed, though with the aid of but one thousand French!

After an interview of two hours, he left him determined to persevere in his rash design; but at the instance of another person of high rank, who used the most persuasive eloquence on the occasion, he yielded, on condition of his obtaining for him a speedy trial. By the wise and seasonable exertions of this person, the property and the lives of the protestants of the county of Roscommon were preserved from the rapacity of the deluded multitude,

tude, who were on the point of rising, and only waited for a signal from this leader.

I think it right to mention, that this very important service was rendered by doctor Law, bishop of Elphin, who shewed great magnanimity in maintaining his post; for instead of flying to the metropolis for protection, he fortified his palace, and bid defiance to the rebels, by which he set a good example to country gentlemen.

I cannot pass over in silence the laudable fortitude of doctor Percy, bishop of Dromore, who also remained in his palace, while the rebellion existed in the counties of Down and Antrim. His lordship also contributed liberally to the formation of a yeoman corps of 100 men at Dromore, who completely kept in awe some ill disposed persons in the neighbourhood, who had been infected by the Ballynahinch rebels.

On Tuesday the fourth of September, a man on horseback went about the county of Westmeath, proclaiming that the orangemen were murdering the Roman catholics, and burning their houses. In consequence of it, numbers of people armed with pikes and other weapons, assembled in lord Sunderlin's park at Baronstown. His lordship approached them with about twelve of his corps, and asked them, why they assembled in so hostile a manner? They answered, that they were afraid of the orangemen, who were armed and were determined to murder all the Roman catholics.\* His lordship assured them, that their fears were groundless, as no such persons ever were in the country; and he promised them protection, if they could point them out; but they persisted in feigning fears and prejudices.

About two miles further on the road towards Mullingar, his lordship met another body of pikemen, with whom he reasoned in the same manner, but to no purpose. At last, one of them knocked down his lordship's trumpeter, and wounded him; and soon after served a yeoman and one of his servants in the same manner; on which his lordship and his few yeomen retreated to Mullingar, and in their way saw great numbers of insurgents assembling.

In the course of a few hours they collected in great numbers, and attacked Wilton's hospital, a charitable foundation, for the purpose of  
seizing

\* As Mr. George Cooper, whom I mentioned in the dedication, has uttered the vilest slander of the orangemen, I think it right to mention, that a member of the Irish directory acknowledged, while in prison, that the alarming reports about them were invented by them merely as a device to stimulate the ma's of the papists against the protestants, and that the priests eagerly adopted it for that purpose.



seizing the arms in it and of destroying it, because it was a protestant institution, established for the purpose of maintaining old men, and educating children. They rushed into it with hideous yells, broke open some doors, and carried off arms and other articles: They gave the reverend Mr. Radcliffe, the chaplain, two wounds; however, as he shewed the most undaunted courage, and seemed determined not to surrender his arms, they quitted the house; but they sent him a message about eleven o'clock at night, that they would level it next morning at three o'clock, unless he gave up his arms. But as that proposal was treated with contempt, they next day, about eight o'clock, to the number of five thousand, forcibly entered the hospital, plundered it of arms and every valuable article, provisions, and household furniture; took Mr. Radcliffe prisoner, carried him to the town of Multifarnham, declaring, they would keep him till Mr. Latten Fitzgerald, confined at Mullingar as a state prisoner, was discharged; however Mr. Radcliffe was so fortunate as to escape.

Next day they returned to the hospital, converted it into a barrack, seized the cows and sheep, and killed most of them. In short, they left the hospital a perfect wreck. After committing all these atrocities, they had mass celebrated for them by a popish priest.

They had twenty-seven protestant prisoners in an office belonging to the hospital, whom they intended to have put to death by the most cruel torture, had they not been relieved by a party of the army and yeomanry, under the command of lord Longford, who routed the rebels with considerable slaughter.

Some of the rebels proposed to put the boys (who were all protestants) to death, after having plundered them of their clothes. The labourers, and the popish servants of the hospital, were the leaders in this nefarious business, and seemed to exult in it.

A most sanguinary denunciation was posted on a church in the county of Westmeath, soon after the French left Castlebar, which the reader will see in Appendix, No. XXI. 8.

The evening before the attack on Granard, a body of rebels entered Edgeworthstown, and plundered and almost demolished every protestant house in it, except those of Mr. Edgeworth, Mr. William Bond, the cap-  
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tain of the Mastrim yeomanry, and Mr. Alexander Bond, post-master; but they did not injure the house or property of a Roman catholic.

For a day or two before, reports had been industriously propagated, that the orangemen were destroying all the neighbouring country, and had burnt the preceding night Street and some other adjacent villages. This, which was the watch word and signal for insurrection, spread like a conflagration, and had the desired effect on the popish multitude.

A respectable gentleman, an inhabitant of Edgeworthstown, gave me the following account of his situation, and of the events which occurred there: "On my going into that village, all seemed to be alarm and confusion. The yeomanry determined, as one of their officers in person informed me, to defend at least the barracks, if attacked by the rebels; but some events occurred in the course of the day, which induced them to evacuate the place and march to Longford. On hearing this unexpected misfortune, I immediately sent off my wife and family, and once more walked through Edgeworthstown, examining every countenance, and conversing for a few minutes with the two or three last protestants whom I met indignantly retreating. I soon returned to my house, wishing, if possible, not to desert what I deemed my post, and yet, not knowing what to do in such an emergency; but I was soon roused from this uncertainty, by intelligence from my servant, that the rebels in a very numerous body were marching to Edgeworthstown, by the Granard and not the Dublin road, which would bring them within one hundred yards of my door. Before their arrival, I concealed myself in a little plantation on my lawn, where divine Providence protected me till morning. I saw almost a forest of pikes nearly opposite my house. Some rebels on horseback passed within about thirty yards of me, and about three times that distance, a protestant, my next neighbour, who had just sought an asylum in a shady part of my lawn, received a stroke of a pike in the head, which, though partially broken by the branches, cut him severely, and almost covered him with blood. I was "all ear" in my place of concealment, and stunned with the discord and confusion of martial music, firing, shouting, crashing of windows and furniture, and such clamorous exultation as might be supposed to issue from a numerous mob in so new a situation, eager to practise republican virtues. It was late in the evening, and just as the greater body of the rebels had retired, a detachment of lord Oxmantown's yeomanry, being

accidentally near the town, and hearing of the outrages committed by the rebels, made a rapid charge through the street, and shot a few of the stragglers without any loss on their part, except one yeoman wounded in the face with a pike. Of the particulars of this transaction I was ignorant till next morning; for only once in the night I ventured to walk by my house, and, perceiving the windows broken, I again returned to conceal myself in the shrubbery till morning."

A man mounted on a white horse rode about the country contiguous to Longford on the fourth of September, and propagated a report that the orangemen were murdering the Roman catholics, and burning their houses from Edgeworthstown to Carrickboy. To counteract this malignant design, lord Oxmantown, who, with his corps, was on permanent duty at Longford, rode about the country, and by his exhortations and assurances of protection to the lower class of people, prevented the insurrection from being general, and induced numbers to return to their homes. The same attempts were made in the counties of Meath and Cavan.

The rebels shewed a disposition to rise in the country round Belturbet, in the latter county; but it abounds so much with protestants, who were well armed, that they would not venture to do so, but repaired to the mountains of Ballynamore, about six miles off, where they assembled in considerable numbers. For the same reason they did not venture to rise in the county of Fermanagh, where there were six thousand protestants well armed. From the battle of Castlebar to the surrender of the French, the blacksmiths were employed in making pikes, in the counties of Monaghan, Leitrim, Longford, Roscommon, Mayo, Sligo, Meath, Westmeath and Dublin.

The landing of the French was known by the rebels in the county of Kildare, the Queen's county, and part of the county of Tipperary; and the mass of the people in them shewed suddenly a strong sensation and a spirit of combination, even before the loyal subjects were acquainted with that event.

I shall now proceed to relate the defeat of the rebels at Killala, the relief of the suffering loyalists there, and some of the circumstances which preceded it.

The fourteenth of September, the commandant lost his authority so much, that little regard was paid to his protections; protestants who  
had



had obtained them were committed, and their houses were plundered as orangemen.

On the fifteenth of September, the French officers entertained strong fears that the town would be attacked by pikemen, and they declared that they wished for the arrival of the king's troops. The bishop and his friends, who had been twenty-seven days prisoners, fell into great despondency on the seventeenth of September, as they expected every night that the castle would be attacked. Twenty persons in arms slept in it, besides the ordinary guard of eighteen; but the latter, being Irish recruits, were not to be depended on. There were constantly alarming reports of the sanguinary designs of the pikemen, who were encamped close to the town.

On the eighteenth of September, one of the rebel leaders came to the castle, and proposed to the commandant to imprison every protestant in the church, as hostages for their own security, should the king's army arrive; and it was discovered that they meant to have blown them up; but no other answer was given by the protestants, than that they were ready for them. The commandant generously declared that he would lead on the Irish against the king's troops, and that he would also head the protestants against the former, if any attempt was made against their persons or property. On the eighteenth, the guard and all the rebel soldiers murmured very much at a report which had prevailed, that their friends at Castlebar were in close confinement, and were used very ill; and at last they grew very vehement. To do away the ill effects of it, the bishop proposed to send dean Thompson, and one of their friends, with a flag of truce, and a letter to general Trench, to represent the dangerous situation of the protestants, should the rebel prisoners be ill-treated.

Dean Thompson, and one Roger Maguire set out for Castlebar, the twentieth of September: They were frequently stopped and interrogated by parties of the rebels, who would have committed violence on dean Thompson, but that he was protected by Maguire. They returned next day, with the most unquestionable testimony that their friends were treated with humanity. Mr. Bourke, of Summer-hill, with fifteen armed men, bravely defended his house against the fury and rapacity of the rebels; which enraged those at Killala so much, that they resolved to attack it; but Charost assured them, if they persisted in their design, that he would follow and fire on them.

On the twenty-first of September, a body of pikemen having marched through the town in presence of Charost, he, with indignation, mingled with contempt, desired them to go to attend their harvest, as he had men enough to guard the town, and he would not be troubled with a pack of robbers; and Ponson, another French officer, vilified and abused them in the grossest manner. This was alarming to the protestants, as the rebels murmured and uttered some menaces against them, and complained of the strong partiality of the French for them.

Alarming accounts were received that the rebels, in spite of the French, would enter and plunder the town; and, had they done so, there is not a doubt but that they would have massacred every protestant. To encourage them in their sanguinary designs, which they had constantly manifested, a priest, of the name of M'Donnell, rode into the town on the twenty-first of September, and announced that the orangemen were massacring the Roman catholics in all the adjacent country. On the morning of that day a report of cannon and small arms was heard towards Ballina, and some time after intelligence was received that the king's troops were within four miles of the town.

Truc, the French officer, and Henry O'Keon, arrived from Ballina, where the former had been commandant, and where he had a narrow escape of being taken prisoner by one of our officers. He abused, in the grossest manner, his allies, the Irish, for having fled at Crossmalina, without striking a stroke.

By a preconcerted plan it was agreed between general French and lord Portarlington, that they should attack Killala at the same time; the former approaching it on the south, the latter on the north-east side. His lordship marched from Sligo on the twenty-first of September, with his own, the Queen's county regiment, a detachment of the twenty-fourth dragoons, the Tireragh yeomen infantry, commanded by captain Woods, and the Tireragh yeomen cavalry, under captain Ormsby, making in the whole, about eight hundred men, with two pieces of cannon. They halted the first night at Arkill Lodge, where a number of rebels approached them, but on firing one cannon shot they dispersed. Next night they halted at Scurmore, where they were attacked by a numerous body of them, commanded by Henry O'Keon and Mr. Barret, son of doctor Barret, who were soon routed with the loss of about two hundred killed.

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In this affair we have one calamity to lament, which left the strongest sensations of grief in every loyal heart. Not far from the scene of action, lies the village of Carrowcarden, where a few protestant families lived, who, from their peaceable demeanour and good conduct, possessed the regard of even the rebels; so that, partly by giving them entertainment and money as long as they were able, and partly by hiding themselves in the bogs and corn fields, they had hitherto avoided the captivity which their brethren suffered.

On this day a rebel party, commanded by John M'Dunnough, otherwise Pitcher, on their march to attack the king's troops, were ordered to enter the village, and to force every man who was able to carry arms to join their party. They there met with some of those poor protestants, some of them reaping their corn, others concealed in their houses, all of whom they forced along with them at the peril of their lives, and even without arms to defend themselves, and placed them in the front of the line.

When the rebel army gave way, these unfortunate men fled among the croud towards their own homes; but having been overtaken by the advance guard, they fell in the indiscriminate slaughter of the rebels. It was in vain that they endeavoured to explain the cause of their being there, or to justify their conduct; as the troops, elate with victory, and inflamed with revenge, had not time to examine the circumstances of their situation.

The loyalists had soon after the gratification of seeing captain Pitcher taken prisoner; and having been convicted of that and other crimes, his life was forfeited to the vengeance of the law. This however was but a poor atonement to the community for the loss of so many loyal, well-behaved, and industrious men; and no consolation to the unfortunate widows and helpless orphans whom they left behind to deplore a loss which can never be retrieved.

Next day the king's troops having been joined by general Trench and his brigade, they proceeded towards Killala.

In its defence about four thousand rebels took post behind a stone wall, on a hill which commanded the road leading to it; and on which the Downshire regiment advanced. Though the rebels maintained a constant

fire.



fire on them from the time they first came in fight, the Downshire paid no regard to them, till they arrived at a bridge, which was but a short distance from them. They then began a very heavy fire on the rebels, who fled from their strong position, and joined the main body, except about forty of them, who took post in a grove, nearly forty yards from the palace, where some of them ranged themselves behind trees, and others behind a stone wall. The Downshire pursued them, and were followed by the Frazer fencibles and the Queen's county militia. After about twenty minutes resistance the rebels gave way and ran into the town, where they were charged by the Roxborough fencible cavalry; and though the rebels in the grove kept up a constant fire on them, their only loss was one man badly wounded, but he afterwards recovered. Mr. Arthur Stock, the bishop's son, a youth of sixteen, was in the charge, dressed in a red jacket.

After the king's troops got possession of the town, they killed great numbers of the rebels, whom they found concealed in the houses, in the gardens, or in the ditches of the adjacent fields. It was to be lamented that our soldiers plundered what had been saved from the Irish savages by the active exertion of the bishop and the French officers. In the first onset it was impossible to restrain them, when they were elate with victory, and their vengeance was roused by opposition. Some time after, lord Cornwallis sent two commissioners to enquire into the damages committed by the king's troops at Killala, and in March following, the demands of the sufferers were discharged by an order on the bank.

Having related the events which took place in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, I shall give the reader the characters of some of the principal actors in them.

Colonel O'Doude was descended from a very ancient family of the same name, who formerly possessed a large tract of country in the counties of Sligo and Mayo, two baronies of which, namely, Tireragh and Tyrawly, had their names from two sons of the original chieftain of the family, who divided his estate between them. On this extensive estate they counted twenty-four castles, which were occupied by them and their adherents, and many of which are still in existence. O'Doude having been very active in the rebellion of 1641, this fine estate was confiscated, and divided amongst the followers of the conqueror; but a small mountainous tract

tract of land, called Bonneconclane, having been given by special favour, to one of the family, was handed down to the late possessor James O'Doude.

The father of this man, whose name was Thady, being a younger brother, and having neither property nor employment at home, went out a volunteer to Germany, at the age of twenty-five years, and in the course of time was promoted in the Hungarian service to the rank of captain, having previously married a German lady, sister to Baron Wipler, of whom James was the issue. He having been born and educated in the service, found no great difficulty in arriving at the rank of lieutenant, in which station he served, when the death of his uncle David O'Doude, who possessed the family estate and died without issue, was announced to him. In consequence of this event, he left the army, came to Ireland, and took possession of the paternal property, which proved to be worth about 500*l.* a year, and which he applied himself to the cultivation of with great attention. He soon after married a miss Fitzgerald, daughter to a gentleman of that name, an attorney, by whom he left children. Previous to the breaking out of the rebellion, he had become a member of the Tyrawly cavalry, and was considered an attentive foldier, and very expert in the use of arms. On the landing of the French at Killala, this corps was, like many others, put to flight by the enemy, and O'Doude deserted his post, and returned to his own house, where, by the sollicitations of his wife, and the exertions of one Egan, a bigot, who lived with him, and who had acquired a complete ascendancy over his judgment, he was induced to declare for the cause of rebellion. Having assembled his tenantry and neighbours, he mustered about one hundred men, and putting himself at their head, he marched to the French camp at Killala, where he received his commission, and arms for his followers; while his wife, mounted on a good horse, and decorated with green ribbons and a cockade, attended the procession, and brought up the rear.

Their career of glory was but short, and the hopes of regaining the antient estate soon vanished into empty air. After the defeat at Ballinamuck, he attempted to escape, but was taken prisoner, and conducted to the camp of lord Cornwallis at St. Johnstown; where, being indentified, although he endeavoured to pass himself for a French officer, he was condemned and executed. He pleaded guilty to the charges brought against him; but assured the court, that this was his first offence, and declared

declared on his honour, if they would pardon this, that he never would be guilty of a similar offence; but being informed that his request could not be complied with, he begged to have a priest; but as there was not time for this ceremony, he was constrained to submit to his fate, which he met, but not with that fortitude which might have been expected from a man who had spent so much of his life in active service, and scenes of war.

To a great weakness of judgment, this unfortunate man added a high degree of vanity and bigotry, which laid him open to the designs of interested and ill-disposed persons. Considering himself the head of the clan or family, he despised taking a christian name, and always subscribed himself, O'Doude, Captain; and latterly he had the vanity to assume the title of baron, perhaps from his uncle, baron Wipler, in Germany.

He was so much under the controul of the priests, that he submitted to walk barefooted, and with his head shaved, to Loughderg, in the north of Ireland, to perform penance for his sins, and became one of the order of the Scapularians. He took more pains in cultivating the friendship of this ignorant class of men, than that of gentlemen of worth or knowledge, and his table was seldom without one or more of them, on whom he never failed to lavish the best meat and wine.

The idea of recovering his hereditary estate was studiously infused into his mind by his wife and followers, who vainly imagined that a revolution would be accomplished, and that the descendants of the old Irish families would be shortly reinstated in their former possessions and honours by the French. This family have a burying-place appropriated to them in the abbey of Moyne, where may be seen the gigantick bones of some of them, who have been very remarkable for their great stature, as one of them exceeded seven feet in height.

Colonel Mc. Donnel, a Roman catholick gentleman, was son to Joseph Mc. Donnel, of Carnacun, in the county of Mayo, esquire, and in the neighbourhood of Castlebar. His father being a wealthy man, and able to give him a capital to set him up in business, placed him with a merchant at Westport; but considering himself possessed of abilities sufficient to shine in a learned profession, he renounced the mercantile life, and went to the Temple, where he prosecuted his studies with tolerable application, and along with a knowledge  
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of the laws of his country, he acquired the seeds of those detestable principles, which were afterwards matured and employed for the destruction of law, property and justice. There he became acquainted with the dangerous and seducing works of Paine and his disciples, and was introduced into the corresponding societies, of whose principles and practices he was a great admirer, and profited very much by their instructions. Having returned to Ireland, he was recognised as a champion for the Rights of Man, and chosen by his party as a delegate from Mayo to the catholic convention in Dublin, convened by Edward Byrne, where, by his inflammatory harangues and violent conduct in endeavouring to instigate that body to unwarrantable means of prosecuting their claims, he attracted the admiration of his friends, and at the same time strongly excited the attention and suspicion of government; inasmuch, that it was debated whether he should be allowed to be called to the bar. He was, however, soon after called to it, and sworn a barrister, which added to his consequence, and increased the influence which he was ambitious to exert among the Roman catholics in Mayo. He spared no pains in propagating his dangerous democratick principles amongst all ranks and orders of the people, and by corrupting their minds, prepared them for the rebellion, which was soon to follow. The magistrates of the county beheld his conduct with a very jealous eye, and had nearly determined to have him arrested under a warrant from the secretary of state. This, however, was deferred, through that mistaken lenity by which delinquents are too frequently suffered to escape, and by which the late Rebellion was allowed to raise his baleful head. He was permitted to proceed in his career until the invasion, when a full and fair opportunity was afforded him of displaying both his principles and actions, which he did unequivocally, as soon as the French had made themselves masters of Castlebar, whither he immediately repaired, and was appointed a colonel in their service.

He was attended by a large party of his followers, who had been taught to look for this event by his addresses and harangues, and with these he accompanied Humbert on his march to Ballinamuck, and after the surrender he and colonel Blake concealed themselves in a bog. Blake was taken prisoner, but he had the good fortune to effect his escape, and made his way from thence into the wild mountains of Cunnemara, and from

thence embarked for Spain or France, with some other fugitives of his own description.

Doctor Barrett, a Roman catholic, was a native of Erris, in the county of Mayo, and descended from an ancient and respectable Irish family, who formerly possessed a large estate in that country, and of which he was not a little vain. Having got a competent knowledge of Latin, which he spoke tolerably correct and fluent, though in a vulgar manner, he served a regular apprenticeship to an apothecary, and carried on the business for some years with much credit to himself and utility to the country. He also attended many of the genteel families in the neighbourhood of Ballina, (where he lived,) in the light of a physician, and was so much esteemed by them, that they entered into a subscription to support him at Edinburgh, while he should study physick there in a regular manner. His wife and children were also supported in the same manner at home, while he studied in Scotland, and that exclusively by the protestant gentlemen, although he and his family were of the catholic persuasion.

In that country such acts have not been uncommon; but I am sorry to remark that the returns made to them have frequently been ungenerous and ungrateful, and they were notoriously so during the late rebellion.

Doctor Barrett having returned from his studies, commenced the practice of physick under the same auspices, in which, from his previous knowledge of medicine, and the skill he had required in diseases, he made such a progress, as to be in the receipt of 300*l.* a year, in a country, more noted for liberality than riches, and where he had sir William Boyde to contend with. Before he went to Scotland, the doctor was rather bigoted to his religion, but having frequently attended the presbyterian form of worship, and conversed freely with well-informed men there, he became disgusted with the tricks and superstition of his own persuasion, of which he often spoke with much severity, and seldom, if ever, attended mass or confession from his return till his condemnation; and nothing but the prejudices which he had so strongly imbibed, when young, and his pride, (of which, in common with the old Irish families, he possessed a large share,) prevented him from abandoning entirely the catholic doctrines and worship. It is to be apprehended that his situation was similar to that of many other well-informed Roman catholics, who, unable to digest the monstrous tenets prescribed for their belief, and prevented by  
pride,

pride, shame, or prejudice, from embracing a religion more conformable to reason and good sense, suffer themselves to lapse insensibly into a state of infidelity.

As to the doctor's loyalty before the invasion, it was unimpeachable, so far as was known to his most intimate friends; and, I firmly believe, he was totally unconnected with the leaders of rebellion before that period. On the approach of the French army, he and his family fled for safety to an island in Lough Conn, where they continued for more than a week, but afterwards induced, partly through want of provisions, partly through promises of protection, they came into the town, where, on account of their religion, they were not only protected, but amply supplied with every article of support and comfort which the demesnes, houses and cellars of the protestant gentlemen, plundered by the rebels, could furnish.

After the retaking of the town, the doctor was found peaceably at home, and seemed very happy to find his old acquaintances and benefactors returning in triumph, many of whom, as well as the officers of different regiments, he entertained very hospitably for some weeks, and seemed perfectly secure from any danger; and, what is somewhat odd, some months elapsed before he was apprehended.

It did not appear on his trial that he ever took up arms, or accompanied the enemy in any act of hostility, or behaved with severity to the protestants who were in his power; but, on the contrary, that he shewed acts of kindness and indulgence to many of them. The chief matters proved against him, were, consulting and advising with the French officers; directing the guards; signing passes in his son's name, (who was a rebel colonel); and forcing his son to take a command.

Before his trial an offer was made to him, that he and his whole family would be permitted to remove themselves to America; but so confident was he, that no act of treason or rebellion could be substantiated against him, that he rejected the proposal; alleging, that if the gentlemen of the country could procure proof sufficient to condemn him, they would not make him so lenient an offer. He was tried and condemned at Castlebar, by the sentence of a court martial, and sent to Ballina for execution. His separation from an innocent virtuous wife, and seven children, whom he was about to leave unprotected, and without the most



remote prospect of support, was a punishment far beyond that which the sentence of the law had decreed, and produced the strongest emotions of pity in those who execrated the crime for which he was to suffer, and by which they had been such great sufferers themselves.

He walked from the publick house to the fatal tree, and read, as he proceeded, a litany, attended by two priests, and met his fate with becoming propriety, and without emotion, having, in a few short sentences, called God to witness, whether he had been guilty of the crimes for which he was condemned. He had many good qualities, and was a very useful member of society; but his having espoused a cause, which was calculated to destroy the lives and properties of his supporters and benefactors, leaves a stain of ingratitude behind it which no time can efface.

Patrick Barrett, junior, a colonel in the rebel army, was son to doctor Barrett of Ballina, before mentioned, and received a tolerable school education from his father, who intended to breed him to the profession of an apothecary. Previous to the rebellion, he enrolled himself in the Tyrawly cavalry, where he was always amongst the foremost to volunteer in any duty which required spirit or activity, and never failed to acquit himself like a good foldier and a loyal subject.

On the taking of Ballina by the French troops, this corps, with some others, were ordered to fall back on Castlebar, and being badly officered, and partaking in the general panick, with which the troops of the line, as well as the yeomanry, were struck on that shameful occasion, they divided into small parties, and effected their retreat, some retiring home, others joining themselves to different parties of the king's troops, where they could find them. Unfortunately for Barrett, it was his lot to be amongst the former, and having come within a few miles of Ballina, he had an interview with his father, which ended in an acquiescence on his part of coming into the town, which was then occupied by a French commandant, and a large number of rebels. It is asserted, that the cause of his coming into town, was an expectation of procuring some money to enable him to return and join the king's troops; but in this hope he was disappointed, and was committed a close prisoner with the protestants, where he remained until he consented to accept of a command in the rebel army, which he with great reluctance did, after his father had used all the authority of a parent, and even proceeded so far as to strike him with a rattan,

rattan, because he refused so flattering an invitation. Being invested with the honour of a colonel's commission, his time was more occupied in restraining the excesses of his savage and violent followers, than in training them to military discipline. These worst of barbarians, having received arms from the French, or furnished themselves with pikes, were constantly employed in plundering houses, driving in cattle, imprisoning the few protestants who remained in the country, or indulging themselves in eating and drinking to excess, and then becoming unruly and riotous, so that Truc the commandant and young Barrett were frequently called upon to exert their authority and restore peace, which was the only duty that Barrett seemed to do with a good grace; and it was often remarked of him, that he was never seen to smile after he had been promoted to the rank of colonel, and seriously requested of his friends not to offend him with that appellation. He enlarged many of the prisoners from time to time, and shewed them as much indulgence and lenity as his limited and precarious situation enabled him to do. His exertions were not confined to the town, and he was frequently obliged to mount his horse and gallop out to the country to protect private property.

As Mr. Knox's house at Rappa was in danger of being plundered, he went there with a party, and conveyed into town the plate and other valuable effects, which he secured at his father's house.

The reverend Mr. Neligan's house had early attracted the notice of the rebels, and every thing valuable in it had been either taken away or demolished before Barrett came into power, except the papers and records of the registry of the diocese, which were then in Mr. Neligan's care. These, though trampled under foot, and many of them flung into the street, he carefully collected and deposited in a place of safety, by which means the original wills and other records for near one hundred years back were preserved.

His endeavours to save the protestants from the cruelty of priest Cowley were near costing him his life. That villain, who was daily plotting their destruction, pretended that he had received orders from Truc to give them up to the fury of their enemies; but Barrett, suspecting the order to be false, applied to Truc by another interpreter, and learned that his suspicions were well-founded; whereupon he publicly abused Cowley, and accused him so sharply of the falsehood, that one of his  
friends

friends attempted with a pike to dispatch Barrett, which he would have effected, had it not been for his vigilance and activity.

Notwithstanding his attention and humanity to the loyalists when in his power, he was ready to draw his sword against them when he met them in the field, and to acknowledge them, not as friends, but enemies. This he proved in two instances, the first in an attack made by him and Henry O'Keon on Castlebar, on the twelfth of September, when in the hands of the king's troops, at the head of a large body of rebels, where, by the bravery of captain Urquhart, a few of the Fraser fencibles and the protestants of the town, he was repulsed and obliged to retreat to Ballina. The second was a much bolder attempt, but attended with equally bad success. When it was at length determined by the wisdom of government, that the unfortunate inhabitants of that part of the country were to be relieved, some from their imprisonment, others from banishment, and that the few cowardly and half armed rebels who had so long occupied the houses and the properties of the loyalists were condemned to expulsion, two large detachments were put in motion for that purpose, the one from Castlebar, the other from Sligo. Barrett marched out to meet the latter with a motley crew of his countrymen, but was soon repulsed.

He afterwards concealed himself in the town, and although he was proclaimed, and a reward was offered for his apprehension, the recollection of his past kindness to the protestants prevented them from discovering his retreat, or bringing him to trial.

After remaining in a state of dreadful suspense for three months, he effected his escape to Sligo, where, in the disguise of a sailor, he entered on board a vessel and sailed for America.

There were many good traits in this young man's character, which would entitle him to a better fate. He was brave and generous, humane and grateful, and his person and manners bespoke something much beyond his education and expectations in life; and it is only to be regretted that his loyalty was not sufficiently strong to enable him to resist the influence which was exerted to seduce him to join the enemies of his country.

Henry and John Sheares, two brothers, who had been arrested the twenty-first of May, were tried in Dublin the twelfth of July, on charges of high-treason, and were convicted on the clearest evidence of being



being deeply concerned in the conspiracy, and of having harboured the most sanguinary designs. They were the sons of Mr. Sheares, a banker at Cork, who was esteemed not only for his moral virtues, but respected for his mental accomplishments and intellectual powers, having written essays and dissertations on various subjects, which would not have disgraced the pen of doctor Johnson. These men were at Paris when the king and queen were put to death, and continued there during the tyranny of Robespierre; and at their return were heard to speak with delight of the scenes of carnage which they had seen there. They were executed in front of Newgate, and in their last moments displayed that perturbation of mind, and that abject fear, which seldom fail to attend the guilty when they are about to depart from this life.

John M'Cann, clerk to Henry Jackson, was tried and convicted of the same crime on the seventeenth of the same month, and was executed on the nineteenth, when he shewed a decent composure, and acknowledged the justice of his sentence.

William M. Byrne, of the county of Wicklow, was tried and convicted of the same crime on the twentieth of July, and suffered on the twenty-first.

Oliver Bond, was one of the principal leaders of the conspiracy, at whose house the Leinster delegates had been arrested on the twelfth of March, was arraigned for high treason on July the twenty-third, and his trial lasted till seven o'clock in the morning of the twenty-fourth, when he was convicted. This man, who had made a considerable fortune as a woollen-draper, was the son of a presbyterian minister of St. John's-town, nine miles from Letterkenny, in the county of Donegal. I have very good authority for saying that he was a confirmed deist, and that he had been active in disseminating the works of Tom Paine, of which he was a great admirer. I have been well assured that he was in indifferent circumstances, till he and Simon Butler were committed to Newgate by the house of lords, in the year 1793; on which occasion, being considered as a persecuted patriot, his customers encreased so much, that he became opulent in the space of four or five years.

The prisoners confined for high treason in the different gaols in Dublin, perceiving from the trials of the Sheares's, M'Cann, Byrne and Bond, that they must fall a prey to the vengeance of the law, applied  
to

to counsellor Dobbs, M. P. to be their intercessor with government, hoping through his mediation to obtain the royal mercy, on making a full discovery of the conspiracy. In consequence of his interference, the lord chancellor, lord Castlereagh and Mr. secretary Cooke, inclining to do every thing that was merciful on the part of government, condescended to hold an interview with messieurs Arthur O'Connor, counsellor Emmet, and doctor M'Nevin, whom all the state prisoners delegated to represent them. Government, whose clemency and moderation were conspicuous on all occasions, agreed to the following terms: That the prisoners, about seventy in number, should exile themselves for life to such country as should be mutually agreed upon; that Oliver Bond, who had been condemned to die, should be spared, and permitted to accompany them: And in return they were to disclose the whole of the conspiracy, and their intercourse with France; but that in doing so, they were not to implicate any person whatsoever in their guilt.

As it was discovered that the leaders in this band of traitors abused the lenity of government, by endeavouring secretly to foment rebellion while in prison, the following persons were sent to Fort George in Scotland, where the severity of their confinement has been mitigated by the greatest indulgence on the part of government:

Samuel Neilson,	John Chambers,
Thomas Russell,	Joseph Cormick,
Arthur O'Connor,	Edward Hudson,
Thomas Addis Emmett,	George Cumming,
William James M'Nevin,	William Dowdall,
Matthew Dowling,	Robert Hunter,
John Sweetman,	Robert Simms,
Joseph Cuthbert,	William Tennant,
Roger O'Connor,	Reverend Steele Dickson, a
John Sweeny,	presbyterian minister.
Hugh Wilson,	

Another striking instance of the clemency of the government was this: In the beginning of September 1798, an act of general pardon, with but few exceptions, was passed, but it was not productive of as much benefit as might have been expected; for robbery and assassination continued

nued to be perpetrated, the whole of that year, and till the end of the year 1799, in many parts of Leinster; not only in that province, but in some parts of Munster, particularly in the counties of Waterford and Tipperary, treasonable combinations continued to be formed, and a strong spirit of insurrection appeared. For near two years after the rebellion was supposed to be put down, the county of Limerick was infested by a banditti, who plundered houses, and committed cold-blooded murders disgraceful to human nature. It is to be lamented, that at this time the popish multitude are as much fraught with disaffection as ever; though they are still smarting from the former rebellion, and though the royal mercy has been extended to them in a very extraordinary degree.

It might be said that I have gone far in exposing the errors of popery, and have been severe upon them; but it should be recollected, that the popish clergy never cease to represent the protestant religion as a pestilent heresy, which brings the frowns of the Almighty on its votaries in this life, and dooms them to eternal damnation hereafter; and this not only orally, but by various publications, some of which I shall mention.

One of them, entitled, "Fifty Reasons, why the holy Roman catholick religion ought to be preferred to all the sects in Christendom," is printed by Wogan and Crofs in Bridge-street; and it is annually disseminated among the lower class of people by their priests. Every page of this wretched volume of fiction is replete with falsehood and bitter invectives against the established religion, and cannot fail of making the lower class of people rebels to a protestant state. I give the following extracts from it:

"Protestants cannot name so much as one person of sanctity that was of their religion, page 36. Our adversaries will confess, that during the first five ages, there was no other religion" (meaning the popish) "to which nations were converted." Page 38.

"There is little or no instruction to be found among them" (protestants) "upon points of morality, or the observance of God's commandments; but every thing is allowed to the desires and concupiscence of depraved nature."

"Their parsons varnish over the dangerous maxims of their own religion, and every thing that tends to the perdition of those souls that are guided by them." Pages 96 and 97.



“ ‘They’ (protestant ministers) “ are not priests, since they have not power to consecrate in the Eucharist, *nor to forgive sins*, which is yet the main office of priestly dignity.” Page 80.

“ Hereticks themselves confess, that Roman catholicks may be saved ; whereas these maintain there is no salvation for such as are out of the Roman catholick church. What madness then were it for any man not to go over to the Roman catholicks, who may be saved in the judgment of their adversaries !” Pages 17 and 90. This infamous volume is frequently given to the lower class of protestants, for the purpose of converting them.

Every person endued with reason must recoil, on reading a treatise on the Scapular, a pitiful piece of superstitious nonsense, which is constantly perused by the besotted wretches who are in that holy order ; and they are very numerous.

Another piece of gross superstition and impiety published by the same booksellers is, “ Funiculus Triplex, or the Triple Cord of St. Francis,” which sets forth the great indulgences to which the votaries of that order are entitled.

What can be expected from a rabble drenched with the inebriating poison of such productions, but treason, robbery, and assassination !

A poem in four cantos, and in Hudibrastic verse, entitled, “ England’s Reformation, from the time of Henry VIII.” was published by Peter Hoey, a popish bookseller in Dublin, in the year 1791. It was written by one Thomas Ward, as a satire on the reformation, and it abounds with ridicule and invective on the illustrious characters who were the chief instruments in effecting that glorious revolution. This production contains no less than 468 pages.

In the year 1790, the translation of a book entitled, “ The general history of the christian church, from her birth to her final triumphant state in heaven,” was printed in Dublin by James Mehain, a popish bookseller. It was written originally at Rome, by a sanguinary bigot of the name of Pastorini. This writer defends and expresses his approbation of the massacres of protestants, which took place in France and Ireland ; and he endeavours to shew, by false and tortuous expositions of the prophecies, that it has been positively decreed by the Almighty, that hereticks of every kind, and in every country in Europe would be extirpated  
the

the beginning of this century. This piece of blasphemy and folly, which is a large octavo volume of 502 pages, was published, it is believed, to encourage the mass of the Irish papists to join in the conspiracy which was framed so early, and in the massacre which was to succeed it in the year 1798, as if it was to be conducted under the divine sanction; and yet, from the year 1791 to that period, the popish clergy and laity frequently assembled in different parts of the kingdom, particularly in Dublin, expressed their zealous and unabated loyalty, and made publick and unequivocal renunciations of the sanguinary and intolerant principles which ever characterized their church.\*

It is most certain, that the great mildness and beneficence of the protestants of every rank towards the lower class of papists, would soon make converts of them,§ but that their clergy never cease to inspire them with a fanatical hatred against the protestant state and their fellow subjects of that persuasion. Doctor Hufsey's pastoral letter is a striking proof of this.

We may form some idea of this from an oath found on board the *Gladiator*, by which the Irish traitors in the fleet bound each other, in the year 1798, to carry it into Brest, "and afterwards to kill all protestants."†

It appeared also on a trial on board the *Cæsar*, that Michael Butler, an Irish traitor, declared, that there ought to be a catholic government in Ireland; that the protestants should be expelled from it; and that he should not die easy till he swam in English blood.‡

\* See page 81 of this work.

§ The Roman catholics of a parish frequently solicit protestant gentlemen for ground to build chapels on, and I never heard of the request being refused; and in many cases, they built them at their own expence. Whenever a popish chapel is to be built by subscription, the protestants never fail, when solicited, to contribute largely to it.

† Report of the secret committee of the English house of commons, published 5th of March 1799, Appendix, No. XIX.

‡ Ibid.

*An account of the sums of money claimed by the suffering loyalists in the different counties of Ireland, for their losses sustained in the rebellion of 1798, and laid before the commissioners appointed by act of parliament for compensating them.*

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Antrim	17729	3	4h	Londonderry	7	19	3
Carlow	24854	14	7	Leitrim	2316	19	1h
Cavan	61	16	9	Longford	1046	14	10h
Cork	2501	14	11h	Mayo	120553	11	4h
Clare	856	9	11h	Meath	14597	9	3h
Down	12129	—	8	Queen's county	1586	9	3h
Dublin	25829	16	—h	Roscommon	325	19	7
Galway	4814	—	3	Sligo	15769	14	9h
Kerry	149	4	2h	Tipperary	1577	9	8
Kildare	97090	2	11	Waterford	1321	18	9
Kilkenny	27352	8	9h	Westmeath	2808	13	4
King's county	2461	19	7	Wexford	515191	8	5
Limerick	22	9	6	Wicklow	130379	17	—
				Total	£823517	6	4



# APPENDIX,

No. I.

I.

*By one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for said county and city.*

*County of the city of Kilkenny,  
to wit.*

} THE information of Matthias O'Brien, of the city  
of Kilkenny, in said county, popish priest, who being  
duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth, That the  
late tumultuous risings of the white boys, which prevailed in the southern parts of  
this kingdom, were set on foot for the sole end and purpose, to informant's certain  
knowledge, in order to raise therein a spirit of sedition and disaffection to his ma-  
jesty's person and government, which might be of use to support a foreign invasion, cer-  
tainly intended against this kingdom at a convenient time, in favour of prince Charles,  
otherwise the Pretender to these realms : and that the causes commonly alleged for  
these risings by the said white boys, were but mere pretences, and calculated entirely  
to conceal the above secret designs. Informant deposeth, that these disorders were  
fomented originally by foreign agents, in conjunction with some popish bishops, par-  
ticularly doctor James Butler, titular archbishop of Cashel, (in whose house, or chapel,  
there were papers of a treasonable nature concealed,) and others of his clergy, assisted  
by several principal gentlemen of the same persuasion. That informant was early ap-  
prized from his station, then as coadjutor to the aforefaid doctor Butler, of their dan-  
gerous schemes against his majesty's crown, and the established government of this  
kingdom, which they did at that time, and do still, as he verily believes, mean to over-  
turn, and which they would have long since more openly attempted to execute, but  
for the timely notice thereof he often from time to time gave to the rev. John Hew-  
etson, of Suirville, a justice of peace for said county, and whose life he more than once  
saved in his chair of confession, by dissuading his determined and combined assassins  
from their bloody purposes against him. That informant is fully convinced upon dif-  
ferent grounds, (but which, as being confided upon the solemnities of confession from  
some of the insurgents, and secrecy, he thinks he cannot, consistent with his obligation  
as a priest, divulge,) that the above spirit of sedition would have broke out long since  
to an open and armed rebellion, were it not for the zealous and indefatigable labours  
of the said John Hewetson, and William Bagenal, esquire, who by the spirit and activity  
they exerted in detecting, apprehending, and bringing to justice, some of the chief  
leaders of these insurrections, checked and suspended for a time their bad designs. And  
he deposeth in the most solemn manner, that this same rebellious spirit still subsists  
among those deluded people, as it evidently appears from their frequent nocturnal  
meetings, held by informant's certain knowledge, within these eight or nine weeks

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past,

past, in and about Callan, and other parts of this county, where informant saw some of the said insurgents clad in their white uniforms. Informant is also certain, that this same rebellious spirit will never cease in this kingdom, among the aforesaid insurgents, if some speedy and efficacious means be not used to prevent it. Informant saith, that his reason for knowing the said schemes and designs to be true is, that the said doctor Butler did solemnly bind him to the following oath : "To be true and faithful to the church of Rome, and to promote its good, and to be faithful to him the said doctor Butler, his archbishop ;" that after signing said promise, in a book belonging to said Butler, he was told by him the said Butler, that these risings of the white boys were set on foot solely for the advancement of the Roman Catholick faith, and the extirpation of heresy in this kingdom ; and that as there was but one God, there should be but one religion : And, to restore the same *vetus Hibernia*, by making her faithful sons to rise in rebellion to support France, or other countries, to establish prince Charles on the British throne. And that he the said Butler, then toasted his health in the company present, who were privy to the conspiracy. Informant saith, he has no other motive for discovering said conspiracy, but to preserve peace, and to prevent the effusion of blood in this kingdom.

MATTHIAS O'BRIEN.

*Sworn before me this 24th of January, 1768,*  
THOMAS BUTLER, *mayor of Kilkenny.*

IN another information, Matthias O'Brien swore, that doctor Butler, titular archbishop of Cashel, assured him, that the cause of the white boys was the cause of God, and their holy religion, undertaken to restore prince Charles to the throne of his ancestors, and their ancient faith to its primitive purity. That informant knew that the late Nicholas Sheehy was chiefly supported by the said Butler ; and that large contributions were frequently made for him ; informant, and the rest of the popish clergy, having been taxed for that purpose by the said Butler ; which the reverend Mr. Magher, a convert to the protestant religion, can certify from his own knowledge.— That informant saw and read a letter at the chapel of Thurles, said to have been written and signed by count Taaffe, and addressed to doctor Fitzsimons, titular archbishop of Dublin, and transmitted to the said James Butler, importing that a popish college should soon be erected in Dublin. That the said James Butler extorted a sum of money from informant, and the rest of his clergy, and from the reverend Mr. Magher, who afterwards became a convert to protestantism, under the pretext of establishing said popish seminary ; but for the sole purpose, as informant believes, of supporting the white boys. That informant was told by James Fogerty, of Thurles, merchant, that he brought from Dublin\* a large sum of money, which he delivered to said James Butler ; and that he understood from said Fogerty, that the said money was to promote the said rebellious purposes. That informant, from his ministerial functions as a priest these four years past, has full and sufficient reasons to be convinced that the grand scheme of all these insurrections of the white boys, in these and the neighbouring counties, was to raise a general rebellion against his majesty, and the established government of this kingdom ; and to massacre all the protestants therein at a certain hour.

By

\* The Catholick committee was sitting there at that time.

2.

*By one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for said county.*

*County of Kilkenny,*  
*to wit.*

THE information of David Landregin, late of Roxborough, in the county of Tipperary, but now of Aglish, in the county of Kilkenny, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeseth, That some time in the month of March, 1762, he was enlisted in the society of white boys, at Newcastle, in the county of Tipperary, by Mr. Robert Keating, of Knocka, in said county, gentleman, and sworn by him at the same time, to take the following oath: "To be true and faithful to the king of France, and to the true king, prince Charles, and to obey all the orders of his officers, and not to disclose his secrets to any one, except to a Frenchman, or one of his own party." That he told informant that the object they had in view was, to collect an army together in this kingdom, sufficient to raise a rebellion against an invasion which they expected from France, with prince Charles, their rightful sovereign, at their head; and, for whom, they were to conquer England, Ireland, and Scotland. And that he told informant they had powerful friends in England and Scotland, who would cause and foment risings in said kingdoms, for said end. That a strong French army would make a descent in these kingdoms, at the same time that they would invade Ireland. That therefore the white boys must keep well and faithfully together, against said event. That informant made many expeditions by night on the lands of Drumlemon, Ardfinnan, and Fethard, in the county of Tipperary, under the command of said Robert Keating, and others, who were mounted, armed, and dressed in white uniforms; together with the late Nicholas Sheehy,\* Edmond Sheehy, James Buxton, and James Farrell. That said Robert Keating, and James Butler, drew out their troop, and disciplined them at said places. That some time after, informant was present at a meeting held at the house of Thomas Browne, of Clonmel, alefeller, together with said Robert Keating, James Butler, and one Patrick Gilbert, farmer, who all took an oath to put to death, the first time an opportunity offered, the earl of Carrick, sir Thomas Maude, baronet, John Bagwell, esquire, and the reverend John Hewetson, who were the only enemies they dreaded to their rebellious designs; and that informant took said oath.† That at another meeting held at the house of one Ronan, innkeeper, at Ardfinnan, informant saw said Nicholas Sheehy, Edmond Sheehy, James Buxton, James Farrell, and many others, take the same oath. Informant saith, that the execution of said Nicholas Sheehy, and the rest of his friends, has been the means of saving the lives of the said persons whom they swore to assassinate. Informant saith, he was present at a meeting held at the race course of Clogheen, on the night of the day that the earl of Drogheda came there, and that five hundred persons, all in white uniforms, were present, and most of them were armed; and that said meeting was held in the spring, sometime before the French took Newfoundland. That at said meeting it was proposed to them, by said Nicholas Sheehy, and others, to burn the said town, and to massacre the said earl, and the corps under his command, in order to get their arms, and to frighten the protestant gentlemen from pursuing them, or giving them any further hindrance in their future purposes. Informant saith, that they would have executed the said design, but that John Doyle, popish priest of Ardfinnan, prevented them, by falling on his knees, and giving them his curse, if they undertook what must occasion

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their

\* The priest hanged at Clonmel.

† This is similar to the committees of assassination formed by the defenders, who bound each other by oath to commit murder.



their own ruin ; for he said, we are not ripe yet for such a blow, nor can we 'till prince Charles and his friends from France land to our assistance : If you attempt it before that time, every protestant in Ireland will be up in arms against us, and give no quarter to man, woman, or child of our religion. Whereupon they desisted.

DAVID LANDREGIN.

*Sworn before me the 15th of March, 1767,*  
JOHN HEWETSON.

*Present,* DANIEL OSBORNE.

3.

*County of* } THE information of Thomas Rawley, of Killenaul, in the county of  
*Kilkenny.* } Tipperary, farmer, who, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, and  
examined, deposeth, That, some time in the year of our Lord 1763, he was enlisted among the Whiteboys, by Mr. Edmond Quinn, of Myre, in said county, farmer, and sworn by the following oath : “ To be true and faithful to the king of France and prince Charles, and to obey all the orders of his commanding officers.” That he, said Quinn, then gave your informant half-a-guinea, and told him he was his colonel, and that their scheme was to raise a rebellion in Ireland, in order to support a French invasion, which they expected, with prince Charles, their right king, at their head, to relieve the Roman catholics, and to make this kingdom their own.

That some short time after he met said Quinn in Thurles, and was conducted by him to the house of James Butler, titular archbishop of Cashel, and into his company. That after being introduced to him, said Butler, the servant was sent out of the way, and then said Butler took a book out of his pocket, and re-swore your informant as before ; viz. to be true and faithful to the king of France, and his right king Charles ; and to obey the orders of his commanding officers in all things. That he then gave your informant some claret, and afterwards dismissed him with his blessing for that time. That your informant continued a twelve-month after in the service of the whiteboys, 'till he was apprehended, and lodged in Clonmel gaol, and brought to his trial for high treason and rebellion against his majesty, for which, tho' guilty, he was publicly acquitted. That after his acquittal and enlargement, he went to see the afore-said James Butler, (by whom he was very kindly received, and also supported whilst in confinement.) That after refreshment given to him by said Butler, he was sent by him to the late Nicholas Sheehy, with a purse of gold from him said Butler, with this message, “ That he had only received this money from Dublin\* the day before, else he would have sent it to him sooner.” Your informant further deposeth, that the afore-said Butler did then assure him, that they soon should have Ireland in their own hands, and that they would certainly be supported by an invasion from France, with prince Charles at their head ; and hereupon he dismissed him upon his errand, first giving him an English crown to bear his expences. That he went directly thence to Nicholas Sheehy, and found him at his sister's house at Shanbally ; and there he delivered to him said Butler's letter and purse of gold ; which letter having read, he then turned immediately afterwards, in your informant's presence, on the table said gold, consisting of forty pieces, and guineas to the amount of about thirty. Your informant deposeth further, that it was resolved, upon at a meeting of the whiteboys at Myre  
afore-said,

\* Large collections were made at that time from the popish multitude, and paid to treasurers in Dublin.

aforesaid, to burn the houses of the protestants of Ireland, and to massacre them in one night, after a landing made by the French, as was expected. Your informant further deposeth, he is thoroughly convinced said massacre and rebellion are not yet over ; because he was very lately invited by the said Edmond Quinn to join him and his friends in further intended risings, for the above purposes, which he is certain are again set on foot, by means of the aforesaid James Butler, John Kirkby, of Ballyna, near Killaloe, and Edmond Quinn, aforesaid ; and also by Daniel Cavenagh, of the county of Kilkenny, gentleman. Your informant deposeth, that he is sure the aforesaid rebellion and massacre would have long since taken place, but for the interposition of the earl of Carrick, and the reverend John Hewetson.

THOMAS RAWLEY.

*Sworn before me, March 7, 1767,*  
JOHN HEWETSON.

4.

*By one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for said county.*

*County of Kilkenny,* } THE information of Mary Butler, spinster, who being duly  
*to wit.* } sworn on the Holy Evangelists, and examined upon oath, de-  
----- } poseth, That she was at the house of one Philip Heneberry, of  
Cahir, where her brother John Butler was employed as a house-carpenter, on the  
twenty-eighth day of September, 1764, when she was informed by her said brother,  
that he was summoned by Nicholas Sheehy, popish priest, to assist the rest of his men  
to save some prisoners, who were taken up as whiteboys, near Carrick, and to go  
the next day to the gaol of Kilkenny ; that her brother sent her before him to  
Clogheen ; that on her way thither, she met James Farrell, commonly called buck  
Farrell, who saluted her, and asked her if she heard any strange news ; and at the  
same time giving her the same account that her brother had done before, declared  
he must also go to rescue the aforesaid prisoners. That she then went to Clogheen,  
where she met Nicholas Sheehy aforesaid, Michael Mahony, Edmund Prendergast,  
buck Farrell aforesaid, Edmund Burke, of Tubrid, Edmund Meehan, Thomas  
Beer, as she afterwards heard him called, with several others, whom she cannot at  
present recollect, preparing for said intended rescue. That they all set out in three  
different companies, to avoid suspicion, your informant riding behind Michael  
Mahony ; that on the way she heard Nicholas Sheehy propose a scheme of making  
a false coffin, with straw, covered with a sheet, to deceive and seize the guard that  
conducted the prisoners, in order to deliver them. That they all arrived at the  
village of Newmarket, in the county of Kilkenny, where having refreshed them-  
selves in the house of George Reed, a publican, they prepared the aforesaid coffin.—  
That when this was finished, the aforesaid Nicholas Sheehy leaving them his blessing,  
departed from them, on his return home, as he then said, to celebrate mass at  
his own chapel the next day to avoid suspicion. That on the light horse appearing  
before them, she saw James Farrell, otherwise buck Farrell, with one pistol in his  
hand, and the other in his pocket, together with Edmund Prendergast, Michael Ma-  
hony, and several others, rush out to meet them. That she heard the serjeant  
of the guard, George Johnston by name, challenged first by one Walth, and then  
by James Farrell aforesaid, to surrender up the prisoners, or that he should lose his  
life. That on his refusal, she saw them immediately attack him. That buck Far-  
rell first knocked him down ; and that a person, unknown to her, then drew his said  
Johnston's

Johnston's sword, and thrust it into his body. She deposeth further, that she saw one Dogherty, as she heard him then called, aiding and assisting in said murder, as also Thomas Magrath, of Clogheen.\*

her  
MARY X BUTLER,  
mark.

*Sworn before me this 21st day of March,  
1766, but first read to the examinant,  
JOHN HEWETSON.*

\* This alludes to the rescue of some white boys, whom a party of dragoons was guarding to the gaol of Kilkenny; and in the attempt some of the military and many of the assailants were killed and wounded. It was planned by that notorious traitor, father Nicholas Sheehy.

## 5.

*County of Tipperary, }  
to wit. }* THE information of Mr. James Farrell, of Rehill, in said county, gentleman, who being duly sworn and examined upon oath, in the presence of lieutenant colonel Harcourt, major Lyons, captain Thomas Walmsly, and Daniel Toler, esquire, high sheriff of said county, declareth, That he was enlisted into the society of whiteboys by the late Nicholas Sheehy,§ popish priest, under the oath of allegiance and fidelity to the king of France, and prince Charles; that he received his commission as a major in their service, signed by the French king, as he believeth, and also his pay regularly, in consequence of said commission; that the real end and design for which said society was set on foot, was, as he was credibly informed, and now verily believes, to raise a rebellion in Ireland, in order to support an invasion from France, actually intended against these kingdoms, with a view to restore prince Charles to the throne of these realms, and to overturn the present constitution, both in church and state; that the heads of said rebellion are, James Butler, titular archbishop of Cashel, Pierce Creagh, titular bishop of Waterford, doctor Butler, titular bishop of Cork, and doctor Fitzsimons, titular archbishop of Dublin, Heley, popish priest of Arraglin,† Doyle, popish priest of Ardfinnan, and several others of the popish clergy; together with Robert Keating, of Knocka, James Nagle, of Garrenavilla, Thomas Dogherty, of Ballynamona, Edmund Sheehy,‡ of the lodge, Martin Murphy, and Philip Long, of the city of Waterford, merchant, each of whom usually supplied said Nicholas Sheehy with money to pay said white boys, and to support their insurrections: That informant frequently received money for said purpose from said Martin Murphy and Philip Long, particularly from the former, who was agent to lord Cahir, from whom informant held some land, and allowed him his rent regularly in part payment of his pay. That to informant's certain knowledge, several thousand pounds were expended for the above purpose; and that particularly at one meeting held on the lands of Drumlemon, he saw two thousand guineas distributed to the several persons there assembled, which they had received from the above merchants, for the above purpose. That at said meeting informant saw a bull produced by said Nicholas Sheehy, which he said came directly from the pope, and.

§ He was hanged for inciting persons to commit murder; and is revered as a saint by the popish rabble.

† It was always a nest of traitors: Mansergh St. George, esquire, and Mr. Jasper Uniacke were assassinated there.

‡ Known by the name of buck Sheehy: He was hanged for high treason.



and was read publicly by said Sheehy ; and that it granted a plenary pardon and indulgence to such of the insurgents as chose to conform to the protestant religion, in order the better to carry on and execute their glorious enterprize, and to restore the pure and holy catholick religion in its full vigour and strength in Ireland.\* Informant saith, there are at present fifteen thousand men embodied for the above purpose, from the muster-roll of their numbers kept by informant ; and that most of them are armed. Informant saith, he is thoroughly convinced that this spirit of insurrection never will totally cease in this kingdom, unless speedy and effectual means are made use of by government to prevent the intended mischief.

JAMES FARRELL.

*Sworn before me this 18th day of April, 1766,*  
JOHN HEWETSON.

## 6.

WE, the foreman and grand jury of the county of Dublin, at the assizes held at Kilmainham for said county on the twenty-ninth day of April, 1767, being convinced, that the late riots and insurrections in the southern parts of this kingdom, were fomented as well by the foreign as domestick enemies of our happy constitution in church and state, in order to overturn the same ; and that their pretences of tythes and other grievances, were only imaginary, and formed to cover their settled intention of rising in actual rebellion against his majesty's sacred person and government ; and having an utter abhorrence of such treasonable practices, think we should be remiss in our duty to our country, if we did not in the most publick manner express our approbation of the actions of those worthy magistrates and others, who daily hazarded their lives in defence of their country ; and that it was, under God, owing to the care, conduct, and spirit exerted by those magistrates, that this kingdom was not a scene of tumult and riot at this day, the consequences of which ought to be dreaded by every lover of his country : For these reasons, we, therefore, return our hearty thanks to the right honourable the earl of Carrick, sir Thomas Maude, baronet, the reverend doctor Hewetson, William Bagwell, esquire, and John Bagenal, esquire, for their zealous endeavours to bring those delinquents to the punishment they deserved, and for their unwearied pains to support the laws of their country.

Richard Anderson, *foreman*,  
Richard Jones,  
James Keating,  
Daniel Bullen,  
Anthony Murphy,  
Robert Beasley,  
Francis Cunningham,  
John Dawson,

John Allen,  
William Hickey,  
Thomas Kennan,  
William Sisson,  
Robert Hickey,  
John Ekins,  
Joseph Litton,  
Richard Burton,

James Wilson,  
John Bradley,  
Thomas Kean,  
George Davis,  
Thomas Andrews,  
Charles Smith,  
Daniel Ebbs,  
Richard Anderson.

By

\* Sixtus V. granted such a bull to the papists of England and Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth.

## 7.

*By one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for said county.*

*County of Kilkenny,*  
*to wit.* } THE information of John Twohy, who being duly sworn  
on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth, That he knoweth one James Herbert, otherwise Thomas Fitzgerald, who calls himself a French officer ; that he saw said Herbert at four several times enlist men in Kilfinnan, and Kilmallock, in the county of Limerick, and ship them off at Bantry, in the county of Cork, for the French service, in the year 1756 ; that he saw said Herbert, on the lands of Ardfinnan, Drumlemon, and elsewhere, at various times since, swear the white boys under the oath of fidelity and obligation to the French king, and exercise them under arms ; that he saw said Herbert also frequently pay them money, in the name and for the service of the king of France ; and that your deponent has often received it from him. That he heard said Herbert frequently assure them thus assembled, that they should soon receive assistance from France, in order to conquer Ireland.

JOHN TWOHY.

*Sworn before me, this 30th day of March, 1766,*  
JOHN HEWETSON.

## 8.

WILLIAM ABRAHAM, of Boherecrd, in the Queen's county, farmer, and of the protestant religion, swore the following examination before Edward Ledwich, clerk, and justice of peace for said county, on the twenty-seventh of December, 1774 : That a report had prevailed some time that the white boys intended to carry off examinant the night of the fifteenth instant ; that a party of them, blowing horns, and armed with muskets, and dressed in white frocks and shirts, entered his house, and put him behind one of them on horseback ; that his wife, endeavouring to prevent their doing so, received a stroke of a musket in the small of the back ; that before examinant was mounted they gave him a violent blow in the head with the lock and hammer of a gun, which inflicted a deep wound thereon, and rendered him stupid and senseless ; they carried him off mounted behind one of them, with only his breeches, and a loose great coat on ; that in their progress, they beat, battered, and abused him with their guns, and the man behind whom he rode, wounded him severely in the legs with long nails in his heels, commonly called heel spurs ;—they carried him ten miles off to a place near Ballyconra, where they held a consultation, whether they should cut out his tongue, or pull out his eyes ; and at last agreed to cut off his ears, which they did with circumstances of great barbarity ; that after having administered to him many unlawful oaths, they buried him up to his chin, though mangled in a deplorable way, in a grave lined with furze.

## No. II.

I, *A. B.* of my own free will and accord, do swear to be true to one another, will assist one another abroad and at home, and there are none to be admitted without the consent of the committee, appointed by the said body ; and they must in all things, be under subjection to the said committee in all things that are lawful, and not otherwise ; and all words and signs to be kept secret from all that are not concerned or forfeit this oath,

oath, and we are to meet once a month where the committee thinks proper, and we are to spend what is agreeable to the company ; and any person giving a lawful reason for his absence is not to be under censure ; and all persons entering must be under all rules and regulations appointed by the said committee ; and as in our former oath we are bound to his majesty king George III. and his successors to the crown, *so for this present year 1789, we promise faithfully the same obedience, and also while we live subject to the same Government.*

RULES TO BE OBSERVED.

1st, There is no defender to strike one another upon any account ; or if they do, to be excluded the company as long as the committee thinks proper.

2d, There is no person to come to the monthly meeting drunk ; or if they do, to pay six-pence, and to be excluded for three months.

3d, There is no person on any account to swear or speak loud in the company ; and for every oath they are to pay what the committee thinks proper.

4th, There is no person that formerly belonged to another body (that is to say, a strange body) to be accepted without a line from the body he formerly belonged to.

5th, There is no person to let any one know who belongs to their body, but those who went under the obligation.

6th, There is no body of men to go to a challenge without leave of three of the committee at least.

7th, There is no body to get a copy of these without the leave of the grand master appointed by the general year's meeting, or deputies appointed by the said grand master, or his committee.

8th, Let no person know no words or signs without being concerned ; and they are not empowered to give or make known by either words or signs or tokens any that may hereafter come forth, or make it known to any company or body but ourselves, or our body.

9th, There is no defender to make himself known as a defender after being excluded, under fear of perjury ; and each man continuing six months from this day must find a gun and bayonet, with other necessary accoutrements, or be excluded at the option of the committee.

Given under our hands, the Grange committee to the committee of Carrickarnan, body of defenders No. 1, for the county of Louth.

We, the committee of No. 18, do certify the bearer, Michael Moor, that he has gone through the rules and obligations of a brother defender ; and at his request he desires to be discharged that he may join your body.

*Given under our hands, at Drumbanagher, this 24th day of April, 1789,*

EDWARD BRADLEY,  
OWEN BRADLEY,  
PATRICK LEES,  
DANIEL M'GOVERAN, *sec.*

N. B. This prospectus and Michael Moor's certificate were signed by fifty-one names in addition to the above, who were present and members of lodge No. 18.\* †

[B]

*At*

\* This prospectus of the defenders was found by doctor Allott, dean of Raphoe, and was sent to government in the administration of the marquis of Buckingham.

† Sobriety, secrecy, brotherly love, and the accumulation of arms, the leading characteristics and designs of all the subsequent defenders' lodges, were conspicuous in this.



## No. III.

*At a post-assembly of the right honourable the lord mayor, sheriffs, commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, held at the exhibition-house in William-street, on Tuesday the eleventh day of September, 1792, pursuant to a requisition for the purpose of taking into consideration a letter circulated throughout this city and kingdom, signed, "EDWARD BYRNE :"*

*A copy of said letter, and also of the plan and observations mentioned to have been inclosed therein, having been read from a publick print, the assembly unanimously came to the following determination :*

## RESOLVED,

THAT a letter be addressed to the protestants of Ireland, to the following effect :

## " COUNTRYMEN and FRIENDS !

" The firm and manly support which we received from you when we stood forward in defence of the protestant ascendancy, deserves our warmest thanks. We hoped that the sense of the protestants of Ireland, declared upon that occasion, would have convinced our Roman catholick fellow subjects, that the pursuit of political power was for them a vain pursuit : For though the liberal and enlightened mind of the protestant receives pleasure in seeing the catholick exercise his religion with freedom—enjoy his property in security—and possess the highest degree of personal liberty, yet experience has taught us, that without the ruin of the protestant establishment the catholick cannot be allowed the smallest influence in the state.

" For more than ten years the press has teemed with various writings, intended to prove that Roman catholicks have an equal claim with protestants to a participation in the exercise of political power in this kingdom ; that such a participation would not be injurious to protestants ; that prejudice only prevents protestants from conceding this claim ; and to complete the work, a letter has lately appeared, signed "*Edward Byrne*," in which the Roman catholicks are instructed to proceed upon the plan of the French democracy, to elect a representation of their own, to which said Byrne insinuates that " the protestants *must* bend, as he has assurance from the highest authority."

" In answer to these charges, and these claims, we shall in a few lines briefly state the case of the Protestants and Roman catholicks of Ireland, in doing which we shall not endeavour to add to our language any other ornament than the beautiful simplicity of truth.

" One hundred years are just elapsed since the question was tried upon an appeal to Heaven—whether this country should become a popish kingdom, governed by an arbitrary and unconstitutional popish tyrant, and dependant upon France, or enjoy the blessings of a free protestant government—a protestant monarchy, limited by the constitution—and an intimate connection with the free empire of Britain ? The great Ruler of all things decided in favour of our ancestors ; he gave them victory, and Ireland became a protestant nation, enjoying a British constitution.

" But the conflict\* had been neither short nor trivial ; and so many and so great were the efforts made by the Roman catholicks in support of their popish king and French

\* The British cabinet had no suspicion at this time, that such another conflict would take place in the year 1798.

French connections, that our ancestors were obliged in their own defence, to deprive them of all political power, which they did by severe but necessary restrictive laws.

“ Time draws the veil of oblivion over the virtues as well as the faults of men : In the lapse of more than fourscore years, the causes which induced the necessity of these laws were almost forgotten ; while the generous protestant saw with pain his Roman catholic fellow-subject labouring under restrictions which, from his peaceable demeanour then, appeared no longer necessary ; and he could scarcely refrain from charging his ancestors with too much severity. Session after session the restrictive laws were rapidly repealed, and the last session of parliament left the Roman catholics in no wise different from their protestant fellow-subjects—*save only in the exercise of political power.*

“ But be it remembered, that from the moment the protestant began to make concessions, the Roman catholic began to extend his claims ; at first a very little would have satisfied them—that little, and much more, was granted ; more still was claimed ; and when every thing consistent with protestant safety was conceded, instead of grateful acknowledgments and declarations of satisfaction, our ears have been dinmed with exclamations of discontent, the ravings of political clubs, and the declamations of state reformers.

“ But we hope that the great body of the Roman catholics are yet free from the influence of that dangerous spirit which has pervaded the clubs in this city : We hope they will reject Mr. Byrne’s counsel, and be grateful for the indulgences they have received from protestants. To delude them from their tranquillity, they are told by Byrne, that he has “ The first authority for asserting this application will have infinite weight with our gracious sovereign, and with parliament, if our friends are qualified to declare that it is the universal wish of every catholic in the nation.” But we trust it is unfounded ; were it otherwise, we tell them that the protestants of Ireland would not be compelled by any authority whatever to abandon that political situation which their forefathers won with their swords, and which is therefore their birth-right ; or to surrender their religion at the footstool of popery.

“ Every Irish protestant has an interest in the government of this kingdom ; he is born a member of the state, and with a capacity of filling its offices ; this capacity he derives from that constitution, which his ancestors acquired when they overthrew the popish tyrant—it is guaranteed by that constitution—it is secured by the law—he is in possession of it, and we know of no power under Heaven, authorized to alienate this, our most valuable inheritance.

“ Having thus, countrymen and friends, spoken to you our sentiments in the undisguised language of truth, we shall intreat you to join with us in using every honest means of persuading the Roman catholics to rest content with

The most perfect toleration of their religion,  
The fullest security of their property—and  
The most compleat personal liberty——

but by no means now, or hereafter, to attempt any interference in the government of the kingdom ; as such interference would be incompatible with the protestant ascendancy, which we have resolved *with our lives and fortunes to maintain.*

[B 2].

“ And,

“ And, that no doubt may remain of what we understand by the words “ Protestant Ascendency,” we have further resolved, that we consider the protestant ascendency to consist in

A PROTESTANT KING OF IRELAND,  
A PROTESTANT PARLIAMENT,  
A PROTESTANT HIERARCHY,  
PROTESTANT ELECTORS AND GOVERNMENT,  
THE BENCHES OF JUSTICE,  
THE ARMY AND THE REVENUE,  
THROUGH ALL THEIR BRANCHES AND DETAILS,  
PROTESTANT :

AND THIS SYSTEM SUPPORTED BY A CONNECTION WITH THE PROTESTANT  
REALM OF BRITAIN.”

RESOLVED,

That the foregoing letter be published in the Dublin Journal, and that copies thereof be transmitted to all the corporations, magistrates, and members of both houses of parliament in this kingdom.

ALLEN AND GREENE, *town clerks.*

#### No. IV.

SIR,

BY an order of the sub-committee, dated the fifteenth of January, I had the honour to forward you a plan for a general subscription, which had for its object the raising a fund for defraying the heavy and growing expences incurred by the general committee in conducting the affairs of the catholicks of Ireland. As several mistakes have occurred in the transmission of these letters, owing to my ignorance of the address of many of the delegates, I am directed to inform you that such a plan is now in forwardness throughout the kingdom ; a measure so strongly enforced by necessity, and so consonant to justice, cannot fail to attract your very serious attention. The committee, having the most perfect reliance on your zeal, are therefore confident that you will use your best exertions to carry this necessary business into full effect.

Dublin, February 5th, 1793.

Signed by the secretary of the sub-committee.

P. S. It is hoped you will acknowledge the receipt of this letter ; stating at the same time whatever progress has been made in your district.

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED this day your favour of the eighth instant, enclosing the different papers respecting the business I wrote you. It is with much regret that I am obliged to reply, that, from the want of information on the subject-matter of the indictments, no precise opinion can be formed, whether the alleged offence is or is not bailable ? The committee are consequently in the dark as to the measures that should be adopted, nor can your exertions accelerate (as it seems) that period until the affizes, when you will be able to obtain office-copies of the examinations. Mr. Nugent's brother left town this day truly disconsolate, in not being able to effect something towards the liberation of his kinsman ; he however did his best in the affair.

I am, dear sir,

Your obedient servant,

Dublin, 9th August, 1792.

JOHN SWEETMAN.

P. S. If any new occurrence should happen, be good enough to inform me of it.



## No. V.

*To the loyal subjects of Ireland.*

FROM the various attempts that have been made to poison the publick mind, and slander those who have had the spirit to adhere to their king and constitution, and to maintain the laws :

We, the protestants of Dublin, assuming the name of Orangemen, feel ourselves called upon, not to vindicate our principles, for we know that our honour and loyalty bid defiance to the shafts of malevolence and disaffection, but openly to avow those principles, and declare to the world the objects of our institution.

We have long observed with indignation the efforts that have been made to foment rebellion in this kingdom by the seditious, who have formed themselves into societies, under the specious name of United Irishmen.

We have seen with pain the lower orders of our fellow subjects, forced or seduced from their allegiance, by the threats and machinations of traitors.

And we have viewed with horror the successful exertions of miscreants, to encourage a foreign enemy to invade this happy land, in hopes of rising into consequence on the downfall of their country.

We, therefore, thought it high time to rally round the constitution, and there pledge ourselves to each other, to maintain the laws, and support our good king against all his enemies, whether rebels to their God or to their country; and, by so doing, shew to the world, that there is a body of men in the island who are ready, in the hour of danger, to stand forward in defence of that grand palladium of our liberties, the constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, obtained and established by the courage and loyalty of our ancestors under the great king William.

Fellow-subjects, we are accused with being an *institution*, founded on principles too shocking to repeat, and bound together by oaths, at which human nature would shudder; but we caution you not to be led away by such malevolent falsehoods; for we solemnly assure you, in the presence of the Almighty God, that the idea of injuring any one, on account of his religious opinion, never entered into our hearts; we regard every loyal subject as our friend, be his religion what it may. We have no enemy but to the *enemies of our country*.

We further declare, that we are ready at all times to submit ourselves to the orders of those in authority under his Majesty, and that we will cheerfully undertake any duty which they shall think proper to point out for us, in case either a foreign enemy shall dare to invade our coasts, or that a domestic foe shall presume to raise the standard of rebellion in the land. To these principles we are pledged, and in support of them we are ready to shed the last drop of our blood.

THOMAS VERNER,  
EDWARD BALL,  
JOHN CLAUDIUS BERESFORD,  
WILLIAM JAMES,  
ISAAC DE JONCOURT.

## No. VI.

*EAGLE, Euflace-street, 9th of November, 1791.*

*At a meeting of the society of United Irishmen of Dublin, the honourable Simon Butler in the chair, the following was agreed to :*

WHEN we reflect how often the freemen and freeholders of Dublin have been convened, humbly to express their grievances, to parliament—how often they have solicited

cited the enactment of good, and the repeal of bad laws—how often, for succeeding years, they have petitioned against the obnoxious and unconstitutional police act—and how often all these applications have been treated with the most perfect contumacy and contempt : When these facts are brought to recollection, is there an honest man will say, that the house of commons have the smallest respect for the people, or believe themselves their legitimate representatives ? The fact is, that the great majority of that house consider themselves as the representatives of their own money, or the hired servants of the English government ; whose minister here is appointed for the sole purpose of dealing out corruption to them—at the expence of Irish liberty, Irish commerce, and Irish improvement. This being the case, it naturally follows, that such minister is not only the representative of the English views against this country, but is also *the sole representative of the people of Ireland*. To elucidate which assertion, it is only necessary to ask, whether a single question in favour of this oppressed nation can be carried without *his* consent ? and whether any measure, however inimical, may not through his influence be effected ?

In this state of abject slavery, no hope remains for us, but in the sincere and hearty *union of all the people*, for a compleat and radical reform of parliament ; because it is obvious, that *one party alone* have been ever unable to obtain a single blessing for their country ; and the policy of our rulers has been always such, as to keep the different sects at variance, in which they have been but too well seconded by our own folly.

For the attainment then of this great and important object—for the removal of absurd and ruinous distinctions—and for promoting a complete coalition of the people, a club has been formed, composed of all religious persuasions, who have adopted for their name, the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin, and have taken as their DECLARATION that of a similar society in Belfast, which is as follows :

“ In the present great æra of reform, when unjust governments are falling in every quarter of Europe ; when religious persecution is compelled to abjure her tyranny over conscience ; when the rights of men are ascertained in theory, and that theory substantiated by practice ; when antiquity can no longer defend absurd and oppressive forms against the common sense and common interests of mankind ; when all government is acknowledged to originate from the people, and to be so far only obligatory as it protects their rights and promotes their welfare ; we think it our duty, as Irishmen, to come forward, and state what we feel to be our heavy grievance, and what we know to be our effectual remedy :

“ We have no national government—we are ruled by Englishmen, and the servants of Englishmen ; whose object is the interest of another country ; whose instrument is corruption ; whose strength is the weakness of Ireland ; and these men have the whole of the power and patronage of the country, as means to seduce and subdue the honesty and spirit of her representatives in the legislature. Such an extrinsic power, acting with uniform force in a direction too frequently opposite to the true line of our obvious interests, can be resisted with effect solely by *unanimity, decision, and spirit in the people* ; qualities which may be exerted most legally, constitutionally, and efficaciously, by that great measure essential to the prosperity and freedom of Ireland, an equal representation of all the people in parliament.

“ We do not here mention as grievances the rejection of a place-bill, of a pension-bill, of a responsibility-bill ; the sale of peerages in one house ; the corruption publicly avowed in the other ; or the notorious infamy of borough traffick between both ; not that we are insensible of their enormity, but that we consider them as but symptoms of that mortal disease, which corrodes the vitals of our constitution, and leaves to the people in their own government but the shadow of a name.

“ Impressed

“ Impressed with these sentiments we have agreed to form an association, to be called, the Society of United Irishmen ; and we do pledge ourselves to our country, and mutually to each other, that we will steadily support and endeavour by all due means to carry into effect the following resolutions :

“ I. Resolved, That the weight of English influence, in the government of this country, is so great as to require a cordial union among all the people of Ireland, to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties, and the extension of our commerce.

“ II. That the sole constitutional mode by which this influence can be opposed, is by a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in parliament.

“ III. That no reform is practicable, efficacious, or just, which shall not include Irishmen of every religious persuasion.

“ Satisfied as we are, that the intestine divisions among Irishmen have too often given encouragement and impunity to profligate, audacious, and corrupt administrations, in measures which, but for these divisions, they durst not have attempted, we submit our resolutions to the nation, as the basis of our political faith.

“ We have gone to what we conceive to be the root of the evil ; we have stated what we conceive to be the remedy.—With a parliament thus reformed, every thing is easy ; without it, nothing can be done. And we do call on, and most earnestly exhort our countrymen in general to follow our example, and form similar societies in every quarter of the kingdom, for the promotion of constitutional knowledge, the abolition of bigotry and religion in politics, and the equal distribution of the rights of man through all sects and denominations of Irishmen.

“ The people when thus collected will feel their own weight, and secure that power which theory has already admitted as their portion, and to which, if they be not aroused by their present provocations to vindicate it, they deserve to forfeit their pretensions for ever.”

*ORDERED, that the foregoing be printed for the use of the members,*

JAMES NAPPER TANDY, *secretary.*

“ I A. B. in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country, that I will use  
 “ all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation in parliament ; and as a means of absolute and immediate  
 “ necessity in the establishment of this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour, as much  
 “ as lies in my ability, to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a  
 “ communion of rights, an union of power, among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, without which every reform in parliament must be partial, not national, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient for the freedom and happiness of this country.”

## No. VII.

*Constitution of the society of united Irishmen of the city of Dublin, as first agreed upon.*

THE society is constituted for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an union of power, among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, and thereby obtaining an impartial and adequate representation of the nation in parliament.

The members of this society are either ordinary or honorary.

Such



Such persons only are eligible as honorary members, who have distinguished themselves by promoting the liberties of mankind, and are not inhabitants of Ireland.

Every candidate for admission into the society, whether as an ordinary or honorary member, shall be proposed by two ordinary members, who shall sign a certificate of his being, from their knowledge of him, a fit person to be admitted, that he has seen the test, and is willing to take it : This certificate, delivered to the secretary, shall be read from the chair, at the ensuing meeting of the society ; and on the next subsequent night of meeting the society shall proceed to the election. The names and additions of the candidate, with the names of those by whom he has been proposed, shall be inserted in the summons for the night of election. The election shall be conducted by ballot, and if one-fifth of the number of beans be black, the candidate stands rejected. The election, with respect to an ordinary member, shall be void, if he does not attend within four meetings afterwards, unless he can plead some reasonable excuse for his absence.

Every person elected a member of the society, whether honorary or ordinary, shall, previous to his admission, take and subscribe the following test :

“ I, *A. B.* in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country, that I will  
“ use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate  
“ representation of the Irish nation in parliament ; and as a means of absolute and  
“ immediate necessity in the establishment of this chief good of Ireland, I will en-  
“ deavour, as much as lies in my ability, to forward a brotherhood of affection, an  
“ identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an union of power among Irish-  
“ men of all religious persuasions ; without which every reform in parliament must  
“ be partial, not national, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and in-  
“ sufficient for the freedom and happiness of this country.”

A member of another society of united Irishmen being introduced to the president by a member of this society, shall, upon producing a certificate signed by the secretary, and sealed with the seal of the society to which he belongs, and taking the before mentioned test, be thereupon admitted to attend the sittings of this society.

The officers of the society shall consist of a president, treasurer, and secretary, who shall be severally elected three months, videlicet, on every first night of meeting in the months of November, February, May, and August ; the election to be determined by each member present writing on a piece of paper the names of the object of his choice, and putting it into a box. The majority of votes shall decide ; if the votes are equal, the president shall have a casting voice. No person shall be capable of being re-elected to any office for the quarter next succeeding the determination of his office. In case of an occasional vacancy in any office by death or otherwise, the society shall on the next night of meeting, elect a person to the same for the remainder of the quarter.

The society shall meet on every second Friday night, oftener if necessary. The chair shall be taken at eight o'clock from the twenty-ninth of September, to the twenty-fifth of March ; and at nine o'clock from the twenty-fifth of March, to the twenty-ninth of September. Fifteen members shall form a quorum ; no new business shall be introduced after ten o'clock.

Every respect and deference shall be paid to the president ; his chair shall be raised three steps above the seats of the members ; the treasurer and secretary shall have seats under him, two steps above the seats of the members. On his rising from his chair, and taking off his hat, there must be silence, and the members be seated, he shall be judge of order and propriety, be empowered to direct an apology, and

to

to fine refractory members in any sum not above one crown; if the member refuse to pay the fine, or make the apology, he is thereupon expelled from the society.

There shall be a committee of constitution, of finance, of correspondence, and of accommodation. The committee of constitution shall consist of nine members, that of finance of seven members, that of correspondence of five members; each committee shall, independent of occasional reports, make general reports on every quarterly meeting. The treasurer shall be under the direction of the committee of finance, and the secretary under the direction of the committee of correspondence; the election for committees shall be on every quarterly meeting, and decided by the majority of votes.

In order to defray the necessary expences, and establish a fund for the use of the society, each ordinary member shall on his election pay to the treasurer, by those who proposed him, one guinea admission fee; and also one guinea annually, by half yearly payments, on every first night of meeting in November and May; the first payment thereof to be on the first night of meeting in November, 1792. On every quarterly meeting following, the names of the defaulters, as they appear in the treasury-book, shall be read from the chair. If any member after the second reading, neglect to pay his subscription, he shall be excluded the society, unless he can shew some reasonable excuse for his default.

The secretary shall be furnished with the following seal, videlicet, a harp; at the top, "*I am now strung;*" at the bottom, "*I will be heard;*" and on the exergue, "*Society of united Irishmen of Dublin.*"

No motion for an alteration of, or addition to, the constitution shall be made but at the quarterly meetings, and notice of such motion shall be given fourteen days previous to those meetings. If upon such motion the society shall see ground for the proposed alteration or addition, the same shall be referred to the proper committee, with instructions to report on the next night of meeting their opinion thereon; and upon such report the question shall be decided by the society.

## No. VIII.

*Extracts from the publications of united Irishmen.*

*Friday, 30th December, 1791.*

*Society of united Irishmen of Dublin. The honourable Simon Butler in the chair.*

*Resolved, unanimously, that the following circular letter, reported by our committee of correspondence, be adopted and printed:*

THIS letter is addressed to you from the corresponding committee of the society of united Irishmen in Dublin.

We annex the declaration of political principles which we have subscribed, and the test which we have taken, as a social and sacred compact to bind us more closely together.

The object of this institution is to make an united society of the Irish nation; to make all Irishmen, citizens; all citizens, Irishmen: nothing appearing to us more natural at all times, and at this crisis of Europe more seasonable, than that those who have common interests, and common enemies, who suffer common wrongs, and lay claim to common rights, should know each other and should act together. In our opinion ignorance has been the demon of discord, which has so long deprived Irishmen, not only of the blessings of well regulated government, but even the common



benefits of civil society. Peace in this island has hitherto been a peace on the principles and with the consequences of civil war. For a century past there has indeed been tranquillity, but to most of our dear countrymen it has been the tranquillity of a dungeon; and if the land has lately prospered, it has been owing to the goodness of Providence, and the strong efforts of human nature resisting and overcoming the malignant influence of a miserable administration.

To resist this influence, which rules by discord and embroils by system, it is vain to act as individuals or as parties; it becomes necessary by an union of minds, and a knowledge of each other to will and act as a nation. To know each other is to know ourselves; the weakness of one and the strength of many. Union, therefore, is power; it is wisdom; it must prove liberty.

Our design, therefore, in forming this society, is to give an example, which, when well followed, must collect the publick will, and concentrate the publick power into one solid mass, the effect of which, once put in motion, must be rapid, momentous, and consequential.

In thus associating, we have thought little about our ancestors, much of our posterity. Are we for ever to walk like beasts of prey, over fields which these ancestors stained with blood? In looking back, we see nothing on the one part but savage force succeeded by savage policy; on the other, an unfortunate nation, "scattered and peeled, meted out and trodden down!" We see a mutual intolerance, and a common carnage of the first moral emotions of the heart, which lead us to esteem and place confidence in our fellow-creatures. We see this, and are silent: but we gladly look forward to brighter prospects, to a people united in the fellowship of freedom, to a parliament the express image of the people, to a prosperity established on civil, political, and religious liberty, to a peace, not the gloomy and precarious stillness of men brooding over their wrongs, but that stable tranquillity which rests on the rights of human nature, and leans on the arms by which these rights are to be maintained.

Our principal rule of conduct has been to attend to those things in which we agree, to exclude from our thoughts those in which we differ. We agree in knowing what are our rights, and in daring to assert them: If the rights of men be duties to God, we are in this respect of one religion. Our creed of civil faith is the same; we agree in thinking that there is not an individual among our millions, whose happiness can be established on any foundation so rational and so solid, as on the happiness of the whole community. We agree, therefore, in the necessity of giving political value and station to the great majority of the people; and we think that whoever desires an amended constitution, without including the great body of the people, must on his own principles be convicted of political persecution, and political monopoly. If the present electors be themselves a morbid part of our constitution, where are we to recur for redress but to the whole community? "A more unjust and absurd constitution cannot be devised, than that which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual servitude, under the arbitrary dominion of strangers and slaves."

"We agree in thinking, that the first and most indispensable condition of the laws in a free state, is the assent of those whose obedience they require, and for whose benefit only they are designed. Without, therefore, an impartial and adequate representation of the community, we agree in declaring, we can have no constitution, no country, no Ireland. Without this, our late revolution we declare to be fallacious and ideal; a thing much talked of, but neither felt or seen. The act of Irish sovereignty has been merely tossed out of the English houses into the cabinet



cabinet of the minister ; and nothing remains to the people, who of right are every thing, but a servile majesty and a ragged independence.

We call most earnestly on every great and good man, who at the late æra spoke or acted for his country, to consider less of what was done than of what there remains to do. We call upon their senatorial wisdom to consider the monstrous and immeasurable distance which separates, in this island, the ranks of social life, makes labour ineffectual, taxation unproductive, and divides the nation into petty despotism and publick misery. We call upon their tutelar genius, to remember, that government is instituted to remedy, not to render more grievous, the natural inequality of mankind, and that unless the rights of the whole community be asserted, anarchy (we cannot call it government) must continue to prevail, when the strong tyrannize, the rich oppress, and the mass are brayed in a mortar. We call upon them, therefore, to build their arguments and their actions on the broad platform of general good.

Let not the rights of nature be enjoyed merely by connivance, and the rights of conscience merely by toleration. If you raise up a prone people, let it not be merely to their knees : Let the nation stand. Then will it cast away the bad habit of servitude, which has brought with it indolence, ignorance, an extinction of our faculties, an abandonment of our very nature. Then will every right obtained, every franchise exercised, prove a seed of sobriety, industry, and regard to character, and the manners of the people will be formed on the model of their free constitution.

This rapid exposition of our principles, our object, and our rule of conduct, must naturally suggest the wish of multiplying similar societies, and the propriety of addressing such a desire to you. Is it necessary for us to request, that you will hold out your hand, and open your heart to your countryman, townsman, neighbour ? Can you form a hope for political redemption, and by political penalties, or civil excommunications, withhold the rights of nature from your brother ? We beseech you to rally all the friends of liberty within your circle round a society of this kind as a centre. Draw together your best and bravest thoughts, your best and bravest men. You will experience, as we have done, that these points of union will quickly attract numbers, while the assemblage of such societies, acting in concert, moving as one body, with one impulse and one direction, will, in no long time, become not parts of the nation, but the nation itself ; speaking with its voice, expressing its will, resistless in its power. We again entreat you to look around for men fit to form those stable supports on which Ireland may rest the lever of liberty. If there be but ten, take those ten. If there be but two, take those two, and trust with confidence to the sincerity of your intention, the justice of your cause, and the support of your country.

Two objects interest the nation, a plan of representation, and the means of accomplishing it. These societies will be a most powerful means ; but a popular plan would itself be a means for its own accomplishment. We have, therefore, to request, that you will favour us with your ideas respecting the plan which appears to you most eligible and practicable, on the present more enlarged and liberal principles which actuate the people ; at the same time giving your sentiments upon our national coalition, on the means of promoting it, and on the political state and disposition of the county or town where you reside. We know what resistance will be made to your patriotic efforts by those who triumph in the disunion and degradation of their country. The greater the necessity for reform, the greater probably will be the resistance : We know that there is much spirit that requires being

brought into mass, as well as much massy body that must be refined into spirit.— We have many enemies, and no enemy is contemptible; we do not despise the enemies of the union, the liberty and the peace of Ireland, but we are not of a nature, nor have we encouraged the habit of fearing any man, or any body of men, in an honest and honourable cause. In great undertakings like the present, we declare that we have found it always more difficult to attempt, than to accomplish. The people of Ireland must perform all that they wish, if they attempt all that they can.

Signed by order,

JAMES NAPPER TANDY, *sec.*

### No. IX.

*Dissenting ministers in the counties of Down and Antrim implicated in the rebellion 1798.*

#### COUNTY DOWN.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Abode.</i>	<i>Sentence.</i>
Porter,	Gray Abbey,	Hanged.
Warwick,	Kercubben,	Hanged.
Simpson,	Newtownards,	Transported.
Sinclair,	Do.	Do.
Ward,	Kellurphy,	Do.
Birch,	Saintfield,	Do. to America.
Adair,	Cumber,	Proclaimed.
Hull,	Bangor,	Do.
McMahon,	Hollywood,	Do.
Dickson,	Portaferry,	Confined Fort George.
Barber,	Rathfryland,	Two Years imprisonment.

#### COUNTY ANTRIM.

Acheson,	Glenarm,	Tried, acquitted.
Hill,	Ballynure,	Tried, partly guilty.
McNeill,	Clogh,	Accused of being a leader, sentenced to transport himself.
Glendy,	Mahera,	Accused, ordered to leave the kingdom.
Worte,	Larne,	Taken up, never tried.
Henry,	Connor,	Do.
Kelburne,	Belfast,	Do. discharged.

*Outrages by the defenders in the year 1793.*

I HAVE already stated that one hundred and eighty houses were attacked by them in the year 1792, in the county of Louth alone.

On the twenty-second of January, 1793, a numerous body of them well armed, wantonly attacked a detachment of the forty-first regiment near Peter'sville, in the county of Meath, and had a severe conflict with them; and on that occasion the presbyterians who live in that country aided the king's troops with great zeal, which shews

shews that they were loyal at that time. About the same time the defenders in great numbers furiously assaulted a company of the same regiment commanded by major Grey, when on their march, at Manor Hamilton, in the county of Leitrim, and destroyed their baggage, though they were ultimately repulsed; on that occasion the defenders charged the soldiers, and wrenched their bayonets from their muskets.

A proclamation issued on the thirteenth of February, 1793, against them, stating that outrages had been committed by them in the counties of Louth, Meath, Cavan, Dublin, Monaghan, and the county of the town of Drogheda; and it alludes to enormities perpetrated by them in the preceding year.

In the same month a large mob of people assembled at Woodford, in the county of Galway, declaring they would pay no more taxes; and swore numbers of people to be true to them and their cause. They were incited to this by inflammatory hand-bills.

In the same month a detachment of the eighth regiment was attacked by a numerous body of them at Athboy, in the county of Meath, and two of the soldiers were killed.

In the same month a party of them attempted to carry off four pieces of cannon from Garretstown in the county of Meath, but were prevented by the volunteers of Ardeath.

In the same month they committed dreadful outrages in the barony of Innishowen, in the county of Donegal; such as burning houses, destroying corn, houghing cattle, extorting money, and writing threatening letters. At last the protestant inhabitants assembled and offered a reward of two hundred guineas to any person who would enable their committee to prosecute them.

In the same month justice Graham seized eight of them near the Naul, and found on Joseph Corbally, their leader, a list of sixty-six persons who had enrolled themselves as defenders.

In the same month a numerous body of them forcibly entered and plundered the house of Mr. Mark Cassidy, of Derry, in the county of Monaghan, of arms, and other valuable articles.

The same month a party of them well armed, attacked and fired on a body of the king's troops near Ardee, who killed seven, and wounded a great number of them.—For some time after the inhabitants of that town were so much afraid of being massacred, that they, headed by the magistrates, kept guard by night.

In the beginning of the year 1793, they often assembled in great numbers at Moynemore, in the county of Derry, and assumed the title of green cockade men, because they wore that badge in their hats; they paraded in arms, and exercised in a publick manner; and at last they became so formidable, that general White was sent there with a body of troops to suppress them.

In the month of May, 1793, there was a general rising of them in the counties of Sligo, Mayo, Leitrim, and Roscommon; and they shewed great eagerness to procure the fire-arms of protestants. They destroyed several gentlemen's houses; they plundered and demolished Coalville, the seat of Mr. Tennison, valued at 6000*l*. Mr. Tennison, with a party of soldiers, took some of them prisoners, but the mob, supposed to be six thousand, rushed on them, killed three of the soldiers, and rescued the prisoners.

They robbed of arms and ammunition captain Ormsby's seat of Castle-dangan, Mr. Johnson's of Adderfaid, and his sons, and captain Carter's of Drumlease. Mercury, the seat of Mr. Cooper, member for the county of Sligo, they plundered of  
fifty



fifty muskets, and various other articles, broke all his windows, and drank or spilled all the liquors in his cellars ; most of the gentlemen in that county were obliged to fly from their houses.

In the month of June, a body of insurgents burned the house of Mr. Wilson, of Castlecomer, and assassinated Mrs. Wilson, as she endeavoured to escape from the flames.

This year we find them in a state of insurrection in the four quarters of the kingdom. Swearing the defenders oath took place very generally in the beginning of the year 1793, in the county of Wexford.

In the month of July, a number of them assembled near Enniscorthy, and after threatening to break open the gaol, they proceeded in immense numbers to Wexford, to liberate the prisoners confined there ; and the brave major Vallaton, having led out a detachment of the fifty-sixth regiment to oppose them, and while humanely expostulating with them, they gave him some desperate wounds, of which he died soon after. Great numbers of the insurgents were killed and wounded.

There was a dreadful spirit of insurgency in various parts of the county of Limerick in the month of July, which lasted some days. Near Limerick, the insurgents had an engagement with part of the thirty-eighth regiment, who killed and wounded some of them ; however, the same party afterwards burned the house of Mr. Oliver, who narrowly escaped with his life.

At Bruff in that county, they fired treacherously from the windows of that town, on a party of the king's troops, commanded by captain Forbes, which occasioned a dreadful conflict, and in which some lives were lost.

In the month of May, 1793, a large body of them, after committing various outrages at Boyle in the county of Roscommon, attacked a party of the king's troops, who killed nineteen of them.

In the months of May, and June, 1793, the county of Kerry was a good deal agitated ; the pretext of the disaffected was a determination to oppose the raising the militia ; but it was soon discovered to arise from a deeper and more malignant source, as the insurgents openly declared that nothing would satisfy them but a division of property, and an abolition of tythes and taxes.

Early in the month of June, they attacked and dispersed the deputy governors, who had assembled at Dingle, to confer on raising the militia.

A week after, about four thousand assembled and entered that town for the purpose of swearing the inhabitants to abide by their laws. The gentlemen of the county having had notice of their intention, united to the number of twenty-five ; but found themselves unable to withstand so numerous a mob, of whom many were well appointed with arms. They therefore retreated to a house, and defended themselves till night, when the insurgents dispersed.

A fortnight before St. John's day, the twenty-fourth of June, they proclaimed at their chapels, and by notices posted in all publick places, that they would meet in great numbers on that day at Dingle, and carry all their plans into execution. In consequence of their declaration, Mr. Mullins got seventy soldiers from Limerick, who marched into Dingle the day preceding the intended meeting ; and he gave publick notice that he would oppose them : However, not deterred by the army, they entered the town in immense numbers, armed with guns, pistols, swords, pikes, and scythes mounted on poles. Mr. Mullins, desirous to prevent the effusion of blood, remained in the barrack with the troops till three o'clock, though the insurgents were two hours in possession of the town ; but when they began to commit acts of violence on the inhabitants, and their houses, he marched out, when the

mob

mob fired on them, and pelted them with stones ; on which having ordered the troops to fire, they killed fourteen of the insurgents, and wounded many of them ; after which they dispersed and fled, and did not stop until they arrived at some cliffs over the sea, which were ten miles off ; and they would not return till they made peace with the magistrates. Most of them gave information one against another ; and they swore that their intention was to have killed all the protestant gentlemen, and to have confiscated their estates. It was proved afterwards, that this plot was general in the county of Kerry ; and that it extended even to the county of Limerick, for there were persons stationed at Tralee, and Tarbert, and in the intervening space, ready to convey the event of their attack on Dingle ; that all the inhabitants of that immense tract of country might have risen at the same moment, and have acted in concert with them. The exemplary punishment of these insurgents has kept the county of Kerry peaceful ever since ; for though it was organized in 1797, no outrages were committed but in one place. That salutary act of severity probably saved many hundred lives afterwards.

*Papers found at the meeting at Oliver Bond's on the twelfth of March.*

*Found on John Lynch at the meeting at Bond's ; hand-writing of William Michael Byrne.*

THE county W——— W. C——— inform their constituents, that by the advice they have received from the provincial, it appears that very flattering accounts have been received from abroad, which will, in a very few days, be officially handed down. The provincial returns of men have only encreased a *few thousands* since the last reports ; as the new county members have not yet come in, in consequence of the *new* elections, which, each barony will take notice, must be on or before the fifteenth of February next.

The county comm<sup>e</sup> again earnestly recommend it to their constituents, to pay no attention to any flying reports, as they know to a certainty, false emissaries are encouraged to disseminate such news as may tend to disunite or lead them astray.

The C. C. hear with regret the dissatisfaction of the baronial committee of Newcastle, with respect to their not being as yet fully supplied with arms, &c. They assure them that every exertion has been used to that purpose, and that quantities of pikes are now ready manufactured for delivery ; but would at the same time recommend to have as many made as possible in each barony, as they will thereby come infinitely cheaper.

The county committee cannot be accountable for any money in the hands of a baronial treasurer ; and of course cannot account for any, but such as has been paid in to them, of which there appears a correct statement in the returns.

They feel with concern the apathy of their fellow-citizens of the co. W. who refuse so small a pittance as *one penny* per man, to alleviate, in some degree, the distresses of their suffering brethren now in W. gaol, where there are many innocent cit. in want of the common necessaries of life ; but who, though famishing, scorn to betray the *trust* reposed in them.

The county comm<sup>e</sup> inform their constituents, that, so far from having a fund in hands, they are now indebted to one of their members (No. 2.) who has kindly advanced 18l. 4s. 2d. for the relief of prisoners ; the county members are therefore intreated to forward to *him*, without delay, as much money as can be collected in their respective baronies ; as there appears to be now in gaol, from Arklow barony

*four,*

*four*, from Shillelah *five*, from Ballinacoor *fourteen*, and *one* from Talbotstown *fifteen*, and from Newcastle *two*, in all *forty-two*, without the *smallest* fund for the ensuing m<sup>o</sup>.

Resolved, that a subscription be instantly commenced, for the purpose of forming a fund, for the employing and retaining counsel, which shall be taken as a voluntary contribution, according to the circumstances of individuals, to be lodged in the hands of a *treasurer* chosen by the county c<sup>o</sup>.

Resolved, that it is requested that the next meeting may be *fully attended*, as there is business of the utmost importance to be taken into consideration.

C. C. Jan<sup>y</sup>. 22, 1798.

					Pd. prisoners.									
Tal.	2974	20	3	10	_____					119	0	0		
Low. D.	706	_____	_____	_____	_____	1st.	12	10	3	35	15	0		
Ar.	2400	59	8	3	_____	2d.	22	15	0	_____	_____	_____		
Rd.	1200	17	0	0	5 0 0	3d.	37	19	3	83	5	0		
N. C.	1800	35	15	0	_____	No 2.	12	6	5	162	3	4		
W. B.	1800	13	15	0	_____					_____	_____	_____		
L. B.	840	8	2	0	_____		85	10	11	245	8	4		
Shil.	1080	7	19	3	$\frac{4}{6}$ —					85	10	11		
	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Rest to province					_____	_____	_____	
	12800	162	3	4	_____					159	17	5		
		73	4	6	88 18 10		73	4	6					

	G.	P.	S.	B.	Ps.	B. C.	B. lb. P.
Tal.	181	78	66	134	321	3331	8315 75
Ar.	265	85	68	87	200	400	8050 500
N. C.	158	41	20	32	355	—	5965 169
R. D.	185	94	62	75	380	980	500 17
	789	298	216	328	1256	4711	22830 761
Ar.	210	75	62	} Ar			
N. C.	100	0	0				
R. D.	200	0	0				
	1299	373	278				

No. I.

*Papers found in the room at Bond's.*

*Hand-writing of John M<sup>r</sup> Can.*

I,

do solemnly declare, that I came duly elected.

No.



## No. II.

*Hand-writing of John M<sup>c</sup>Can.*

19th February, 1798.

Kildare	10863	In Treasurer's hands	20	18	3
Wicklow	12095				
Dublin	3010		20	—	—
Do. city	2000				
Queen's co.	11689				
King's co.	3600				
Carlow	9414				
Kilkenny	624				
Meath	14000				
	<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	67295		40	18	3

Resolved, that the colonels in each county shall make out a list of three persons to be adjutants-general for said counties. The lists to be transmitted, sealed, either through the provincial, or any other authentic channel to the executive, who will nominate one of the three to the employment.

Resolved, that our treasurer be allowed to pay 16 guineas to the delegate to buy a horse, which, when the entire county is organized, is to be sold, and the money paid back into the hands of the treasurer.

Resolved that the ex. comm<sup>e</sup> be requested to account for the expenditure of 60 guineas voted them.

Resolved, that each co. who have not paid in any finance, shall be requested to pay in 7ol. immediately, except the co. Carlow, which shall only pay 4ol.

## PRIVATES TEST.

*Hand-writing not known.*

I, A. B. do solemnly declare, that I will perform my duty, and be obedient to all the lawful commands of my officers, while they act in subordination to the duly elected committee.

*Hand-writing of John M<sup>c</sup>Can.*

Resolved, that we will pay no attention whatsoever to any attempt that may be made by either house of parliament, to divert the publick mind from the grand object we have in view, as nothing short of the compleat emancipation of our country will satisfy us.

## No. III.

K.	10863	In hands	20	18	3
W.	12095				
D.	3010	£. 32	20	—	—
C. D.	2000				
Q. C.	11689				
K. C.	3600				
C <sup>w</sup> .	9414				
K.	624				
M.	14000				
	<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	67295		40	18	3

Ten in the morning this day three weeks.

## No. IV.

*Hand-writing of John M<sup>c</sup>Can.*

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that if the other Ps. be in an equal state of preparation as Leinster, as soon as we can procure the information of their state, and their determination to act in concert with the nation, we should immediately proceed to act; and that the exe<sup>ve</sup> be requested to take such steps immediately as will tend most expeditiously to bring about an union of the different prov<sup>s</sup>.

Resolved, that the select com<sup>e</sup> of five be requested to prepare a military test to be laid before the prov<sup>l</sup> at the next meeting for their approbation.

*Extracts from the pocket-book of John M<sup>c</sup>Can, found at Bond's.*

P. C. [Provincial committee.]

20th February, 1798.

Kildare	10863	
Wicklow	12895	£. 20 18 3
Dublin	3010	20
Do. city	2177	104 6 5
Queen's co.	11689	
King's co.	3600	
Carlow	9414	
Kilkenny	624	
Meath	14000	
	<hr/>	
	68272	£. 145 4 8

Subscriptions:

	Febr <sup>y</sup> . 9th, 1798.	Febr <sup>y</sup> . 16th.	Febr <sup>y</sup> . 23.
No.	8 8		
1	1 1	6½	6½
2	1 1	6½	6½
3	2 8½	6½	
	1 1	6½	6½
5		6½	1 1
6		6½	
7	1 1	6½	6½
8		6½	6½
9	2 8½		
10	1 1		2 8½ 2 2
11	1 1		6 6
12		6½ & 2 8½	
		3 9½	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£. 1 0 7	1 7 1	15 2

C. C.

C. C. [County committee.]

February 19th, 1798.

1	812	28	8	11	} [Four divisions of the city of Dublin.]
2	865	19	15		
3	500	9	13	6	
4		46	9		
	<hr/>				
	2177	£.104	6	5	

D. C. 2d March.

No. 1	118	4	11	In hands £. 1 16 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
2	118	3	19	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
3	84	12		6 $\frac{1}{2}$
4	72			6 $\frac{1}{2}$
5	120	2		4 4
6	99	1	15	3 3
7	53			
8				6 $\frac{1}{2}$
9		1	12	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
10	80	1	6	9 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
11	70	1		4 4
12	115	1	11	9 1 1
13				1 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
14				2 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
				<hr/>
				£. 2 16 4

D. C. 8th March, 98.

B. C. [Baronial committee.]

5th March, 1798.

No. 1	118	4	3	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	12	£. 2 17 5
2	118	4	3	3	12	
3	48	1	0	6	12	
4	72				12	
5	120				12	13
6	105	1	15	2	10	
7	107		14		12	
8	89	12				
9	86	3	8	3		
10	118	2	4	9	8	15
11	102	1	13			
12	115	2	11	6		
13	86	1	7	8		
14	84	3	7	8		

D 2

Extract



*Extract of a letter found upon Oliver Bond, signed H. W. (Hugh Wilson) and dated,  
Cork 6th, 1798.*

I have been so cooped up since I came here, that had I known the situation of the place, my mind should never have been so abominably closeted, for any emolument that I may derive before a change of the present government takes place.

You can but faintly imagine how things are going on here; give the people but a little time, and rest assured the progress science is making will astonish the world. The enemies of the human race are much alarmed, and the revolt of the Dublin county militia has increased their fears. Mr. Finlay says, they are all assassins, and he is almost afraid to trust himself with them. I hear they are to be dispersed among the Highlanders through the country. Numbers of preachers of the true gospel are better than few, and those dispersed grains may not fall on rocky ground.

When the news came his morning of the Spanish fleet being out, the aristocrats seemed happy, saying, their doom was at hand, Jervis being after them.

With best regards to Mrs. Bond, and all friends,

I am sincerely yours,  
H. W.

### No. X.

*Mr. Grattan's answer to the Roman catholics.*

GENTLEMEN,

IN supporting you, I support the Protestant; we have but one interest and one honour; and whoever gives privileges to you, gives vigour to all. The Protestant already begins to perceive it; a late attack has rallied the scattered spirits of the country, from the folly of religious schism to the recollection of national honour, and a nation's feuds are lost in a nation's resentment. YOUR EMANCIPATION WILL PASS, rely on it, YOUR EMANCIPATION MUST PASS; it may be death to one viceroy, it will be the peace-offering of another; and the laurel may be torn from the dead brow of one governor, to be craftily converted into the olive of his successor.

Let me advise you by no means to postpone the consideration of your fortunes till after the war; rather let Britain receive *the benefit of your zeal* during the exigency which demands it, and you yourselves, while you are *fighting to preserve the blessing of a constitution*, have really and *bona fide* those blessings.

My wish is that you should be free now, there is no other policy which is not low and little; *let us at once instantly embrace, and greatly emancipate.*

On this principle I mean to introduce your bill, with your permission, immediately after the recess.

You are pleased to speak of the confidence and power with which for a moment I was supposed to have been possessed.

When

When his majesty's ministers were pleased to resort to our support, they took us with the incumbrance of our reputation, and with all our debts and mortgages which we owed to our country.

To have accepted a share of confidence and council without a view to private advantage, will not meet, I hope, with the disapprobation of my country; but to have accepted that share without any view to publick advantage, would have been refinement on the folly of ambition. Measures therefore, publick measures and arrangements, and that which is now disputed, were stipulated by us, were promised in one quarter and with assurances; they were not resisted in another.

In the service of government, under his excellency's administration, we directed our attention to two great objects, the Kingdom and the Empire. We obtained certain beneficial laws, the discovery and reformation of certain abuses, and were in progress to reform more; we obtained a great force, and a great supply with the consent and confidence of the people; these were not the measures of courtiers, they were the measures of ministers.

His excellency lord Fitzwilliam may boast that he offered to the empire the affections of millions; a better aid to the war than his enemies can furnish, who have forfeited those affections, and put themselves in their place.

So decidedly have the measures of Ireland served the empire, that those who were concerned in them might appeal from the cabals of the British cabinet, to the sense of the British nation. I know of no cause afforded for the displeasure of the English cabinet; but if services done to Ireland are crimes which cannot be atoned for by exertions for the empire, I must lament the gloomy prospect of both kingdoms, and receive a discharge from the service of government, as the only honour an English minister can confer on an Irish subject.

I conceive the continuance of lord Fitzwilliam as necessary for the prosperity of this kingdom: his firm integrity is formed to correct, his mild manners to reconcile, and his private example to discountenance a progress of vulgar and rapid pollution: if he is to retire, I condole with my country: for myself, the pangs on that occasion I should feel on rendering up my small portion of ministerial breath would be little, were it not for the gloomy prospects afforded by those dreadful guardians which are likely to succeed. I tremble at the return to power of your old taskmasters; that combination which galled the country with its tyranny, insulted her by its manners, exhausted her by its rapacity, and slandered her by its malice: should such a combination, (at once inflamed as it must be now by the favour of the British court, and by the reprobation of the Irish people,) return to power, I have no hesitation to say, that THEY WILL EXTINGUISH IRELAND, OR IRELAND MUST REMOVE THEM. It is not your case only, but that of the nation. I find the country already committed in the struggle. I beg to be committed along with her, and to abide the issues of her fortunes.

I should have expected that there had been a wisdom and faith in some quarter of another country, that would have prevented such catastrophe; but I know it is no proof of that wisdom, to take the taxes, continue the abuses, damp the zeal, and dash away the affection of so important a member of the empire as the people of Ireland; and when this country came forward, cordial and confident with the offering of her treasure and blood, and resolute to stand or fall with the British nation; it is, I say, no proof of wisdom nor generosity, to select that moment to plant a dagger in her heart.

But whatsoever shall be the event, I will adhere to her interests to the last moment of my life.

HENRY GRATTAN.

*The*

## No. XI.

*The conspiracy in the county of Carlow.*

NOT only in Carlow, but in most of the counties of Ireland, the priests in the years 1791 and 1792, began to take an accurate account of their scđtaries in every family within their respective parishes, which was supposed to be done with a view of ascertaining their relative strength by their numbers, when compared with the members of the established church.

About the same time maps, pointing out the property of the old popish possessors, were printed and published.

The great zeal with which the priests began about that time to establish religious fraternities among the populace, of which the scapular was the most prominent, gave an additional proof that a conspiracy was in contemplation. This institution introduced amongst them an extraordinary sanctity and austerity of manners, and afforded a trial of their silence, which was so essential to promote such a measure.

The insolence of the lower class of the people was obviously encreased about the year 1793, by the following incidents: The priests were enabled to build stately chapels by the subscriptions not only of their own flock, but of protestants; which formed a striking contrast to, and reflected on, the ruined edifices where protestants, less enthusiastic, worshipped their God.

At a time that a protestant clergyman in that county could not obtain a sum of money to build a church for three hundred protestants, whom he had attended for twelve years in a footy cabbin, the priest of Carlow built a college and chapel, which must have cost from 3000l. to 4000l.

In the beginning of the year 1797, the insolent looks and haughty demeanour of the peasants, who would not formerly approach a gentleman but with the greatest humility, challenged his attention with a broad stare, often followed by a sardonic grin.

Such was the state of the county of Carlow in the month of November, 1797, when some informations, sworn privately before a magistrate, gave unquestionable proofs that a conspiracy was forming; and the following event removed every doubt on that head: Mr. Bennett, who lived near Leighlinbridge, was rash enough to declare his detestation of an united Irishman, and that he would give 500l. for the head of one; for which on the same night he was murdered, in the dead hour of the night, and his house was robbed of 500l. in cash.

This money, and their success in gratifying their vengeance against so respectable an enemy, inspired them so much with the hope of accomplishing their main design, that they began to assemble in great numbers, and to organize with great celerity.

A gentleman passing thro' Leighlinbridge, said, he made it a rule to give the people a drink; and having ordered a barrel of ale for them, the conspirators in great numbers, who seemed prepared for the business, mounted one of their drummers on the barrel, and proceeded in regular array, and with some arms, to the house of a man at Moneybeg, who had sworn examinations against some of them, and murdered him in his bed; they then proceeded to attack the house of Mr. Bagenal, a gentleman who had formerly represented the county, but having kept behind a bank of earth, it protected them from the shot of three of his protestant yeomen, who kept up a constant fire on them, until an accidental shot, from a blunderbuss of one of their own party, killed one of the united men, of the inauspicious name of Paine.



Six of his popish yeomen were posted outside his house, behind a wall, (for he kept the protestants within it,) commanded by his lieutenant, who afterwards recommended to Mr. Bagenal, not to depend on a papist, though he, and his two sons, were of that persuasion, as he could not prevail on the three others to fire on the assailants; and he declared, that he never would serve with any of them.

In their retreat, they plundered and shattered the house of Mr. Mulhallow, and beat and insulted him in the most cruel and ferocious manner.

From that time they never ceased to plunder houses of arms, and other valuable articles, avoiding the patrols of Mr. Robert Rochfort, of Clongrennan, and of Mr. Cornwall, of Myshall-lodge, who, much to their honour, never ceased to harass those miscreants by night, at the head of their respective yeomen corps; while other gentlemen, palsied by fear, fought for protection by courting the priests. In short, I have been assured, that the county of Carlow would have been as much desolated as the county of Wexford, but that these gentlemen, by unabated exertions and the most undaunted courage, struck terror into them, by surprising and arresting numbers of them, in their most secret haunts and recesses.

In all their depredations, they never offered any injury to the property, or insult to the person of a papist, except that in some cases they took arms from such persons of that persuasion, as were not likely to use them, or were not engaged in the confederacy.

On requiring arms of a widow of the popish religion, near Leighlin, they informed her that they were for her benefit, and that of the Catholick cause. A man of the name of Hughes, appeared before Mr. Cornwall, of Myshall-lodge, a magistrate, on the 21st of July, 1798, and confessed that he had been a lieutenant, under a captain James Nowlan; and he stated the whole progress of the rebellion from its commencement. He said that the night previous to the attack on Borris, Leighlin-bridge, and Bagenalstown, he received orders from Nowlan, how he was to attack the enemy; and on asking him whom he was to consider as such, the captain replied, the king's troops and the protestants in general. The popish rabble, and numbers of Roman catholicks in comfortable, nay in opulent situations, took oaths of allegiance before magistrates, who gave them certificates of their having done so; and an abundance of such certificates were found in their pockets when they were made prisoners at the battle of Kilcomney, and elsewhere.

Many protestants were murdered, many of their houses were burnt, and much of their property was destroyed, in that part of the county of Carlow bordering upon the counties of Wicklow and Wexford. I have not obtained a minute account of them, but I shall refer the readers to the affidavit of Jervis Pue, at the end of this, for a specimen of them, and of the ferocious spirit by which the rebels were actuated.

Most of the popish yeomen in the county of Carlow, were disaffected, and would, had an opportunity offered, have turned their arms against their king and country.

In sir Richard Butler's corps of cavalry, nine papists, of whom his permanent serjeant was one, conspired to murder its protestant members. The serjeant was to have posted in the rear the conspirators, who were to have fired on the protestants in action. Seven of them were convicted and hanged, the other two fled; but coming in under the proclamation, obtained their pardon.

Mr. Burton, member for the county, had a corps of infantry, in which he discovered twenty popish traitors, whom he expelled, and seventeen of them were afterwards hanged or transported. The arms of his corps being deposited in the guard house, and guarded by six popish members, when the insurrection was expected, they poured water into the muzzles, and wet the pans of their firelocks.

About



a bible, the property of the said Davis. Informant saith, that Ephraim Singleton, farmer, and of the protestant religion, was murdered by the said rebels at Coolroe, near Clonegal, in the county of Carlow, about a fortnight ago, and that they robbed him at the same time of a considerable sum of money, as informant heard, and verily believes. Informant saith, that the protestant inhabitants of the places and townlands aforesaid fled from their respective houses many weeks ago, and that they dare not reside in them, lest they should be assassinated by the said rebels. Informant saith, that the said rebels have frequently pursued him, and have gone to different places in quest of him; that about three weeks since, he, this informant, was obliged to fly precipitately, and bare-footed, to the garrison of Tullow, at the distance of near five miles, from his house, to save his life from the rebels; and that in doing so, he was obliged to avoid the road, and cross over the hedges and ditches. Informant saith, that his house has been burned, and all his substance has been destroyed, and that he was at last obliged to fly to the city of Dublin for protection.

JERVIS PUE.

*Sworn before me the 29th day of August, 1798,*  
THOMAS FLEMING.

*The rebellion in the King's and Queen's county.*

IN these the defenders had existed before an attempt was made to organize them by the united Irishmen, which took place in the beginning of the year 1797.

We find in the report of the secret committee\* that the King's county was reckoned one of the best organized in the kingdom.

Popish fanaticism was the only spring of action among the rebels there, and the discovery of it by a protestant of republican principles, who had been deluded by them, prevented the fatal effects of the plot.†

He pointed out the captains who were to have headed the conspiracy, on which many of them fled, and others were taken up.

Many of them, the confidential servants of noblemen and gentlemen, in whose families they had lived long, were to have surprised and murdered their masters.

Two opulent shopkeepers of the name of Dempsey, in the town of Tullamore, were captains, and were tried and convicted of being such. As one of them had been principally concerned in the massacre at Rathangan, the squadron, who had suffered so much there, requested to have the satisfaction of hanging them; and they accordingly did so, and buried them in the barrack yard.

The inhabitants of the town, to testify their concern for the fate of their fellow-traitors, closed their doors and windows, and observed a dead silence during the execution.

Coffey, a captain, was taken up, and threatened to be whipped, but after a solemn invocation to the Almighty, declared his innocence. He still remained obdurate, after receiving seventy-five lashes. Next morning, when he was on the point of receiving seventy-five more, he sent for general Dunn, and confessed that he had been sworn, but denied that he had ever acted with the rebels, on which the general dismissed him; and yet within a fortnight after, he was engaged in a committee of united Irishmen,

[E].

and

\* Appendix, No. XXXI. p. 275.

† I already mentioned in page 258, that this was effected by one Dennis, an apothecary.



and deeply concerned in a conspiracy to attack the king's troops at Philipstown and Tullamore, and had sworn his son, a yeoman, to join in it. Having been convicted of these crimes, he was hanged, and buried in the stable of the barrack.

On the trial of Andrew Ryan, a shopkeeper, it appeared in evidence, and which he acknowledged himself, that he had been a member of the society since the year 1792, and that the object of it was to subvert the existing government. He must have meant the defenders, as the united Irishmen had not attempted to organize the King's county at that time. This shews the designs of the defenders at that early period.

By a court martial, held by orders of general Dunn, two men were convicted of swearing a person to be in readiness to attack Tullamore, and murder the protestants. There was much disaffection among the popish yeomen in the King's county. Of eighteen papists in the Dunkerrin cavalry, seventeen were sworn as united Irishmen, and five of them were convicted of being concerned in robbing houses of arms.—Some or most of the papists in the Shinrone, Roscrea, Castleotway and Nenagh corps, were sworn to be true to the united cause, though they had taken the oaths of allegiance.

An oath was framed by general Dunn, with a paragraph importing that they would surrender any arms in their possession, and discover such persons as had any in their custody. But this produced no effect whatever, and no discoveries were made, or arms yielded up, until some of the notorious rebels, on being flogged, gave full information, and on this, great quantities of pikes were surrendered by those very persons who had taken the above oath. A short time before the rebellion broke out, numbers of popish farmers strenuously urged to be admitted into the yeomen corps, for no other purpose, as appeared afterwards, than to acquire arms and military discipline; and some of them bought very good horses, to induce the officers to prefer them to protestants, who were not so well mounted. It was observed that the mass of the people were very sober and discreet for a considerable time before the rebellion broke out, which arose from their having taken an oath not to drink more than a noggin of whiskey in the course of the day.

A magistrate,\* who lives in a county much subject to tumult and disturbance, on the confines of the King's county and Tipperary, assured me, that no information had been sworn before him, for some time previous to it.

It is observable that not a single instance occurred of disloyalty in any of the protestant yeomen; at least I could not hear of such, after the most minute enquiry.

A short time before the general explosion, a printed letter, from the executive directory in Dublin, was dispersed in the King's county, recommending to the rebels to rise on a particular night, and to repair to Slievebloom mountain, where they would receive further orders.

Every thing that could incite or stimulate the multitude to action, was mentioned in it; and to inflame them against the protestants of the church of Ireland, whose unshaken loyalty was well known, it was said the Orangemen would rise and murder the Roman catholics.

In the King's county the rebels never assembled but once, on the twentieth of August, when they were to have been joined by their brethren of the Queen's county, and to have formed a camp at the Devil's-bit; but the latter having disappointed them, the former were soon dispersed by the Dunkerrin and Shinrone yeomen.

The mass of the people in the King's and Queen's county are papists; the gentlemen of landed property in general, and many of the farmers and shopkeepers, are protestants;

\* James F. Rolleston, esquire.

protestants; there are but few presbyterians in them. Though the state of the former was in general very alarming, the number of protestants in Roserea and its vicinity was so great, and they were so loyal and courageous, as to overawe the disaffected, and to repress their hopes of succeeding in an insurrection there; yet a numerous corps of united Irishmen was organized in and about that town.

The circumstances attending the rebellion in the Queen's county, were exactly similar to those in the King's county, except that it was not so well organized. Religious fanaticism was almost the only engine made use of by the directory to inflame the multitude in it; and the extirpation of protestants, under the name of Orangemen, was held out to them as an irresistible lure.

To disarm suspicion, and lull the magistrates, oaths of allegiance were taken, and as a matter of course were afterwards violated; and there was much disaffection among the popish yeomen.

The insurrection was prevented in it by the following incident:

A messenger was sent from the directory in Dublin, with a letter to a man of the name of Deegan, a leader of the united Irishmen, to fix the time for rising; in a mistake, he went to a loyal person of the same name, who entertained, and plied him with drink; and in the mean time sent for a guard of soldiers, who conveyed him a prisoner to Stradbally, and he was afterwards hanged at Maryborough. Many murders and atrocities were committed in this county, and most of the protestant houses were plundered of arms, except such whose inmates were able to defend them.

#### *The conspiracy in the county of Clare.*

THE first symptoms of the conspiracy appeared in the county of Clare in the summer of the year 1797, when it was discovered that at Ennis and in its vicinity, numbers of people had formed clubs and combinations, and had taken illegal oaths; but no certain proof was obtained of it till the month of October, when a countryman having attempted to swear a gentleman's servant in that town, his master persuaded him to give information against the countryman; on which he was committed to gaol. When he was arrested, he threw away from him, for fear of discovery, the constitution and the test oath of the united Irishmen, printed on fine paper, and with an excellent type. On his committal, he said, that he would make a full discovery of what he knew; but that he feared it would put his life in danger; having been assured of the contrary, he confessed that many persons had come from Dublin for the purpose of forming associations which were cemented by oaths; and that they wore green ribbands, having embroidered on them in gold the harp without the crown, and the words, *Erin go bragh*, meaning "Ireland for ever." Among others he charged one Thady Gruffy, a serge weaver, with being very active in disseminating the principles and doctrines of the united Irishmen. He was a canting hypocrite, who was engaged, and deeply versed in the mysteries of the Carmelites, and affected an extraordinary sanctity and austerity of manners, which he assumed as a cloak to conceal the most flagitious and turbulent principles. He was tried at the spring assizes of 1798 at Ennis; but by the seduction of some witnesses, the intimidation of others, and the puzzling of those who meant to declare the truth, by the gentlemen of the bar, he was acquitted, and immediately chaired by his rebellious friends, who in immense numbers celebrated their triumph over justice by vociferous acclamations, and with all the wantonness of savage joy.

A number of strangers, who were all of the Carmelite order, went into the county of Clare in the year 1796, and settled in the barony of Tullagh, on the borders of the county of Galway. The most part of them were weavers, and as they were very industrious, and seemed to have a great purity of morals, constantly recommending sobriety and good order to the multitude, the gentlemen of the country rejoiced at their arrival. Thus they continued to be protected, till the winter of the year 1798, when they began to hold secret nightly meetings, to plunder the houses of protestants, particularly the yeomen, of arms, and to cut down great quantities of young ash trees to make pike handles, and to employ the blacksmiths in making pikes. On the twelfth and thirteenth of January, 1799, they and the profelytes whom they initiated into the Carmelite order, to the number of several thousands, assembled in the day, at Milltown and Innistymond, and moved forward apparently with an intention of meeting the king's troops; but on their approach under general Meyrick, they fled to the mountains of Slievecullane, which are inaccessible; they pretended to surrender their arms, but it was well known that they kept the best, and the greater part of them. Soon after their rising they houghed great quantities of cattle, for which compensation was made to the sufferers by large sums of money levied by the grand jury on the county; they went with unparalleled assurance next day, to the places where they had committed these acts of savage cruelty, to carry off the flesh of the poor animals whom they had butchered the preceding night, and lamenting with dissimulation the perpetration of them, said, as they are killed,\* we may as well as any other persons carry home the meat. They killed some of them which were not quite dead. Mr. Lysaght was the only person of consideration concerned with them, and he engaged in the business merely from private repentment to individuals; he was tried, convicted, and transported.

The parish priest of Kilfenora, of the name of Carrick, was committed on the following charge: That during the insurrection, a great number of these rebellious hypocrites were proceeding in a body to plunder the house of Mr. Smith of Smithstown of arms, and that they were entertained by Carrick, who exhorted them to unite, and be zealous in the cause, as the French would soon land and give them ample assistance. The prosecutor who charged Carrick was kept in the guardhouse of Ennis, where some vagabonds pretending to make a riot, the guard rushed into the street to quell it, on which the informer made his escape, according to a pre-concerted scheme.

The magistrates discovered at that time an itinerant Carmelite who seemed to be a high priest of that order; he had a long beard, and a cowl like the Capuchin friars, and a cloke which he hooked over his chin, and prevented, when he chose, his beard from being seen; he had a long brown shirt which reached to the ground, and on the breast of it, there was the image of a coffin in white; he had one bag full of scapulars which he sold to the besotted multitude, and another full of shreds to make them; he had many little religious books containing the most abominable superstitious doctrines, and which the priests constantly circulate among their flock. He said, that he went from one holy well to another, where he preached to a numerous auditory, who never failed to attend him. He had recently come from a holy well near Burren, where a great concourse of people assembled, under religious pretences, but in reality to promote rebellion. It appeared by some papers found on him, that he was a Northern man, and had fled from near Belfast in consequence of having committed some crime. He was discovered by a gentleman who overheard

\* They killed great numbers of them in the night.



heard him preaching to a number of people in a weaver's house, where he was inveighing against protestants, and the government of Ireland. The magistrates urged the parish priest to banish him; but he said that he could not venture to do so, though he highly disapproved of such persons; for his subsistence depended on the will of the people, and as they had a strong predilection for such holy men, he should incur their displeasure by denouncing him; but he said he should be glad that he was removed.

*The conspiracy in the county of Waterford in the years 1797 and 1798.*

*A slight sketch of the state of the conspiracy in the counties of Waterford, Cork, and Tipperary, will answer to shew the leading principles of the rebels in the province of Munster, and the designs by which they were actuated. The informations quoted are in the Crown-office.*

IN the county of Waterford, the inhabitants of large districts were sworn, and the protestants in them were disarmed, in the course of a few nights. The main object of the rebels, who were exclusively papists, was to join the French on their landing, to extirpate protestants, and even such persons of their own order as should oppose them, to plunder persons of wealth, and confiscate landed property; but it could not be discovered, that they were headed by any persons of education and fortune. The Roman catholic gentlemen, much to their honour, remained loyal; but from the paucity of their numbers, they must have yielded to the wishes of the multitude to preserve their lives and fortunes, if the constitution had been subverted.—It is most certain that a general insurrection would have taken place in the county of Waterford, in the winter of 1797, but that a large body of troops was introduced into it, and divided into cantonments; and that many districts were proclaimed on the fourth of December, 1797. However, such was the insatiation of the people, that they would have risen before these events took place, but for the following difficulty which occurred: The farmers were the leaders, and the peasants, who were to be the immediate and efficient instruments in the business, objected at first to co-operate with them, because they had no prospect of being rewarded for the imminent danger which they should incur; while the others were to enjoy in fee simple the farms which they rented. However, it is believed, that these difficulties were overcome; for plans were formed for murdering most of the gentlemen resident in the country, and for destroying their houses; and even nights were fixed on for that purpose. A numerous banditti assembled near Affane, the seat of Pierce Power esquire, in December, to destroy it, and murder him and his family; but the night was so rainy and tempestuous, that they dispersed. It was remarkable that the conspirators held the yeomanry in the greatest detestation: The following anecdote will prove this, and the very depraved state of the popish multitude:

Thomas Scammaddon, a yeoman in the Cappoquin corps, just of age, was going on Sunday the twelfth of November, 1797, from that town to Clashmore, about ten miles off; and as he passed through the village of Aglish, when the popish congregation were leaving their chapel, his red uniform attracted their notice, and marked him for an object of their vengeance. Some of them invited him to drink in an ale-house, to which all the traitors of the adjacent country had resorted after mass, in order to form their plots. They amused themselves with his singing, (for he was a famous songster) till it was dark; and then offered to administer to him the united Irishman's oath; but he refused it, having said, that he had taken an oath of allegiance a few days before. Finding that his loyalty was unshaken, a party of them retired to another room, as a committee, and condemned him to die; and in obedience to the sentence, two of his pot companions waylaid him, about half a mile  
out

out of the village, and murdered him, having perforated his body in eighteen different places with his own bayonet.

In the parish of Modeligo, a committee of assassination, consisting of twelve farmers, in very good circumstances, deliberately condemned one Thomas Curreen to die in the month of October, 1797, for no other reason, than that they suspected he would not keep their secrets, for he was one of the brotherhood. They then proceeded in the dead hour of the night, with a number of their associates, and shot him, after which every one present was obliged to inflict a wound on the body; this atrocity was afterwards proved by the information of one of the party.\* When they called Curreen out of his house, and informed him that he must die for the good of the cause, he asked permission to have the assistance of a priest before he was put to death; but they said, that they should not have time for that purpose, and that they would say a prayer for his soul. They therefore kneeled down, crossed themselves, and implored the divine favour for the soul of the victim whom they were going to immolate.

On the twenty-ninth of January, 1798, the priest of that parish and seven hundred and eighty of his parishioners assembled at their chapel, published a declaration of their loyalty, and of their abhorrence of the principles and practices of the united Irishmen, which they published in the Dublin Journal, though it was well known, that they were as generally and deeply infected with them, as those of any other parish in the county.

*By informations sworn before Henry St. George Cole, esquire, by Michael Hiffernan, turnpike-keeper of Red Cliffe in the county of Waterford, 27th of January, 1798,*

IT appears, that some time in the month of November, 1797, one Thomas Christopher of Abbey-side, in said county, assembled with seven or eight hundred united Irishmen in a field near Cushtam, with a treasonable design of taking some cannon out of the Vulture privateer, then lying at Dungarvan, in order to level a number of gentlemen's houses, particularly those of the marquis of Waterford at Curraghmore, and murdering a number of gentlemen, particularly colonel Uniacke, and captain Cole; and that said Thomas Christopher went to informant three different days, and required him to give his consent to put this design into execution.

The same informant swore before the said magistrate, the twenty-fourth of March, 1798, that the united Irishmen in and about Dungarvan, assembled at different times in great numbers, in the autumn of 1797, and took arms from different people, and committed various outrages; and swore numbers of people to be true to their cause:

That on the seventh of October, they cut off one of the ears of Patrick Sheehan of Glynbeg; that they pulled and prostrated a quantity of corn in stack belonging to colonel Uniacke; that on the eighteenth of November, 1797, they resolved to take five pieces of cannon out of the Vulture privateer, in order to level the house of Curraghmore, and to take away the lives of colonel Uniacke, Henry St. George Cole, esquire, Richard Power of Clashmore, esquire, John Musgrave of Ballyin, esquire, Richard Barrett of Snugborough, esquire, Roger Dalton, esquire, the reverend Jabez Henry,† several others, and of all informers.

Anne Connor swore an information before Thomas Garde, esquire, that her husband Richard Connor, a police constable of the county of Waterford, and parish clerk

\* The information is in the Crown-office. † All magistrates and men of fortune.

clerk of the parish of Temple Michael in said county, was murdered about the nineteenth of November, 1797, and was buried in some place unknown to informant; and that some of his clothes and other articles belonging to him were found soon after in the house of Michael Smyth of Garryduff in said county. Sworn the eighth of December, 1797.

By information sworn before John Keane, esquire, thirtieth December, 1797, John Landy, alias Landers, of Dromore in the county of Waterford, blacksmith, alledged that on the night of Sunday the twelfth of November, he saw the body of Thomas Scammaddon of Cappoquin, in the county of Waterford, yeoman, lying dead in the road between Aglifs and Clashmore; and that Thomas Roche, and James Hickey, who had murdered said Scammaddon, were standing near the body; and that they threatened to murder informant, unless he would assist them in removing said body into an adjacent field, with which he complied, and swore him by the cross to keep secret what he saw.

A police constable in the county of Waterford, deposed before the author of this work the third of December, 1797, that the united Irishmen assembled often in the barony of Decies tumultuously and in great numbers, and deprived him of his arms on the tenth of November, 1797; that they had resolved to murder many gentlemen in the country, and to level their houses; and that he heard them say, that John Musgrave, esquire,\* of Ballyin, Richard Power of Clashmore, esquire, and Pierce Power of Affane, esquire, were to be served so; that he heard some of the united Irishmen say, that a Roman catholic would ensure salvation by killing three Protestants. †

Michael Morrissey of Ballykarroge, farmer, swore an information dated the twentieth January, 1798, before John Keane, esquire, that a number of united Irishmen fired many shots into his house, and compelled him to swear to be true to their cause, and to kill all informers, and they threatened to murder him instantly if he refused; they swore him other oaths which he did not recollect.

James Parker of Killvogue in the county of Waterford, farmer, swore an information dated twenty-first January, 1798, before William Kirby, esquire, that Daniel Killiger, alias Cox, swore him the United Irishmen's oath; and that he would keep his secrets, and that he would inform him if the gentlemen of Tallow would take any steps against him or his friends; that said Cox owned he was sworn to be true to the French, who would land in Ireland in December, and he recommended to him not to pay his debts, or any rent; and that when they landed he advised him to go to him, or some other friend to be sworn thoroughly, as it would be necessary for his protection.

An information of Mary Burke, sworn second January, 1798, before L. H. Jephson, esquire, a magistrate of the county of Waterford; that a number of men whose names are set forth, entered the house of Walter Wall of Mafshill, in said county, on Wednesday twenty-second November, 1797, and swore him, his father, and brother, to be just and true to them, to keep secret what he saw and heard, to pull down taxes and petty landlords; to be true to the French when they would land, and to weed out Protestants as they would an ear of corn.

William Flynn swore an information dated the second day of January, 1798, before Michael Keane, esquire, a magistrate of the county of Waterford, that about the eighth day of August, 1797, Maurice Power, attended by other united Irishmen, swore him in the town of Dungarvan, to be true to the French convention, his God, and his brothers, which words he read out of a paper.

Michael

\* His name and place of abode are concealed, lest he should be assassinated.

† An assassin of the name of Keefe often lay in wait to shoot him.



Michael Heffernan swore an information before Henry St. George Cole esquire, the twenty-seventh January, 1798, that about the night of the seventh of November preceding, Thomas Quealy and others went to the house of Michael Morrissy of Ballykarroge, broke his windows, dragged him out of his house, and swore him to be true to the French convention, and extorted money from him; that some time in said month, the said Thomas Quealy held a meeting near Cushtam, of seven or eight hundred united Irishmen, for the purpose of going to Dungarvan to take cannon out of the Vulture privateer, with a view of levelling the marquis of Waterford's house at Curraghmore, and of murdering colonel Uniacke, captain Cole, and others.

Patrick Fling swore an information the second of January, 1798, before the reverend Jabez Henry, that Thomas Quealy swore informant in the town of Dungarvan, an oath of secrecy, to be true to the French convention, and to have a brotherly love for each other.

Morgan Fowlow of Dungarvan, swore an information the fourth of January, 1798, before Roger Dalton esquire, a magistrate, that John Driscoll, and David Bohan, swore him the first of November preceding, to love God and his brothers, to be true and faithful to the French and their convention, and to put all traitors to death.

Laurence Collins of Dungarvan swore an information the thirty-first of December, 1797, that John Driscoll, and many others, on the twenty-eighth instant at Dungarvan, swore him to be true to the French, and to cut and hack all his majesty's true and loyal subjects, and to join the French whenever they should land.

William Sheehan swore an information the thirty-first of January, 1798, before Roger Dalton esquire, that a party of united Irishmen entered his house on the night of the seventh of October, 1797, and that his left ear was cut off by Michael Quinlan.

Richard Cahill swore an information the first of January, 1798, that Patrick Heavy, carpenter, some time in the month of November, 1797, agreed to shoot Henry St. George Cole esquire, and that a subscription was made up for that purpose.

John Goolding and John Keys swore to the same purpose.

Michael Heffernan swore an information the fourth of January, 1798, before Michael Keane esquire, that Patrick Tagly of Abbey-side, shoe-maker, went to him four times in the month of November, to concert measures for taking cannon out of the Vulture privateer, for the purpose of levelling the marquis of Waterford's house; and that he asked the consent and assistance four different times of informant, to murder R. Uniacke esquire, Richard Power, of Clashmore, esquire, John Musgrave esquire, Pierce Barron esquire, Richard Barrett esquire, Roger Dalton esquire, Pierce Power esquire, H. St. George Cole esquire, and the reverend Jabez Henry.

Many assassinations were committed in the county of Waterford, in the autumn and winter of 1797.

The most noted was that of one Colclough, a publican, within three miles of Youghal. A numerous body of ruffians broke into his house in the night, murdered him, his wife, and servant maid, and mangled their bodies in a most savage manner.—They were led to do so by a suspicion that he had given information against some of them who had houghed his cows.

It was proved that a neighbouring priest who has been since transported, gave the perpetrators of this horrid crime absolution, for having committed it, and for other murders intended to be perpetrated.

It—

It has since appeared, that many of the farmers and labourers in Colclough's neighbourhood were concerned in murdering him and his family. John Brown, a farmer, deposed before John Keane, esquire, a magistrate, the fourth of January, 1798, that the object of the united Irishmen in the county of Waterford was to murder all the protestants as soon as the French should land, and to join them. All these informations are in the crown office.

*The conspiracy in the city of Waterford.*

THE conspiracy at Waterford was as terriffick and as general, as in Dublin or Cork, in proportion to the number of its inhabitants. The conspirators were to have risen, to have set fire to the city in different places, and to have massacred all the loyal subjects in it, if the rebels had succeeded in taking the town of Ross.

The conspiracy was discovered in the following manner :

A person who happened to be in a publick house at Johnstown, a suburb of the city, overheard, through a thin partition, a number of the conspirators conferring in the next room on the plot which was to be carried into execution, on the eruption of the rebellion. They were, in the first place, to set fire to Mr. Alexander Alcock's house, which is about a quarter of a mile from the city ; and as he was a member of the corporation, and had numerous and respectable connexions in it, they knew that the most considerable persons in Waterford, their retainers and dependants, would fly to his assistance, and that the fire-engines would be carried there. During their absence, occasioned by this wicked device, they were to set fire to the city in different places at the same time ; and such was their malignity, that, for the sake of concealment, and the better to carry their treasonable designs into execution, they meant to have set fire to their own houses \* in the first instance. The person who overheard the conspirators repaired directly to counsellor Paul, and revealed to him what he had heard, but under the strictest injunction of secrecy.

Mr. Paul conducted him secretly to Humphry May, esquire, collector of the revenue at Waterford, and a magistrate for the city and county, and he gave full information to him upon oath, of the whole of what he had heard ; on which Mr. May took up many of the conspirators, and among others one Bohan, a baker, who, though enrolled in a yeomanry corps, and he had taken the oath of allegiance, was one of the leaders of the conspiracy.

As the mass of the people of Carrick-on-Suir, and most of the yeomen there, were deeply concerned in the conspiracy, and as they were to have repaired to Waterford, to co-operate with their fellow traitors there, on the general insurrection, Bohan used to go there three or four times a week, to concert measures for their future operations.

One Sargent, a publican, was also deeply concerned in the plot.

As the yeomen officers, and some of the principal gentlemen of the town, dined frequently at his house, and usually left their swords in an antichamber, he laid a plan of cutting them off while at dinner. Carey, a stone-cutter, deeply concerned in the conspiracy, was taken up, and on being examined, insisted on his innocence ; but on receiving about a dozen lashes of a cat-o-nine-tails, he acknowledged that he was engaged in the plot, and confessed all the circumstances which had been discovered and related by the person who overheard the conspirators at Johnstown ; and at the same time, he disclosed the names of his principal accomplices, who were immediately arrested.

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The

\* The rebels did so in Ennisforthy and Ross.



The conspirators had seduced a great number of the Clare militia, quartered some months at Waterford, who were to have acted with them on the general insurrection; and it appeared that their artillery-men were to have fired on the city, with their battalion guns, from a hill which hung over it.

It is to be lamented that there was a strong spirit of disaffection among the Roman Catholick yeomen of Waterford, for which many of them were dismissed; and it was proved, that they had entered into the service for no other purpose but to acquire arms and a knowledge of military discipline.

The plot was conducted with so much secrecy in Waterford, that a very respectable inhabitant of it, and a member of the corporation, who piqued himself on the loyalty and tranquillity of its inhabitants, was on the point of inserting in the Waterford newspaper a warm panegyrick on them, the day on which the plot was discovered.

The honourable colonel Burton, who commanded in Waterford for some time after the battle of Rofs, assured me, that many Roman catholicks, in rather a respectable situation, went privately to him, acknowledged that they were concerned in the plot, expressed contrition for it, and craved his protection and the mercy of government; and that he never disclosed their names.

So sure were the conspirators, that a general rising would take place in consequence of the supposed victory of their friends at Rofs, with whom they kept up a close and constant intercourse, that money was given out to messengers by their treasurers, to repair to the south and western parts of the country, to invoke the mass of the people to rise; but the success of the king's troops at Rofs defeated their schemes.

As many of the fugitives from Rofs to Waterford announced in their flight, that the rebels had been successful, most of the labourers and farmers in that part of the county of Kilkenny opposite to Waterford, suddenly deserted their different occupations, and repaired to their fellow traitors: But, on discovering their disappointment, they returned; and dreading that their conduct would bring on them the vengeance of the law, they slunk into Waterford, and repaired to some magistrates there, to take the oath of allegiance, in hopes of getting protections, to screen themselves from the penal consequences of their treason.

On the trial of Edmond Quin, for being a rebel, held at Waterford, the seventeenth of July, 1799, by court martial, it appeared, that he told John Whelan, when they were both prisoners in the gaol of Waterford, that if matters had remained as they were in the height of the troubles, for two days and two nights, Waterford would have been taken by the united Irishmen, and that in two months from that time, they would be in possession of it.

The facts contained in this account of the conspiracy at Waterford, are not founded on vague assertion, but were proved on courts martials, which I have read.

On many of the trials of the disaffected inhabitants of Rofs and Waterford, it appeared, that there was a constant intercourse between them, and that the fate of Waterford was to have depended on the success of the rebel army at the former.

By a court martial held at Waterford, the twenty-second of June, 1798, John Abbot was convicted of having conspired to assist the rebels in an insurrection in that town, and of saying that he would set fire to his own house for the purpose of confounding the army, and that he declared, that Thomas Gough and Michael Bohan, were preparing to do the same. It was proved also that he had concealed arms.

On



On the trial of Garret Murphy, by court martial, held at Waterford, the twenty fifth of July, 1798, captain Lowrie, of the thirteenth regiment, president, it was proved, that Mr. Thomas Anthony, architect, who had employed the prisoner, pretended that he had been an united Irishman, for the purpose of learning his secrets, and that Murphy informed him a few days after the battle of Rofs, that he had been, previous to that event, with Mr. Colclough, in the county of Kilkenny, and that Mr. C. having left him, went to Carrick and Clonmel, to prepare the people there for rising: That he told Mr. Colclough of the insurrection intended in Waterford, and that he must go there to save a particular friend: That he was sure the king's troops would be completely defeated, as there were so many united Irishmen encamped in the county of Wexford. He told him that there were arms in the outlets of the city of Waterford: That he had been concealed in a ditch in the county of Kilkenny, near Rofs, and missed fire twice at two gentlemen, who rode by in their way to Waterford; and that one of them, when they proceeded a little farther, was shot in the arm: He believed one to be young Mr. Tottenham; that Waterford was the object of the united Irishmen, when they had defeated the king's troops at Rofs; but that city had nothing to fear, unless they succeeded there. Mr. Anthony gave a most excellent character of him, but fanaticism had made him a rebel.

Before a court-martial held at Waterford, the twentieth of June, 1798, Patrick Rourke was found guilty of conspiring with others, in an insurrection and an attack upon Waterford, and that at a meeting of united Irishmen at his house, he declared, that for the good of the cause, he would set fire to his own house; and that he said, the object of setting fire to the houses, was, to create confusion among the king's troops, the easier to overcome them. It was proved also, that it was said at his house, that some of the Clare militia, then quartered in Waterford, were to seize the cannon, arms and ammunition, for the purpose of taking the city.

William Lewis, a soldier of the Clare regiment, proposed at the house of Patrick Rourke, in the presence of some of his fellow soldiers, and the united Irishmen of Waterford, to seize the cannon and ammunition then in that city, and to carry them upon the hill and to fire on it; and that that plan had been agreed upon in the presence of the militia men.

By a court martial held at Waterford the sixth of July, 1798, corporal Curry of the Clare regiment, Simon Ryan, and Thomas Reilly, privates of the same, were convicted of being concerned in the conspiracy to seize the city and all the cannon in it, for the purpose of assisting the rebels in taking it; and in having conspired to murder all their officers, except lieutenant Mc. Mahon, who was a Roman catholic. It was proposed there also by one Carey, to murder the union corps of that city. At the same meeting, corporal Woods, in the artillery of the Clare regiment said, that he had eight or ten united Irishmen in the artillery, who would draw the guns up the hill, and fire on the town: That a committee was formed to carry that plan into execution. Garret Murphy confessed on his examination before some magistrates, that John Forrestall, publican, at New Rofs, told him, that the rebel army would march through the county of Kilkenny to Waterford, if the king's troops were beaten at Rofs: That great numbers of people at Waterford and Rofs, some of whom he mentioned, were concerned as officers, or privates, and that he was a serjeant, and used to collect 6dh. per month, from the men under his command, which he paid to messieurs Hunt, Foot, and Farrell, who were captains, for the purpose of sending messengers to Dublin. It was very fortunate that the rebels in the county Kilkenny mistook the day destined for the attack upon Rofs.

[F. 2]

By

By two court martials held at Waterford, one the fourteenth of June, the other the twenty-third of July, 1798, it was proved that Walter Power, Richard Connolly, and James Hynes, went to the house of Mr. Valentine Lannagan, of Charlestown, with some other rebels, and took his fire arms and ammunition; and that the said V. Lannagan heard the prisoners say in conversation, on the seventh of June, that, if it were not for the cannon, they would have cut off the Roscommon regiment, which marched the day before from Waterford to Ross, as two thousand united Irishmen had assembled at Glanmore, on the sixth of June, for that purpose.

*Conspiracy in the city of Cork.*

THE conspiracy was infinitely more terrific in the city of Cork than in Dublin, because the protestants of the established church, whose destruction was meditated, were much fewer in proportion to the Roman catholics; and the conspirators were better organized and armed, as the vigilance and the exertions of the executive power were not so active and vigorous as in the metropolis, the seat of government.

It was divided into three divisions, the north, the centre, and the south; and each of them was subdivided into sections. It was discovered, that there were one hundred and thirty of the latter, from North-gate bridge, through Black-pool, and that portion of the city, and that each consisted of a serjeant and twelve men. They were all regimented, and had a regular gradation of officers from a colonel down to a corporal.

An immense quantity of pikes was fabricated in Cork. Measures were concerted for taking the magazine; and so sure were the conspirators of succeeding, that poles were prepared, exactly fitted to the socket of a bayonet, that they might mount them the instant those weapons, (of which there was a great number in the magazine,) fell into their hands.

There was great disaffection among the popish yeomen, particularly in the Cork-legion. Sweeny and Donovan, two leaders in the conspiracy, and Drinane, continued members of it, until they were arrested. Some of them owned to persons who became approvers, that they entered into it merely to obtain arms and a knowledge of military discipline. Roger O'Connor, confined in gaol, was the chief director of the union in Cork; and he paid the bills at the houses of entertainment which were kept open for the reception of the soldiers, who were regaled in them *gratis*, with the most delicious fare; and they were even supplied with concubines, the more effectually to seduce them.

As two soldiers of the Dublin regiment were condemned to be shot for disaffection, John Sweeny, a woollen draper, distributed printed hand bills, not only among the soldiers, but among the disaffected of the city, and the adjacent county, inciting them to rise in mass, to overpower the garrison, and to rescue the prisoners; but doctor Harding, at that time high sheriff, arrested Sweeny in the gaol, while conferring with R. O'Connor, on the morning of the day that the execution of the soldiers took place; by which the insurrection was defeated. The great vigilance, and active exertions of that loyal gentleman, preserved the city of Cork from conflagration and a general massacre, for which many plots were formed to murder him.

A man of the name of Casey, was hired to assassinate him, and was on the point of firing a pistol at him, when fortunately a pig ran between his legs, and  
threw



threw him down, by which the life of that valuable member of society was preserved. A committee of assassination was constantly sitting in Cork, by which sir Henry Mannix, captain Westropp, Mr. Shaw, the collector, doctor Harding, alderman Shaw, messieurs Alexander and Johnson, high constables, and other loyal gentlemen, were condemned; and pursuant to their sentence, sir Henry Mannix was fired at, and wounded, near Cork, by one Callaghan, the assassin hired to murder him; and who immediately repaired to John Sweeny, and claimed the reward which the committee had offered for killing him; but Sweeny refused to pay it to him, as he was not actually killed; but being a woollen draper, he gave him two suits of clothes, as a recompense for the zeal which he displayed in the cause of the union.

Four men, who became approvers at an early period of the conspiracy, continued to attend the committees, and constantly gave information to the magistrates of every thing that passed; and their communications exactly corresponded with the evidence which was afterwards given on the trials of the conspirators by different prosecutors.

They often produced black lists of the principal protestant families in the kingdom, who, under the denomination of hereticks, were to be assassinated, and the Beresford family, and Mr. Ogle, were among them; and it was often asserted in these committees, that a person would ensure salvation by killing a certain number of protestants.\*

As captain Westropp's corps, all protestants, were conspicuous for their loyalty, an order for assassinating them was issued by the grand committee, to which all the rest were subordinate; and the bloody deed was to have been performed when they were proceeding to mount a picket guard at Blarney, four miles from Cork, by a band of assassins,† who were supplied with blunderbusses for that purpose. When in a deep road, they were to have been fired on from the hedges on each side, which were high; and at the same time they were to have been assailed in front and rear, by men appointed with muskets; but the plot was defeated by the seasonable discovery of one of the approvers to whom I alluded.

The members of the union in Cork were so desperate and sanguinary, that a proposal was made, and it was some time discussed in a committee, to murder the amiable doctor Moylan, titular bishop of Cork, partly from motives of revenge, on account of his loyalty; but the principal reason assigned in the committee for it was, that it would be imputed to the protestants, and rouse the vengeance of the Roman catholics against them, as strong stimulants were thought necessary at that time. The protestant yeomen of Cork are entitled to the highest praise, for the unremitted ardour which they displayed, and the great fatigue which they endured, in support of the constitution, against the confederated traitors, who conspired for its destruction.

*County of the city of Cork.* } THE information of Thomas Boyle, private in captain Ormsby's company of the North Mayo regiment of militia, taken this twenty-eighth day of May, 1798. Deponent being duly sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, That some time since he got acquainted with Thomas Meagher, of Half-moon-street, publican; that about a fortnight ago deponent was brought into the house of said Meagher, by a seaman, of the name of Patrick Meade, who called for a pot of porter, and taking deponent by the hand, squeezed and hurt him with his thumb; on deponent complaining, said Meade replied, you are not a true brother, or you would return the squeeze; this passed in the presence and hearing of Meagher before mentioned.

Deponent

\* This reward is held out by the council of Lateran, see page 11 of the Memoirs; and this opinion was frequently uttered and maintained by the rebels, see Appendix XIII. an affidavit on the state of Dublin, and Whitney's affidavit, Appendix XIX. 11.

† The author has a list of them in his possession.



Deponent further deposeth, and saith, that he frequently met the aforefaid Meagher, who was remarkably civil to him, and invited deponent to his house; that about eight or nine days ago Meagher, in his own house, told informant, "that the majority of the people were sworn brothers, and that they would be much better off, if they had been sworn long ago." Said Meagher then wanted deponent to swear, and to get his friends in the regiment to swear, as no man's life would be safe, who was not sworn; deponent refused to swear at that time. Deponent deposeth, and saith, that he informed ensign Con, and colonel Jackson of the Mayo, of these conversations, and that they advised him to be sworn; that on the same evening, being Friday the twenty-fifth of May instant, deponent went to the house of the said Meagher, when the swearing was again spoken of by the said Meagher, and he the deponent was then sworn on a book by the said Meagher, "to be true to the united men, and their party, and never to draw a trigger, or a ramrod against the united Irishmen, or against the French if they should land here;"—said Meagher then wanted deponent to go with him to Cow-lane, where he would meet some friends, but deponent declined going there; said Meagher advised deponent to get as many of the regiment sworn as he could, and that he would give him money, and also advised him to get fire arms and ammunition conveyed out of the barrack to him the said Meagher. Deponent further deposeth, that said Meagher said he would give him money to treat the officers servants, and desired he would get acquainted with them, and appeared very anxious to know when colonel Jackson and the head officers would dine with general Stewart; for that there was a quarry at Leitrim very convenient to kill colonel Jackson, and that he could very easily make his escape in a boat without coming over the bridge. Meagher further told informant that if he did not wish to remain here, he would give him money and coloured clothes to go to Bristol in the packet.

The following very extraordinary circumstance occurred in the conspiracy at Cork: A short time before the intended insurrection, an order was sent to all the inferior committees, as if from a committee of twelve priests, to eject from them any protestant members which they might have admitted. It is supposed that they were afraid of having the plot discovered, after it had come to maturity, knowing that the protestants were loyal, with but few exceptions. All the approvers have uniformly agreed, that this order was conveyed to all the inferior societies, as if from the committee of twelve priests; and one Mockler, a shoemaker, who delivered all the orders, has disappeared, lest, it is supposed, he should be led to make a discovery of this transaction, and to disclose the mysteries of it.

*Conspiracy in the county of Cork.*

THE organization in the county of Cork was exactly similar to that which took place in every part of the provinces of Leinster and Munster. There were committees of assassination in every parish, similar outrages and barbarities prevailed, and the members of the union in that county, who were almost exclusively Romanists, seem to have been actuated by one general design of joining the French, of extirpating protestants, and such of their own persuasion as would not join them, and of confiscating their property; and it appeared, on most of the trials, that the persons who

carried.

carried on the business of organization, and disseminated the doctrines of the united Irishmen, were sent from the city of Cork.

To give the reader a catalogue of the many instances of nocturnal robbery and assassination which occurred there, in the years 1797, 1798, and 1799, would only fill him with horror and disgust.

Mr. Robert Hutchinon, of Codrum, near Macroom, an amiable and unoffending gentleman, was murdered in his own house, on the night of the 21st of April, 1799, by a gang of assassins, headed by one Timothy Carthy; and it appeared on his trial\* that he had concerted plans with several other captains, for murdering every other gentleman in the country, and that they were to destroy four or five of a night.

Patrick Murphy was murdered in the month of December, 1797, at Ballymacody, near Youghall, having been previously condemned by a committee of assassination, consisting of nine persons.

Father Neil, a priest, of Ballymacody, was taken up, and confessed, that he advised and approved of the murder of Murphy and another man, and that he gave absolution to the persons who perpetrated it.

Thomas Neil, a farmer, in very opulent circumstances, was hanged at Cork for having been privy to, and present at the murder of Murphy, with a drawn sword; it is supposed at the instigation of his relation the priest. The day before his execution, he confessed to his landlord, Edward Hoare, esquire, a magistrate, that at first he was loyal, and intended to join lord Boyle's corps, but was dissuaded from it by his father, and others of his relations, (among whom it was supposed the priest was concerned) who induced him to swear the following oath: "I do most solemnly swear, that I will pay no rent or tythes; that I will use my utmost endeavours to destroy all protestants, and false brothers;† and be true to the French in case they land in Ireland;" and he confessed, that, in consequence of his entering into this association, he presided at the murder of Murphy; when first apprehended, he made some severe charges against his cousin, the priest, relative to the murder, but said at the time of his execution, that he had them only by hearsay.

One Desmond, a tobacconist, in opulent circumstances in Youghall, was committed on some treasonable charges; and while he was in gaol, a person employed by him in his business, was murdered in his house, with circumstances of horrid barbarity. This unfortunate man was privy to their treasonable schemes; and Desmond and his associates, fearing that he would disclose them, if threatened with corporal punishment, from his weakness of mind and timidity, had him assassinated. He was found hanging in a garret in Desmond's house, with some desperate wounds in his body; and a knife with which they had been inflicted, lay on the ground near the body. This horrid crime was perpetrated by Desmond's brother, and one Dunn, who came to town that day from the place where father Neil lived. The doctrines of the united Irishmen, and their system, were first introduced into Youghall and its neighbourhood, by some soldiers of the Meath regiment quartered there, as the united Irishmen had some missionaries in it, and indeed in almost every regiment.

A young man of the county of Cork, and of the Romish persuasion, was peculiarly active in forwarding the designs, and in disseminating the principles of the united Irishmen, for which he attracted the notice and the esteem of lord Edward Fitzgerald.

\* His trial took place at Cork the twenty-third of May, 1799.

† By false brothers he meant Roman catholics, who were not true to the cause.



Fitzgerald, and all the great leaders in Dublin and Cork. He had received a good school education; and having afterwards turned approver, declared, that he found nothing so effectual to accelerate his scheme of profelytism, as that part of Mr. Erskine's pamphlet, which I have already quoted, as it varnished over the nefarious proceedings of the united Irishmen.\* But he declared, that what crowned his efforts with success, was gaining over to his cause the Romish priests, by awakening their jealousy and hatred against the established church, and by assuring them that, on the subversion of the government, theirs should have an ascendancy, and should enjoy a splendid and an opulent hierarchy; but he owned at the same time, that some of them remained immovable by his arguments; and declared they would resist any efforts to overturn the established government; however he mentioned but three of those whom he attempted to seduce, doctor Moylan, titular bishop of Cork, Mr. Barry of Charleville, and Mr. Barry of Mallow.

By the circulation of an address to the yeomen of Ireland, which was framed by Arthur O'Connor, he was enabled to pervert a great number of those of the Romish persuasion; but he could not make an impression on any of the established religion.

The conviction of various delinquents at the spring assizes of Cork in the year 1798, proved that the lower class of the people, who are all papists, were strongly infected with treason, even in the most remote and barbarous parts of that immense county, where they are but one degree above animal instinct.

Denis Sullivan, and Daniel Keefe, were convicted of having compelled Luke O'Brien, a scoldier, with a cocked pistol at his breast, to swear that he would not be true to the king, because he was not qualified, or entitled to enjoy the crown.†

Timothy Kavanagh, of having on the twenty-eighth of March, at Sunville, fired a shot at Mr. William Martin, a protestant, whose hat he knocked off with a bullet.

James Coppinger, and others, of having on the thirty-first of March, 1798, at Skibbereen, drank success to the French, and bad luck to their enemies.

John Collins was found guilty of having said at the same place, on the twelfth of February, 1798, George the third is a scoundrel and a rascal.

Timothy Carthy, (the murderer of Mr. Hutchinson, a few months after,) was found guilty of having, with many others, attempted to enter forcibly the house of Mr. John Gilman, near Dunmanway, and of having fired many shots into it.

The manufacture of pikes was carried on universally, and with uncommon celerity, in every part of the county of Cork.

Nothing accelerated the progress of treason so much in that county, as assuring the lower class of people that the payment of rent, tythes, and taxes, would be abolished by the revolution; and that they would be allowed to gratify their sanguinary spirit against protestants.

So rapidly was the organization carried on, that in all the country contiguous to Mallow, Doneraile, and Charleville, the mass of the people were sworn, and all the protestants were disarmed in the course of a few nights; and such was the system of terror there, that the magistrates would not venture to make any efforts to recover them, until lord Doneraile calling the gentlemen of the country together, encouraged them to unite; and by his own spirited conduct, animated them to step forward in defence of their lives and property.

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\* This affords a good lesson to the members of the Imperial Parliament, not to interfere with the internal regulations of Ireland, without having a perfect knowledge of the state of that kingdom.

† See this doctrine avowed by Romish councils and divines, pages 21, 39 and 40 of the text.



The leaders of the rebellion in that county used the same device which was successfully practised in many other parts of the kingdom to inflame the Romanists against their protestant fellow subjects, videlicet, that they were united in clubs as orangemen; and that they had bound themselves by oath, not to remit their exertions for the extirpation of papists, until they walked knee-deep in their blood; and such fictions were implicitly believed, not only by the credulous multitude, but by persons of wealth and education, though no societies of orangemen had then existed in that county. It was discovered, that such reports were propagated by the popish clergy of Youghall, and its vicinity, where they were extremely active.

In the month of March, 1798, a Roman catholic gentlewoman, in the barony of Imokilly, expressed very great fears to a gentleman of my acquaintance, that every person of her religion would be assassinated by the orangemen; but being questioned on the foundation of her apprehensions, she acknowledged that no orangemen had ever been seen in the country, and that she had no other knowledge of them but by report.

The Leitrim regiment of militia, quartered between Mallow, Doneraile, and Charleville, were on their arrival there, very loyal and obedient to their officers; but as they were Romanists, such malignant reports soon made them enemies to the state, and to protestants of every description.

A sanguinary oath, supposed to have been taken by protestants, and which was circulated among the soldiers of this regiment, had such an effect on them, that those quartered at Mallow, wantonly quarrelled with the English artillery stationed there at the same time, and had some conflicts with them, which would have been attended with much bloodshed, but for the seasonable interference of the officers of both regiments.

A committee to superintend and transact the business of the county sat constantly in Cork; and they sent directions to every part of it, relative to the finances, the seizing of arms, and the military organization; and they issued orders to all the country committees of assassination, to murder every person in their vicinity, whose loyalty and spirited exertions made him obnoxious to them.

Messieurs St. George and Uniacke were murdered at Arraglin, near Kilworth, on the ninth of January, 1798, by order of that committee.

One Burniston, a most sanguinary wretch, who had been one of the most active and efficient members of the union at Cork, issued the order for that purpose, to a committee at Arraglin; and they having accomplished the business, their leader wrote a letter to Burniston, to inform him of it; and Burniston read the letter to a person in Cork who turned approver, and prosecuted him.\* Burniston had been bred a protestant, but confessed that the constant perusal of Paine's Age of Reason, had completely extinguished all religious principle in him.

The following very remarkable event happened at Kinsale, in the county of Cork: Eighteen popish soldiers of the North Mayo regiment, voluntarily conformed to the protestant religion, in the autumn of 1798, before the reverend Peter Foley, curate and sovereign of that town. They unanimously declared, that their conversion arose from the accounts which they received from their own country, of shocking cruelties committed there, on pretence of religion; and that the heads of their commu-

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nion

\* The letter was conceived in the following words:

"CITIZEN BURNISTON,

"Your order has been obeyed, and St. George and Uniacke are no more; twenty-seven persons have been taken in Arraglin, on account of their death; if you wish it, they shall be rescued."

nion had been the chief instigators to the commission of them. Mr. Foley explained to them the main points of difference between the two religions; and gave them Secker's lectures on popery. They regularly attended the sacrament, and received it apparently with very great devotion.

It appeared on the trial of one Simon Donovan, held at Cork, the sixth of March, 1799, that one Long, a schoolmaster, was employed by the county committee in Cork, to organize different parts of the country; and that he was a most active agent for them. He reported to them, that he had made a most rapid progress in a country called Carnavar; and that he had formed a committee of twelve there, consisting of the most opulent farmers in that district; but that they wanted the assistance of the people of Cork, to cut off six persons whom they called stays, because they, by their courage and activity, impeded materially the progress of the business. Sir Henry Mannix was one of these persons, and in about two months after he was fired at and wounded. It was proved on the same trial, that races were set on foot at the fair green of Cork, by the county committee in Cork, for the purpose of assembling the country people to swear them, which answered that design very well. It was proved that Denis Lane, one of their most active agents, gave the following toast in the company of some united Irishmen at the fair green: 'That the king's skin may make a drumhead to beat the united Irishmen to arms!' which toast Lane and the company drank.

On the trial of Daniel Wollaghan, and Daniel Harrington, held at Cork the twenty-seventh of June, 1799, it appeared, that they with eleven other ruffians, armed with scythes on the end of poles, in the month of September, 1798, issued forth in the night to hough cattle; and that they accordingly houghed and mangled in a most barbarous manner, the cows of different people.

In the month of May, 1798, there was a dreadful mutiny in the Meath regiment quartered at Mallow, which was excited by some agents of the united Irishmen sent there for that purpose; one of them who turned approver, assured me of it, and stated to me the particulars of it. It was occasioned by reports sedulously circulated among them of the plots of orangemen against papists.

On the trial of Peter Shea, at Cork, on the thirteenth of June, 1799, it appeared that he and others endeavoured to seduce the crew of the Venerable and Ajax men of war, stationed at the Cove of Cork.

On the night of the twenty-third of March, 1798, a band of ruffians forcibly entered the house of the reverend Mr. Stopford, near Blarney, ransacked and plundered it, and broke all the doors and windows, and would have murdered him, but that he escaped in his shirt through a back window.

On the tenth of January, 1799, a number of assassins broke into the house of the reverend Mr. Blackwood, rifled and plundered it of arms, ammunition, and various articles, and murdered in cold blood William Hogg, a soldier, who was stationed there to guard it; and they would have assassinated Mr. Blackwood, but that he happened to be from home.

Some of the priests in that county refused to exhort their congregations to loyalty and obedience to the laws; some of them, when they, by desire of the magistrates, preached from the altar, endeavoured rather to teach their flock how to evade the vengeance of the law, than to remain peaceful and loyal. One of them recommended sobriety and early hours to his congregation; because, as he said, there were societies of orangemen forming in the country, whose only object was their destruction.

Doctor

Doctor Moylan's pastoral instructions, which they were all obliged to read from the altar, soon after the arrest of Arthur O'Connor, in Kent, produced a very good effect, in checking the spirit of treason and disaffection.

There were two committees of united Irishmen constantly sitting at Bantry, who organized the whole of the South West of the county, and planned a general rising in that part, in which the Westmeath regiment, at that time much infected, would have joined, but that the seasonable discovery of their designs, and the critical arrival of the Caithness Legion defeated it. In that immense tract, the house of every protestant was robbed of arms, but none belonging to Roman catholics were molested.

This rising was to have been begun at Clonakilty, where the Westmeath was quartered, and was to have extended over the whole of the South West. They were to have murdered all the protestant inhabitants, and such of the soldiers as did not join them, but the arrival of the Caithness Legion prevented it.

I have been assured, that the parish priests of Ros and Clonakilty were loyal, and endeavoured to preserve their flocks from the contagion of treason.

There was no difference between the conspiracy in the counties of Cork and Waterford, except that in the former there were some persons of property concerned in it.

One O'Connor, a popish physician who was independent in his circumstances, was one of the leaders at Bantry.

The county of Kerry was organized, and the Limerick rebels endeavoured to incite the inhabitants to rise; but the example which Mr. Mullins made of the defenders on the twenty-fourth of June, 1793, at Dingle, completely intimidated them.

In the month of August, 1798, forty men rose at Castle-island, murdered three yeomen, and carried off some arms and ammunition which they guarded. They were incited and summoned to rise by a country schoolmaster, the secretary of a committee; this was the only instance of insurrection in the county of Kerry.

*County of Cork.* } WILLIAM HEGARTY, of Gurteen, gentleman, swore in  
his information before Redmond Barry, esquire, the twenty-second of March, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight, that on the eleventh of March then last, informant was sworn by George Walsh, William Fowlue, and William Joyce, "to be true to the French, to kill, murder and destroy all kings and tyrants, lords and earls, ministers and proctors."

ROBERT BOYD, and James Boyle, privates in the Roscommon militia, swore in their information before Thomas Flyn, esquire, the eighth of March, 1798, that on the seventh of March then last, a man of the name of Michael Horrogan, and another man, whose name they did not know, went with the informants into a publick house, in Mallow, to take a pot of beer; that said Horrogan asked informants of what religion they were? that informants replied they were Romans; that said Horrogan then said, that if he could rely on their being true Romans, he would let them into a secret; informants assured him they were. Upon which said Horrogan put his hand into his pocket, and pulled a book half out of it, with an intent, as he said, to swear informants, but was prevented by the other man who was in company;

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that



that informants told said Horrogan that they had already taken the oath of allegiance, and would not take any other oath, when said Horrogan said, that informants might do their duty, and that he would do his ; and also said, that the magazine of Cork would be burned before five nights were over, and that the united Irishmen would rise, and burn all before them, and that they were all united Irishmen from Bandon to the North.

*County of Cork.* } JOHN DALY, foldier in the Limerick light company, swore  
 ----- } in his information before general Coote, the twenty-eighth of June, 1797, against Michael Canty, for administering to him the following oath : " That he, the said John Daly, should dethrone all kings, quell all nations, and plant true religion in the hearts of the just ; that he should be true to the Roman catholick defenders of Ireland, and to the French at the first attempt of a French invasion in this kingdom, and sooner if called on by the committee men ; that he would never see a brother struck or abused by a protestant on any account ; that he, said Daly, would not see a brother want when he had two pence, without sharing it with him ; that he should never recommend a man of an unfair character to the society ; and that he, said Daly, should take the life of any man that would give information."\*

*Conspiracy in the county of Tipperary.*

THE conspiracy in the county of Tipperary was exactly similar to that in the counties of Cork and Waterford ; but it was infinitely more terriffick, because some Roman catholicks, possessed of property, were at the head of it, and all the popish multitude were engaged in it ; and one of the chief agents of the directory in Dublin assured me, that the popish priests, who have at all times an unbounded influence over the common herd of papists, embraced the system with eagerness, and promoted it with zeal. The main designs of the conspirators were, to join the French, murder all the protestants, and to confiscate their property. It was very fortunate that Thomas Fitzgerald, esquire, of Lisheen, near Thurles, happened to be high sheriff of that county, in the year 1798 ; for, from the singular boldness and hardihood of his character, he was peculiarly formed to stem the rough torrent of the times ; and it is generally allowed, that by his spirited and seasonable exertions, he prevented the massacre of many thousand souls, and the destruction of half a million of property in that opulent and populous county. A man of his sagacity and courage would have saved the county of Wexford from desolation and indelible disgrace. The first information which he received, cost him much trouble and expence. Being thoroughly convinced of the alarming state of things, and that the barony of Ormond was the best organized of any part of the county, he repaired to the town of Nenagh, assembled the people, told them that he was well acquainted with their schemes and combinations, and seized some of those of whose guilt he had undoubted information ; and he announced to them in the publick streets, that if the remainder, who were involved, did not acknowledge their errors, and who had led them astray, their secrets should be forced from them ; at the same time he told them, that he would give them twenty-four hours to consider and determine what part they would take. They all made the strongest asseverations of their innocence, though he had unquestionable proof that a general insurrection and massacre was to take place in a few days. One man, deeply concerned, was taken up and whipped on the sixteenth of May ; however, he called God to witness his innocence,

\* These informations are in the Crown-office.

innocence, and the barbarous treatment which he received ; but after receiving thirty lashes, and having been informed where he was concerned on a particular night, in the commission of a robbery and burglary, and on being assured that he should die under his punishment, unless he made a full confession, he insinuated to a magistrate, that he would make a full discovery, if he was taken into a private room, which having been done, he gave such general and important information, that numbers of arrests were immediately made, to the astonishment of the gentlemen of the country, who were totally ignorant, until that moment, of the storm which was ready to burst over their heads, and overwhelm them. Confession followed confession, and a scene of treason, whose malignity could be equalled by nothing but its extensiveness, was brought to light ; and the loyal subjects were surprised at discovering that a committee of assassination, at that time sitting in the town, was actually corresponding with the military committee in Dublin ; that the mass of the people were regularly regimented, under the command of a general of division, who was then in Dublin, receiving final orders preparative to the general insurrection and massacre, which was to take place on the night of the twenty-third of May. Every other part of that county was regularly regimented in the same manner, and commanded by generals of division.

Mr. Fitzgerald, therefore, proceeded with the utmost celerity, through the most alarming parts of it ; and by whipping some of the most notorious rebels, he developed all their dark and malignant designs, took up some leaders, and hunted others out of the country ; by which he broke the links of the organization, and saved that great and opulent county from imminent destruction.

He was so successful in discovering the most latent views and secrets of the conspirators, partly by threats and flagellation, partly by pecuniary means, and by pardoning some notorious delinquents, with whom he compromised, that the mass of them really believed that he was endued with the power of divination ; inasmuch, that wherever he went, the multitude prevented his wishes, and were emulous in making discoveries, in surrendering their arms, and in confessing their errors, dreading lest their silence, being considered as contumacy, might provoke his vengeance. A gentleman who constantly attended him in his perambulations, assured me, that fear had operated so strongly on them, as to produce the following effect wherever he went : On approaching a popish chapel, round which a numerous congregation were assembled, he has ordered them to fall on their knees, and they instantly complied. He then ordered the serjeants to rise and come forward, and they instantly obeyed ; then the captains, the majors, and the committee men successively, and they yielded obedience. They surrendered their arms in every parish which he visited, as soon as he issued his mandate for that purpose. The disaffected were very active and successful in spreading reports, that the orangemen formed plots for extirpating the Roman catholics, in consequence of which the latter in great numbers deserted their houses in the night, and assembled in the fields, where they were sworn and organized ; which, and to influence them against protestants, were the sole object of such malignant suggestions ; and yet no orangemen ever existed in that country. In consequence of this, the inhabitants of Cashel published the following advertisement :

WHEREAS we have heard with much surprise and concern, that several persons in this neighbourhood have lately been induced to desert their habitations at night by false reports of being attacked by orangemen :

We, the inhabitants of the city of Cashel, having met this day, for the purpose of inquiring into the origin of these reports, have, after the most minute investigation, found

found that they are totally destitute of foundation; and we do hereby offer a reward of one hundred guineas, to the person or persons who shall discover and prosecute to conviction, the author or authors of such fabrications, and do also promise every degree of protection, to people of all persuasions without distinction.

Cashel, September 14th, 1798.

Signed at the request of the meeting,

ALEXANDER DON, colonel, commanding in Cashel.  
RICHARD PENNEFATHER, captain, Cashel cavalry.

On the twelfth of March, 1798, at a meeting of the magistrates and gentry held at Nenagh, it was proposed by the protestant gentry, that the Roman catholics should unite in preserving peace and good order, and in mutually assisting each other; and an oath for that purpose was produced, and several protestant gentlemen took it; but not more than one or two Roman catholics.

On that day it was proposed to proclaim the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, and seven magistrates were for it, and four against it; but from that mistaken lenity, which has been the ruin of this kingdom, the proposal was withdrawn; and yet so little did it conciliate the people, that the outrages committed by them increased so much, that the whole county was proclaimed on the twenty-second of the same month, by the unanimous vote of twenty-nine magistrates assembled at Cashel.

The reader may form an idea of the boldness and audacity of the rebels in the county of Tipperary, from the following fact, stated in the report of the secret committee of 1798, of the house of commons, page 22: "That in open day, eight hundred insurgents, principally mounted, invested the town of Cahir, in the county of Tipperary, and held possession of it, until they had made a regular search through every house, and carried off in triumph all the arms and ammunition they could find.

I shall refer the reader to the following informations to shew him the state of that county:

Phineas Hunt, a young lad, the son of Mr. Hunt, a protestant gentleman of fortune, of Cappagh, in the county of Tipperary, was impelled by a system of terror, to be sworn, and to join the united Irishmen, in the month of February, 1798, having been assured, that the French would soon land and join them; and that all those who were not of their party would be murdered: but in swearing him they committed a gross error, for the oath which they exhibited to him contained an obligation to murder all the protestants \* in the kingdom; which he acknowledged afterwards, by information dated the eleventh of April, 1798, and sworn before the honourable and reverend James St. Leger, a magistrate of the county, which is lodged in the Crown-office.

Philip Cahill, of Kilduff, in said county, swore an information before George Bennet, esquire, a magistrate thereof, dated the eighteenth of February, 1798, and which is lodged in the Crown-office, that he was at Killea in said county, where upwards of a hundred persons were assembled, for the purpose of forming themselves into

\* In those counties where the rebellion did not explode, they were very retentive of this secret, (which was their primum mobile) in order to lull and inveigle protestants; but still it transpired. When the oath was presented, young Hunt started and said, Am I to murder my father and mother, and all my family? on which the rebel officers seemed much confused, and said it was not the right oath.



into bodies, and chusing corporals and serjeants, which they did accordingly ; [*here come the names of the persons present*] and swore all the persons then present to join the French, and assist them on their landing.

Richard Murphy, of Killenale, in said county, swore an information before Oliver Latham, esquire, a magistrate thereof, dated the twenty-second of February, 1798, that being in the house of Pierce St. John, he was addressed by William Ryan, who, in the course of conversation, offered him a watch if he would take the defenders oath.

Michael Hogan, of Newport, swore before William Anderfon, a magistrate, dated the twelfth of March, 1798, that on the first of said month, he was invited by Daniel Reddy, into his house to drink, and in the course of conversation, he offered him fifty guineas if he would murder Robert Lloyd, and Francis Quinn, esquires ; and informed him, that, in the course of a few nights, the united men would put Mr. Waller, of Castle Waller, and Mr. Anderfon, of Foxhall, to death ; and he shewed him the plan of a pike, according to which he was to get fifty made by a blacksmith.

Oliver Brown, of Boolaree, swore an information before George Bennet, esquire, dated the eighteenth of April, 1798, that on the night of the first of March, 1798, a number of people, about four hundred, assembled on the hill of Tullagh, where they formed themselves into ranks, under officers and serjeants ; that James Keary and Daniel Collison acted as officers, and that the said party marched three abreast into the village of Templetooky.

John Maher, of Ballingarry, swore before William Despard, esquire, on the eighth of May, 1798, that on the night of the twenty-ninth of April, Denis Maher, of Grashagh, gave him a written paper, containing a kind of catechism, or constitution of the united Irishmen, and swore him the oath of secrecy, and to be true to the said constitution until they met again, which he told him would be the Sunday after, at Kilbechan chapel ; and informant declared, that he took said oath through fear of the said Denis Maher and the party that attended him.

I shall defer discussing at present the policy and the good effects of whipping and free quarter, but the reader may form some judgment of it from the following instance : Mr. Otway, of Castle Otway, near Nenagh, had undoubted proof that the people in his populous parish were sworn, organized, and well supplied with arms ; and that they were soon to rise and massacre all the loyal subjects. He then took up a fellow, well known to have been sworn, and threatened to whip him, unless he disclosed his secrets of the conspiracy ; but he called God to witness his innocence, and offered to make an affidavit of it ; but Mr. Otway ordered him to receive twenty-five lashes in the presence of Sir James Duff ; but he persisted in professing his ignorance of the plot. Having been tied up next day, when his skin was tender from the preceding whipping, he acknowledged his guilt, that the parish was organized, and the people were well armed with pikes. Soon after he was taken down, which convinced the conspirators that he had made a full acknowledgment of what he knew. They then instantly became emulous in making confessions, and in surrendering arms, and in the space of a few hours, seventeen hundred pikes were surrendered ; and father Kennedy, the parish priest, voluntarily acknowledged, that he had been sworn by father Meara, a priest who had sworn many others, though he had been previously examined by Mr. Otway, and swore that he was perfectly ignorant of the conspiracy.— It appears also, that father Meara, parish priest of Nenagh, had sworn many priests in his neighbourhood ; and that father O'Brien, of the parish of Doone, and he, were deeply concerned in the conspiracy ; and they were both sentenced to be transported.

## No. XII.

*Some outrages committed by the defenders and united Irishmen in the year 1795.*

THIS month (January,) an attempt was made on the house of Mr. Sterne Tighe of Carrick, in the county of Meath, by a body of defenders, but they were repulsed after many shots fired on both sides. The same night they plundered the house of Mr. Monaghan of Castletown-delvin of arms. In the same neighbourhood many houses were attempted, several cows were houghed, and other damages done.

March twenty-first, at Carricknacross, a private of the Galway militia was murdered by three defenders.

March twenty-fifth, the house of Mr. Grattan, of Bensfort, in the county of Meath, was attacked by a body of defenders, who broke into the hall, but were repulsed by him and his servants. A short time before, in his absence, they forcibly entered it, and carried off some fire arms, plate, and other valuable articles.

This month, (May,) near Sligo, between two and three thousand defenders had the temerity to attack a company of the Derry militia, who repelled the attack, after killing thirty, and taking many of the insurgents. About the same time, a numerous body of them assaulted a company of the Tyrone militia, quartered at Tuam, who in their defence killed eighteen, and took and wounded a great number of them.

June twenty-second, a party of defenders broke into the house of Coote Molloy, esquire, near Boyle, in the county of Roscommon, but his son having shot one of them dead in the hall, the remainder fled; he also wounded another, who turned approver.

During the summer of this year, the counties of Meath, Westmeath and Kildare, were dreadfully agitated by the defenders. In short, most of the respectable inhabitants of them were obliged to keep soldiers in their houses for their protection. Mr. Thomas Ryan, a magistrate of the county of Kildare, when returning to his house, after having assisted at the committal of some defenders, was way-laid and surrounded by a large number of these ruffians, who fired several shots at him, and gave him a severe wound in the temple with a musket ball.

The house of Mr. Lillé, near Castlepollard, county of Meath, was attempted by a numerous body of them; but after a gallant defence he repulsed them.

June twenty-fourth, they attacked the house of Mr. Murdock, of Heathstown, county of Westmeath, and robbed it of arms. Four of them were soon after taken, and condemned to be hanged on the evidence of one Sommers his servant. The night before the execution the defenders assassinated Sommers.

In July, William Finlay, of Ginnetts, in the county of Kildare, esquire, was fired at in mid-day, while walking in his demesne, and the ball lodged in his arm.

In the county of Meath, the house of the reverend Mr. Knipe, a protestant clergyman, was attacked in the night, by a large body of defenders. In his defence he killed one of them; in revenge, they afterwards murdered him, and mangled his body with savage barbarity.

In August, in the neighbourhood of Finglas, the houses of Mr. Rowe, and many others, were plundered of arms.

The house of the reverend Mr. Mc. Allister, near Summer-hill, county of Meath, was robbed by the defenders of money and arms. Near Slane, many cows and  
bullocks

Bullocks were houghed by them. In East Meath, many outrages too tedious to mention were committed ; where improving in cruelty, they often cut off the udders of cows.

Mr. Falbot's house in the Phoenix park was robbed of arms.

August fourth, they attacked the house of Mr. Pentland, of Hollywoodrath, and because he refused to surrender his arms, they burned his hay and corn.

August fifth, not satisfied with houghing eleven cows, the property of Mr. Read, near old Castle, they burned to the ground his house and offices ; and this because he prosecuted two ruffians for burglary and felony.

A body of them burned to ashes the house and furniture of Mr. Peter Brady, of Mace-town, county of Meath.

In September, the house of Mr. Monfort, of Gladston, in the county of Westmeath, was attacked by some defenders, who set fire to it ; however, he sallied out with his son and a servant, and repulsed them ; but the house and furniture were consumed.

Many houses were forced and plundered, and various outrages committed near Drogheda, and in the county of Meath.

The house of Mr. Walsh, who keeps flour-mills near Drogheda, was forced and robbed of arms.

That of Mr. Taylor, who keeps the Black Lion, was attacked, but after a vigorous defence the defenders fled.

They forcibly entered the house of Mrs. Fulham, near Navan ; and because she mildly reasoned with them on the impropriety of their conduct, they shot off the roof of her skull.

The same banditti attacked the house of one Mullins, in the county of Meath, who alarmed his neighbours, and seized one of them.

They forcibly entered the house of Mr. Walsh near Swords, took his arms, and made him swear the defenders oath.

The houses of sir Henry Wilkinson, of Corballis, near Swords, county of Dublin, and of alderman Lynam near Pickardstown, were forced in the night and plundered of arms.

The latter end of December, a most horrid murder was committed near Trim, by a party of defenders, on James Hyland and his wife, merely because they suspected that they had given information against some of their body. They shot the man through the forehead, and his wife through the back, as she endeavoured to make her escape.

Soon after notices were posted on all the neighbouring chapels, announcing that all those who gave information against, or searched for defenders, should be sacrificed in the same manner as Hyland and his wife.

The confession upon oath of Henry Ledwich, who took refuge in the gaol of Mullingar, before some magistrates thirtieth of January, 1796. He is a private in the 12th dragoons, and voluntarily made a very useful discovery of a murder and robbery intended to be committed in the house of Lavallin Nugent, esquire, of Tulla, in the county of Westmeath. Deponent was two years a defender, and to get rid of them, enlisted about two months ago in the said regiment. The first oath he took was to be true to the king, and to his brethren, when occasion required ;—the second was to be true to his brethren, and to join the French when they would

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land,



land, and to destroy the members of every religion but their own. Deponent was sworn a defender in the county of Cavan, but never acted as such till about a month ago, and was out but three times with them, in Westmeath, whither he came from the county of Cavan to avoid them. Deponent was spoken to by one Clarke a publican, who was a committee man and treasurer to the defenders, and lives at Parson's-town, and has seduced many persons. Deponent's motive for giving information about the Nugent family was, that his family had served under them in the wars of Ireland. That Clarke has the country under contribution, and issues his orders to pass such persons as pay their subscriptions. Deponent was at the robbery of Mr. John Dillon, tenant of count Dalton, and took from him two guns and a case of pistols; and at that of Mrs. Thompson at Parson's-town, from whom they took one gun, three guineas, and six shillings; and at that of K. Kenny's, where they got fourteen guineas, two shillings, and two guns, after firing many shots through the doors; and also at that of Mr. Lestranger's; that about a dozen defenders went usually on an expedition.

On the first rising they were to seize on the castle of Dublin, and to massacre the Protestants every where.

### No. XIII.

THE substance of an information sworn by a white smith, in the city of Dublin, in the month of June, 1798, before John Claudius Beresford, esquire, who had him arrested on a charge of being concerned with the united Irishmen. His name is concealed, lest he should be assassinated for being an informer.

That he was seduced and made an united Irishman the first day of May, 1797, and belonged to a society of twelve, of which Rowland Goodman, a flator, was secretary.

That he hoped to rise to the rank of an officer in a superior committee, which regulated his, but which he had never seen, but he saw among their rules, set out in a printed paper, that no blackmouth or blackbean, should ever rise; and he discovered afterwards that these appellations signified a protestant, and Goodman reported him to be such.

That one Hely, a chimney doctor, was substituted as secretary in the place of Goodman; and carried to the superior committee a proposal and plan for burning the castle of Dublin, which was approved of. Informant asked Hely how it was to be done? and when he was about to inform him of it, the rest of the committee prevented him, because, as informant believed, he was a protestant.

Hely told informant, that Horish\* was a sound good fellow, and much attached to the cause.

Rowland Goodman, and John Graham, asked informant to make pikes for the united Irishmen, but on his hesitating, suspicions were entertained of his sincerity in the cause; and Goodman went to his wife, and said, he feared that he was not to be depended on, and that he would hang thousands. One Masterfon said, if he makes the pikes he will do; if not, Browne will out him; which was a cant word for killing informers.

That a plan was formed in his committee, and carried up to the superior one, to seize the soldiers who lined the streets; when the lord lieutenant was going to the house of lords: that three men armed with daggers were to attack each soldier, and disarm him, and if he resisted put him to death: That they were to enter the house of parliament to kill such members as were not their friends, and at the same time to

\* A master sweep, deeply concerned in the conspiracy, was said to be engaged in a plan to burn the castle and many other buildings and houses.

to get possession of the castle. At last strong suspicions being entertained of informant the question for his expulsion was put, and every member of the committee but one, voted for it.

That no person of his committee had any knowledge of, or connection with the superior committee, but the secretary.

While he was in the society, a plan was formed, and sent up to the superior committee, "That each committee should supply two men, who were not afraid of losing their lives, and that they were to form assassination committees of five, to kill the leading men of the kingdom."

That they endeavoured to keep the object a secret from him; but some of the members informed him, that it was to do-out\* the leading men of the kingdom.

He understood that every Roman catholic in the kingdom was in the united cause, that the militia and yeomen of that persuasion were attached to it, and that they were to kill all those of a different religion in action.

He was informed that all the popish servants in Dublin were united Irishmen; and he saw many of them at their different meetings.

They made it a religious cause, and often said, that a Roman catholic would certainly go to heaven, if he killed three protestants.

They resolved never to lay out sixpence with any protestant.

Such fanatical conversation was very common in their clubs.

The castle was to have been attacked in front, and in rear, from Ship-street.

The leading men in government, particularly the Beresford family, were to be done-out. There was to be a general rising; a sky rocket was to be the signal for it, and informant was to get twenty-four hours notice of it.

The following regiments of militia were considered as most attached and steady to the united cause: The Kildare, Westmeath, Longford, Kilkenny, and King's county.

*The following paper, found by alderman Alexander in a box, in the possession of Mr. Sheares, was read on his trial:*

Note. The words in italicks were interlined: those between crotchets were struck across with a pen.

"*Irishmen,*

["Your country is free; all those monsters who usurped its government to oppress its people are in our hands, except such as have"]

"Your country is free, and you are about to be avenged, [already] that vile government which has so long and so cruelly oppressed you, is no more; some of its most atrocious monsters have already paid the forfeit of their lives, and the rest are in our hands [waiting their fate.] The national flag, *the sacred green*, is at this moment flying over the ruins of despotism, and that capital which a few hours past [was the scene] witnessed the debauchery, [the machinations] plots and crimes of your tyrants, is now the citadel of triumphant patriotism and virtue. Arise then, united sons of Ireland! arise like a great and powerful people, determined to [live] be free or die; arm yourselves by every means in your power, and rush like lions on your foes; consider, that [in disarming your enemy] for every enemy you disarm, you arm a friend, and thus become doubly powerful; in the cause of liberty inaction is cowardice, and the coward shall forfeit the property he has not the courage to protect. Let his arms be seized, and transferred to those gallant [patriots] *spirits* who want, and will use them: Yes, Irishmen, we swear by that eternal justice, in whose cause you fight, that the brave patriot, who survives the present glorious struggle, and the family of him who has fallen, or shall fall hereafter in it, shall receive from the hands of a grateful nation, an ample recompence out of [those funds] that property which the crimes of our enemies [shall] have forfeited into its hands, and his name [too] shall be inscribed on the national record of Irish revolution, as a glorious example to all posterity; but we likewise swear to punish robbery with death and infamy."

[H 2]

"We

\* Do-out was a cant word for assassinating.



"We also swear, that we will never sheath the sword until every [person] being in the country is restored to those equal rights, which the God of Nature has given to all men, until an order of things shall be established, in which no superiority shall be acknowledged among the citizens of Erin, but that [which] of virtue and talent [shall in title to.]"

"As for those degenerate wretches who turn their swords against their native country, the national vengeance awaits them: Let them find no quarter unless they shall prove their repentance by *speedily* deserting, exchanging the standard of slavery for that of freedom, under which their former errors may be buried, and they may share the glory and advantages that are due to the patriot bands of Ireland."

"Many of the military feel the love of liberty glow within their breasts, and have [already to] joined the national standard; receive [those] with open arms, such as shall follow so glorious an example, they can render signal service to the cause of freedom, and shall be rewarded according to their deserts: But for the wretch who turns his sword against his native country, let the national vengeance be visited on him, let him find no quarter. Two other crimes demand—

"Rouse all the energies of your souls; call forth *all* the merit and abilities which a vicious government consigned to obscurity, and under the conduct of your chosen leaders, march with a steady step to victory; heed not the glare of a [mercenary] hired soldiery, or *aristocratick yeomanry*, they cannot stand the vigorous shock of freedom, [close with them Man to Man, and let them see what vigour the cause of freedom can.] Their trappings and their arms will soon be yours, and the detested government of England, to which we vow eternal hatred, shall learn, that the treasures, [she, it] *they* exhaust on [their mercenary] its accoutred slaves, for the purpose of butchering Irishmen, shall but further enable us to turn their swords on its devoted head."

"Attack them in every direction by day and by night; avail yourselves of the natural advantages of your country, which are innumerable, *and with which you are better acquainted than they*: Where you cannot oppose them in full force, constantly harass their rear and their flanks: Cut off their provisions and magazines, and prevent them as much as possible from uniting their forces: Let whatever moments you cannot [pass in] devote to fighting for your country, be [devoted to] passed in learning how to fight for it, or preparing the means of war; for war, war alone, must occupy every mind, and every hand in Ireland, until its long oppressed soil be purged of all its enemies."

"Vengeance, Irishmen, vengeance on your oppressors—remember what thousands of your dearest friends have perished by their [murders, cruel plots,] *merciless orders*; remember their burnings, their rackings, their torturings, their military massacres, and their legal murders. Remember ORR."

*Letter from John Sheares, found on Samuel Neilson, on the evening of the 23d of May.*

SIR,

I HAVE sought you in every direction, but unfortunately in vain. It is now too late to use many words upon the subject of our intended interview—let it suffice to say that I am acquainted with the destructive design you meditate, and am resolved to counteract it, whatever it may cost me—rest assured that nothing shall check a resolution, which honour, private affection and public duty unite to demand the immediate execution of; and that however unwilling I may be at any other moment to take the only steps which your obstinacy may render necessary this evening, for the preservation of my friends and my country, I will without hesitation take them. The scheme you have undertaken I view with horror, whether its effects be considered as relating to my imprisoned friends, the destruction of whose property and lives must be the consequence,



consequence, even of your success, or as affecting Arthur O'Connor's existence, the precarious chance for which you thus cruelly lessen, or (what is superior to every other consideration) as ensuring the ruin of Ireland's freedom—in short, Mr. to be candid with you, the scheme is so totally destitute of any apology, even from the plea of folly or passion, that I cannot avoid attributing its origin to a worse cause, and nothing can convince me of the contrary, but your immediately foregoing so pernicious an enterprise. In these sentiments I am not singular, nor in the resolution which arises from them; and should you doubt me, you must purchase conviction at a very severe cost: My resolution, and that of my friends, is this, if you do not by nine o'clock this evening, give us every necessary and sacred assurance, that you will counteract and prevent the perpetration of this plot against all that you ought to hold dear, notice of it shall be given to the government without a moment's delay—for we do prefer that a few misguided (not to say guilty) individuals should perish, than that every remaining hope of our country's success, and the lives of our most valued friends should be sacrificed, by the accomplishment of a stupid, perhaps wicked undertaking. Do not feed yourself with hope that any consideration shall deter me from fulfilling this threat—if every poignard you could command were at my throat I would do my duty—I did think well of you—I wish to do so still—you alone can prevent me.

J. S.

I dine at 52, Abbey-street, where I shall expect your answer before eight o'clock.

No. XIV.


*Three papers found in the pocket-book of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and in his possession, at the time of his arrest.*

No. I.

T. Keathy, Enverness fencibles	50	with 1 Batt <sup>n</sup> of
Salt, Londonderry	47	- 1
Naas, Armagh	250	- 1
Green-Horse	22	- 1
Connell	-	- 1
Clane, Armagh	50	- 1
Narragh Rab <sup>n</sup> K <sup>s</sup> county M.		
{ Longford	500	- - 2
{ 6th dragoons		
{ Louth M.		
Kilkea, Do. Do. Do.	500	- - 1
Kilcullen, { 9th dragoons	80	- - 0
{ Tyrone M.	30	
{ Suffolk	50	
{ Orange Yeo <sup>n</sup>	90	
Carbery, Inverness fencibles	50	- - 0
Ophilia, fund <sup>r</sup>	600	- - 2
County sundry returns	2319	with 10 batt <sup>s</sup> of
	1500	
	3819	

53 chains

## No. II.

50 chains of 6 foot long, with 50 padlocks.  
 1000 spike nails, 4, 6, 8 inches.  
 200 round staples.  
 20 cramp irons,  in this form.  
 50 large sledges.  
 50 small ones.  
 50 hammers.  
 50 groove irons.  
 100 hatchets.  
 300 shovels and spades, or as many as can be procured.  
 150 hooks for scaling ladders, the catching point to have a hackle face.

## No. III.

[*In the hand writing of lord Edward Fitzgerald.*]

Suppose R. force divided into three columns. The left of the *Kildare line\** to [column] to [assemble at] Cloncurry, or between it and Clonard-bridge; a detachment to be sent to Clonard-bridge, as soon as possible; that *body* [column] to advance by Kilcock, Maynooth, Leixlip and Chapelizod, towards Dublin.

## No. XV.

*An attempt to murder the reverend Mr. Jones in the county of Kildare.*

AS the reverend Mr. Jones, curate of the parish of Moyglare, in the county of Kildare, was riding between Kilcock and Maynooth, on the eighteenth of January, 1799, he was informed by a gentleman that some armed rebels were riding about the parish in quest of him, for the purpose of murdering him; on which he proceeded towards Maynooth as fast as possible; but his horse having lost a shoe, he stopped at a smith's forge, where it was soon replaced. When he was about to mount, he saw some horsemen galloping towards him, on which he put spurs to his horse and fled with the greatest precipitation; but his horse growing restive, and refusing to proceed farther, he dismounted, crossed a small river on foot, ran behind a farm house, lay down, and endeavoured to cover himself with straw; but one of the men coming up, cursed the woman of the house for having concealed him; said he would cut him to pieces as a yeoman and a clergyman, and called to his comrades to come to his assistance; on which Mr. Jones started up, and instantly one of the men discharged a gun at him. The ball hit him on the upper part of the forehead, inflicted a severe wound, and made him stagger some paces; but recovering, he ran at the assassin, and endeavoured to prevent him from charging his gun again. While he was attempting to do so, the other gave him many violent blows with the butt-end of his gun; on which he ran towards some men who were ploughing in an adjoining field, and who remained tame spectators of this horrid transaction, without offering him any assistance. Mr. Jones perceiving that they pursued him close, and that he could not possibly fly from them, and deriving courage from despair, he turned about suddenly, seized the pistol of one of them, and while in the act of struggling

\* The words in italicks had a line drawn through them in the original.

struggling with him, the other, by repeated blows of the buttend of his pistol on the head, at length knocked him down. As the last resource, he lay prostrate, pretending to be dead, and while one of the ruffians went in pursuit of the horses, the other laid his foot on his body, placed the muzzle of his pistol close to his head, and having fired it off, the ball produced only a small fracture, but which was attended with a great effusion of blood. Though he suffered very great pain, he remained motionless, pretending to be dead; but the assassin fearing that he had still some remains of life, charged his pistol a second time, and fired it on his hip, and being then certain that he was lifeless, he left him. The names of the assassins were Adams and Fox. The former, after he had perpetrated this atrocious act, exultingly boasted, that he had put out of the world a yeoman and an orangeman, at the same time damning his orange blood. Mr. Jones, with a laudable spirit, had acted as a yeoman during the rebellion. After the last shot was fired, they boasted that they had sent his soul to preach in hell. The ploughman, one of the calm spectators of this bloody deed, was uncle to one of the villains, and the driver of the plough was his brother-in-law. Mr. Jones having heard that they were taken up, and confined in the provost's prison in Dublin, repaired thither, recognised them, and having prosecuted them, they were convicted of this horrid crime and hanged.

Mr. Henley, of Summer-hill, in the county of Meath, in passing near Maynooth in the autumn of 1798, in his chaise, a party of ruffians having stopped him, dragged him out of it, and would have murdered him but that his postillion swore he was a Roman catholic, on which they let him pass; but one of his servants, who followed him on a jaunting car having said something that displeased them, they murdered him.

In the month of October, 1798, captain Walsh, of the Kilkenny regiment, quartered at Kilcock, going to dine at Maynooth, about three miles off, was attended by two dragoons to escort him at his return; at the turnpike, which is about half way, eight ruffians rushed from behind a wall, and fired four shots at the dragoons, which fortunately only hit their belts and their saddles. They fired two shots at captain Walsh, quite close to him, and one of the balls passed by his ear. The dragoons having drawn their carbines, the assassins fled with great precipitation, but the enclosures prevented the dragoons from pursuing them; however they shot one of them. They were deserters from sir Fenton Aylmer's corps of yeomanry. Their vengeance was directed against the earl of Ormond, on account of his well known loyalty, for one of them cried out at first, that they had got the bloody Ormond.

*Captain Rawson, who commands the Athy yeomanry, composed and published the following exhortation, in hopes of conciliating the deluded multitude:*

MY neighbours have hitherto conducted themselves in a peaceable manner, but should any of them have been unfortunately seduced to enter into illegal associations, or to procure pikes or other weapons, with views hostile to the king and government, their lives and properties will be at the mercy of the soldiers.

I beseech them to fly the many evils that must attend a perseverance in error. Nothing shall be left undone on my part to protect the peaceable and well-conducted from sustaining any injury, or even those who have erred, provided they make seasonable atonement by returning to their allegiance.—Such is the lenity of government, that should any misguided persons surrender their arms, and acknowledge their errors, they shall find protection and forgiveness.—Some persons have basely and maliciously endeavoured to agitate the publick mind by reports that certain societies called



called orangemen have been formed for the extirpation of Roman catholicks: I declare solemnly, that I do not know, nor do I believe that any such society exists, or ever has been formed in the country. I am convinced in my mind, that such infamous reports were propagated for no other purpose but to disunite the protestants and Roman catholicks; and to kindle the most implacable hatred in the latter against the former, to answer the purposes of rebellion. It is hoped then, that the members of both these orders will go hand in hand in love, in harmony, and respect for the laws; and in their joint adoration of the Almighty, and in praying that he will unite all descriptions of christians in mutual affection, and in defence of their king and country; such union would be worthy of Irishmen, and such is the constant and fervent prayer of

THOMAS JAMES RAWSON.

Glasnealy, 27th January, 1798:

N. B. The above was sent to and read at all chapels in the country, and dispersed through every part of it.

In August, 1798, information was given to captain Rawson, upon the oath of a creditable person, that the protestants of Athy and its vicinity, were to be massacred on the following Sunday, at the time of divine service; the plan was, to set fire to some cabins outside the town, near the chapel; a cry of fire was to be given; and it was supposed the yeomanry would rush irregularly to assist in extinguishing the flames. Three hundred men who were to be concealed in Walsh's inn yard, were to rush out, gain possession of the gaol and court-house; and on a signal being given, the mob at the fire were to seize the yeomanry, and dispatch them, and then, at their leisure, all the remaining protestants, men, women, and children, were to be butchered. There was an hesitation about giving information to a protestant, who was married to a Roman catholick, not to go to church that day, as was his constant practice; but it was determined to let him die with the rest, as he might discover.

The informations of the above hellish plot were sent to government, and one hundred and twenty of the Fermanagh militia, under the command of major King, by forced marches, arrived at Athy, on Saturday evening, to the assistance of the yeomanry, who, but for divine protection, must have fallen an easy prey to the nefarious plot.

At a late hour at night, the chapel of Athy was burned; large rewards were offered by the protestant gentry, the magistrates, the yeomanry, and some of the towns people. Nothing transpired that has as yet become publick, until Timothy Sullivan, late soldier of the South Cork, who had volunteered for general service, was about to leave the town. He then told a serjeant, that the officers and men of the regiment were in a very perilous situation, and had much cause to be watchful. The serjeant gave information to his officers, major Hennis, and captain Langton, who had Sullivan examined; and the result of their enquiry will appear by his deposition.

*County of Kildare,* } TIMOTHY SULLIVAN, late a private soldier in the South  
*to wit.* } militia, maketh oath, that he was centinel at the gate next Mrs.  
 } Dooley's house on the night the chapel of Athy was burned; saith  
 he was solicited by James Noud to swear against three men undermentioned, and that  
 he refused, declaring his want of knowledge of the transaction; that he was afterwards  
 followed.

followed to Killbare by Patrick Kelly, a Roman catholic priest, and Thomas Fitzgerald of Geraldine, who having got him into a private place, offered him 400*l.* to swear against the three men undernamed, for burning the chapel; and on his persisting in his want of knowledge of the transaction, and refusing to swear, said Kelly and Fitzgerald went away; that, on the night of the sixth of April instant, he was in company with said Kelly, said Noud, Patrick Dooley of Athy, and Joseph Hendrean; the said Noud, in presence of the others, pressed him to swear against a soldier of the South Cork regiment, and two ycomen, videlicet, John McKeon, John Drill, and John Willock, and though he denied his knowing any thing of the business, yet he was still pressed, under promises of large rewards, which they had made up in the country; and after he had sworn, he might desert, and he would find protection at the houses of the undernamed rebel captains, whose names were written down by said Dooley, videlicet, James Ryan, Patrick Dowling, Terence Toole, James Whelan, Cornelius Moore, Patrick Magher, and Thomas Connell, and at English's of Mageny, where they used to meet in committee; that they were all actively employed in engaging large numbers to be prepared for a publick rising on the twenty-seventh of April instant, when they expected French assistance; that rebel leaders from the counties of Kildare, Carlow, Wicklow, and Queen's county met at English's, on the first Sunday in every month, in order to concert their plans; that Maguire and Dalton, two rebel leaders from the county of Wicklow, had thousands under their command, ready to turn out at a moment's notice; that Mr. Fitzgerald, of Geraldine,\* was their great friend; and that he was then in Dublin, settling about the business of rising with some of their friends there; that forty thousand would come from Roserea and Tipperary side, to assist the cause here; that this country was to be the central situation for the first attack; that all the county Kildare rebels were to meet at Mageny-bridge; that the rising was to be general, in order to prevent the military knowing where to act. Saith, that early in the morning of the seventh instant, he again saw said Patrick Kelly, who desired him to wait behind a party he intended going with to Kildare; that said Kelly would be at Geraldine, where he would have an horse and servant of Mr. Fitzgerald's, with coloured clothes; that they would then proceed to a magistrat for examination to lodge the wished-for examination; that he could then desert, and a place of concealment would be provided by said Kelly, and would send said Sullivan's wife after him.

Savorn, &c. &c. &c.

The original examination, as sworn before a magistrate on the ninth of April 1860, is in the Crown-office; and the names of the rebel captains, as written by Dooley, are in the magistrate's hands.

There is not a doubt but that many other chapels were burned wantonly in the night in the province of Leinster, to throw the odium of it on the protestants.

*County of Kildare,* } THE examination of faith, That on or  
*to wit.* } about the fourteenth of April last, Patrick Dooley, James Noud,  
----- } and Joseph Hendrean, all of Athy, were committed to Athy  
gaol; that informant shortly after was informed by said Dooley, that they (meaning  
the disaffected) were in expectation of the French coming shortly to this country;  
that there was a new constitution totally different from the old one; that they  
[1] were

\* This gentleman commanded a corps of yeomanry which was dismissed for disaffection, and he was imprisoned some time, but was afterwards liberated.

were making pikes on a new plan; that he had a conversation with a particular friend of his from the lower part of the county of Westmeath, who informed said Dooley that the people there were going on fast with the business; and that said Dooley knew that the people in the lower part of the county Kildare were going on with it too, but that it had not properly reached up here yet; that the said Dooley was as well armed, accoutred, and prepared, as any man, on the night they (meaning the rebels) were to have attacked Athy; that he had a cartridge-box before him, and another behind, both full of ammunition, two pistols and a sword; that when his house was searched, they could not be found, as he had them concealed behind the fire-place.

That on or about the sixteenth of April last, Terence Toole, of Fonestown, (who to informant's knowledge was a rebel captain,) and Cornelius Moore of Gurteen, with others, were apprehended and committed to said gaol; that a conversation shortly after took place in presence of informant, between said Dooley, Toole and Moore, about the chapel of Athy which had been burned; said Dooley told said Toole and Moore that he knew the cause of their being committed to gaol, which was, "that the said Dooley, with Mr. Kelly the priest, and James Noud, had offered Timothy Sullivan, a soldier of the South Cork militia, 400l. to swear against John Willock and John Drill, two of the yeomen, and a soldier of the South Cork, as orangemen, for burning the chapel;" that he, said Dooley, had written down the names of said Toole and Moore, with several others, in whose houses the said Sullivan would be concealed, after he should so swear; that he, said Dooley, gave said Sullivan a written order, requiring said Toole and Moore, and said other persons to conceal said Sullivan; and said Dooley repeated, that such was the cause of their being confined, as he was afraid said Sullivan had made a discovery; and that said Dooley, Kelly and Noud, had offered him said sum to hang three of the loyal men; and faith, said Dooley further declared that he had mentioned the business of hanging said orangemen to Thomas Fitzgerald of Geraldine, esquire; and that said Fitzgerald replied, that if said three orangemen could be hanged, he would get him, said Sullivan, 400l. from government, and make up as much more amongst themselves; and that he would then, if possible, get Rawson's yeomanry broke; faith said Dooley also informed said Toole and Moore, that the said Sullivan was to quit the army, and be protected by other persons in the Queen's county, and so on from place to place, until he got home to his own country; faith, said Toole, in the course of said conversation, told said Dooley and Moore, that the party under the command of Patrick Dowling, of Fonestown, who were to have attacked Athy, expected Queen's county assistance; that he, said Toole, had gone across the river Barrow, to the Queen's county, to solicit it; and that the Queen's county people would not assist; and on said Toole's return with the account of such refusal, the said party under said Dowling, as principal in command, broke up and dispersed.

*Sworn before a magistrate the 2d May 1800. The original is in the Crown-office.\**

Note.—By any possibility the above informant could not have had any communication with Timothy Sullivan.

After

\* To the lenity of general Dundas on the Curragh, or what is commonly called his capitulation, the dreadful state of the county of Kildare, and the adjacent counties, is to be imputed; and it is to be lamented, that wide-extended mercy has produced the same effect in every part of the kingdom, wherever it has taken place.



After Sullivan's having given information was become publick, Mr. Fitzgerald mentioned, that the persons who burned the chapel, were Drill, Willock and a Cork soldier; on the report reaching captain Rawson, he had the two yeomen arrested and committed to the guard-house.

A long range of stables in the possession of Mrs. Dooley, a publican, were converted into a temporary chapel; and in three weeks after the first burning, these were set fire to at nine o'clock at night; the military and yeomanry instantly assembled, and by great exertions got the fire under, without the interference or assistance of any papists, except two servants, and two only of the Roman catholick inhabitants of the town. Captain Rawson then applied to Mrs. Dooley to send her hostlers, lest the high wind should again fan up the flames; but she positively refused, saying, that her men (poor fellows) were tired, having had two gentlemen's horses to do up; and that they were gone to bed, and she would not disturb them; and with much difficulty she was prevailed on to lend some vessels, to put water on the yet-burning straw; after doing every thing possible, the military and yeomanry were dismissed; and about one o'clock at night the fire again broke out and consumed the whole of the building.

On the following day a number of gentlemen met at the sovereign's, and Mr. Fitzgerald came there; Drill and Willock were brought in custody, and no charge being brought against them by Mr. Fitzgerald, or any other person, they were discharged: They have brought actions for defamation.

Captain Rawson felt much for the distress of the reverend Mr. Keegan, the parish priest, a man of most exemplary conduct; and offered him the use of a large house he had lately purchased near the town, for a temporary chapel: He accepted the offer, and the house was prepared accordingly. His good intentions were frustrated, as the rebellious had more influence than their worthy pastor, and not one man would attend him in the house of a heretick. Such is the force of fanaticism!

*The Affidavit of Thomas Davis, of Prosperous.*

*County of the city of Dublin,* } THE examination of Mr. Thomas Davis, late of  
*to wit.* } Prosperous in the county of Kildare, who being duly  
 \_\_\_\_\_ } sworn on the Holy Evangelists, maketh oath and faith,  
 That for many nights previous to the night of the twenty-third of May last, this examinant and his family were very much alarmed, lest they should be attacked by the rebels, commonly called united Irishmen; that examinant thought that he and his family were in some degree secure by the arrival of detachments of the Ancient Britons and the North Cork militia; that however, examinant still continued to be alarmed, as his house was at a considerable distance from the barracks; examinant saith, that he was awakened about the hour of one o'clock in the forenoon, by the barking of a large dog he had; and some time after he was alarmed by the firing of some shots. Examinant saith, that on looking out of his window, he perceived a great body of people, armed with pikes and fire arms, between whom and the soldiers in the barracks, a constant firing was maintained; that as the balls passed by this examinant's house, (and one of them close to his head), he withdrew, and let down the window; that soon after examinant saw the barracks on fire, and heard the soldiers exclaim, "The house is on fire, we shall be burned or suffocated: We can fight no longer!" That soon after examinant saw the roof of said barrack fall in. Examinant saith, that the said rebels, whose numbers had increased so much as to fill the streets of Prosperous aforesaid, and to cover the adjacent fields, on the falling in of the roof of said barrack, gave many shouts, which seemed to rend the skies, and made this

examinant and his family, thrill with horror; that the said rebels exclaimed, that the day was their own, and they would then plant the tree of liberty. Examinant saith, that the said rebels knocked at his door, and desired to have it opened, expecting to find there a party of foldiers, who had been billeted there a short time before, and Mr. Stamer, who had lodged therein when he went there to receive his rents, as part of the town of Prosperous aforesaid belonged to the said Stamer. Examinant saith, that as the said rebels approached his house in a large body, six of them preceded the rest, mounted on some of the horses which they had taken that morning from the Ancient Britons at Prosperous aforesaid; that examinant, as soon as he came out of his door, was surrounded by a party of the said rebels, who presented their pikes at him, and who he expected, from the ferocity of their looks, would have instantly put him to death; that one of said rebels held a musket at examinant's breast, with his finger on the trigger; that another of the said rebels, who was a turf cutter, held a drawn sword over examinant's head; and examinant verily believes they would have instantly put him to death, but a young man in the crowd, who seemed to have some influence, interposed, beat down the musket which was presented at his breast, and said, they should not kill him. Examinant saith, that he knew many of the said rebels to whom he and his family had been very kind; that soon after the said rebels went in quest of the said Stamer, who lodged at some distance from the said town; that having seized him, the said Stamer, they led him through the street, by examinant's house, surrounded by a number of pikemen, while a low fellow held a pistol at his head. Examinant saith, that as he passed by the house of examinant, he, the said Stamer, cast a melancholy farewell look at examinant and his family; that soon after the said rebels massacred the said Stamer. Examinant saith, that soon after he went out, with an intention of enquiring for his friend Mr. Norris, an inhabitant of Prosperous aforesaid, and that before examinant had gone far he was again surrounded by the said rebels, who, he verily believes, would have put him to death but for the interference of the person who had saved him before. Examinant saith, he discovered soon after that Mr. Brewer, a respectable manufacturer of said town, who had employed many of the said rebels, had been massacred by them, and that his body had been mangled with savage barbarity. Examinant saith, that they also massacred a poor old man, of the age of seventy years, and upwards, who served as a serjeant in his majesty's forces, having considered him as an orangeman, though examinant is convinced in his mind that the only reason why the said rebels murdered the said serjeant was his being a protestant. Examinant saith, that when the said rebels had committed the said barbarities, they exclaimed with savage joy, "Where are the hereticks now? Shew us the face of an orangeman!" Examinant saith, that many women who were acting with the said rebels, used expressions of that tenor, as often and as loud as the men; and that some old women who were amongst them, seemed to brighten up on the occasion, and to shew as much fervent joy as the youngest amongst them: That some of the said women kissed and congratulated their fathers, their husbands, or their brothers, on the victory they gained, and exclaimed with joy, "The kingdom is our own, for Dublin and Naas have been taken, and are in possession of our friends—down with the hereticks! down with the orangemen!" Examinant saith that many of the wretches who had been actors in the bloody scene, had come into the town of Prosperous aforesaid the preceding day, and in the presence of captain Swayne, of the city of Cork militia, (whom, with a party of his regiment, they had massacred that morning, viz. the twenty-fourth of May,) and also in the presence of their parish priest, of the name of Higgins, had declared their contrition for their past errors,

errors, and gave the strongest assurance of their loyalty in future; that many of the said rebels surrendered their pikes to the said Swaync; and as such surrender was considered as a test of their repentance, and as necessary to entitle them to a written protection, numbers of them lamented that they could not obtain such protection, as they never had a pike; and that many of them declared, they would sell their cow to purchase a pike, if they knew where it could be bought. Examinant saith, that notwithstanding these declarations, many of the said rebels appeared in the rebel ranks, well armed with pikes. Examinant saith he is convinced in his mind that the said rebels would have plundered and burned all the other loyal houses of Prosperous aforesaid, and would have murdered the remaining protestant inhabitants thereof, but that a patrolle of the Ancient Britons and the city of Cork militia, being a part of the detachment they had murdered that morning, unexpectedly approached the town; and that the said rebels on their appearance, fled towards the bogs and morasses. Examinant saith, he could not refrain from shedding tears at seeing such scenes of savage barbarity; and that a servant who continued faithful to him, desired him not to shew any signs of concern, lest he might draw on him the anger and vengeance of the rebels.

THOMAS DAVIS.

*Sworn before me the 16th of September 1798,*  
 THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

### No. XVI. 1.

*The following address to the inhabitants of the county of Wicklow was printed and generally distributed:*

WE, the magistrates of the county of Wicklow, after the most serious deliberation, the most correct information, and the most cautious delay, have at length considered it as our indispensable duty to have recourse to the strong measure of proclaiming the county to be in a state of disturbance, as the only means to crush the seeds of rebellion, to repress outrage, and to protect innocence.

It is with extreme reluctance that we find ourselves thus compelled to impose a temporary restraint, in some particulars, on the freedom of the inhabitants: But this restraint will cease with the occasion; and will, by preventing its abuse, serve the cause of real liberty. The impartial judgment of the publick, when the present ferment shall be sufficiently subsided to permit calm and dispassionate reflection, will bear testimony to the moderation of our conduct—and we appeal to the Searcher of Hearts for the purity of our intentions.

During the course of several months, we have held repeated meetings; at which we received too certain proofs that a spirit of disaffection had been diffused through the county, that seditious meetings were held, and illegal arms concealed. We held out repeated warnings, that unless those arms were surrendered to the magistrates, and those seditious practices desisted from, it would be incumbent on us to pursue measures of rigour. The event has not been such as we had reason to expect; the same disloyal conduct has been continued, with the addition of many atrocious instances of violence and outrage. While any hope remained that these outrages were casual and local, and not the effects of a systematick plan of plunder and insurrection, we hesitated—we endeavoured to conciliate—we deferred perhaps beyond the bounds of propriety this act of necessary severity: We are now called upon by every motive of prudence and duty to adopt it; and having adopted, we shall vigorously and steadily support it.

But while the arm of justice is thus strengthened, let it be remembered, that it is only strengthened to crush the traitor, to punish the assassin, to restrain the plunderer.

In



In no point are the rights of the peaceful and honest man infringed: No person can fall under the censure of the insurrection laws, or feel their vengeance, but such as disturb the peace of the publick; such as conspire the destruction of the innocent; and such as, forgetting their sacred duty to the country that gave them birth, endeavour to entail on it all the miseries of civil war, of foreign invasion, of desolation and massacre; and to prostrate its honour and independence at the feet of an insolent enemy, who have treated with equal tyranny the countries they have conquered, and the countries they have seduced.

Let us therefore implore you by every thing sacred, as you respect religion, as you regard your unhappy country, as you value your domestic happiness, awake, ere yet too late, from this fatal delusion; withdraw from this infamous conspiracy; prove your repentance by surrendering illegal arms, and refraining from seditious meetings: Act thus, and fear not the laws; re-establish the character this country has, until lately, sustained for probity, virtue, and order; and behold in us your friends and protectors; who, on your returning sense of loyalty, will lose all memory of your temporary errors, and will, with the sincerest joy, restore you again to the full enjoyment of that glorious and inimitable constitution which has rendered these kingdoms the admiration of the world; whose inestimable value, by those who possess the blessing, is too often not justly appreciated; but which, if lost for ever, would for ever be regretted, with deep and fruitless sorrow.

Resolved, that we admire and-highly approve of the spirited manner in which Abraham Chritchley, of Ballyboy, esquire, and his family, repelled the attack of traitors upon his house and property, on Sunday the twenty-fifth of March last; and we do hereby pledge ourselves to him, and to each other, to give the most decided assistance and support to him and to all other persons of every persuasion and description whatsoever, upon whom similar outrages may be attempted.

Resolved, that the thanks of this meeting be, and are hereby given to the reverend Edward Bayly, for the very spirited and loyal address proposed by him to the meeting this day.

Lord Powerscourt, having quitted the chair, and William Hoey, esquire, being voted into it:—

Resolved, that the thanks of this meeting be, and are hereby given to the right honourable lord Viscount Powerscourt, for his very polite and attentive conduct in the chair.

*Signed by order,*  
JAMES McCLATCHY, *clerk of the peace.*

*April 3d, 1798.*

2.

*County of Wicklow,*  
*to wit.*

THE information of Terence Kinselagh of Coolahullen, who being duly sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, That he was sworn a united Irishman—oath of secrecy—about twelve months ago, by William Darcy of Kilniner, labourer; that he understood the purpose of the united Irishmen was to rise in rebellion against the king and government; and that it was their intention to destroy all persons who were not of their own religion of popery; that for that purpose a number of pikes were made; and that he saw pikes in the shop of William Hopkins of Ballycoog, and that he has heard that John Doyle of Ballykillayver did also make several; and that to the best of his belief there were pikes made for the following town lands, Killahurler, Athhinck, Newtown, Ballyfad, Killnener,

Killnener, Croghan, Glinoge; and that the number, as well as he can judge, amounted to three or four hundred.

TERENCE KINSELAGH.

*Sworn before me the 28th Day of August 1798,*  
EDWARD BAYLY.

Informant bound to prosecute at the next and every ensuing Assizes, until discharged, in the sum of 50l.

3.

COUNTY WICKLOW.

*Publick Notice for surrender of arms.*

WHEREAS a large body of troops have been ordered into this county for the purpose of protecting the well-affected inhabitants, and suppressing the seditious and treasonable spirit which has of late disgraced the character of this once-loyal and industrious county, and which has manifested itself in various acts of assassination, robbery and outrage; and as it is well known that arms, pikes, and other weapons are concealed in considerable quantities for the purposes of insurrection and rebellion, and that notwithstanding repeated and earnest admonitions from the magistrates to the people, those arms have been, and still are contumaciously retained, and no appearance has been hitherto manifested of a returning sense of duty:

Lieutenant-general Craig, commanding the eastern district, previous to carrying into execution his orders for coercion, and before the calamities which will attend the obstinately disaffected, who are well known, are actually inflicted, considers it to be his duty, as well as an act of humanity, to give this publick notice, that he has it in command to assure those wicked and deluded people, if they do not immediately surrender at some of the following depôts, Bray, Newtown-mount-kennedy, Wicklow, Arklow, Coolatin, Rathdrum, Hacketstown, Baltinglass, Dunlavin and Blessington, or to the magistrates or officers commanding the troops in their vicinity, all fire-arms, swords, bayonets, pikes, or pike-shafts, old scythes and spears, and every other offensive weapon, that they must expect to be treated with the utmost severity.

It is his sincere wish that he may not be compelled to have recourse to such rigorous measures, but by a *timely surrender of their arms, which can alone denote their real repentance and determination to return to their former peaceable demeanour and habits of industry.* Those that act so may rest assured of protection, both from the magistrates and officers commanding the several detachments, who are hereby required to use their utmost diligence to prevent the well-affected, or such as sincerely return to their allegiance, from suffering in person or property the smallest injury.

Such as neglect or despise this publick and final warning can have no excuse to offer, and on themselves and families must rest the consequences.

PETER CRAIG, *lieutenant-general,*  
*commanding the eastern district.*

*Dated this 11th of May 1798.*

## 4.

*A list of protestants massacred in the county of Wicklow during the rebellion, and an account of some of the outrages committed therein. The number on the left hand indicates where the affidavits of the sufferers or their representatives are registered in the archives of the house of commons. Each affidavit was verified by the sufferer and the parish minister, upon oath, and attested by a neighbouring magistrate. It is mentioned where persons were killed in battle fighting against the rebels.*

No. THE reverend Christopher Robinson, curate of Stratford on Slaney, narrowly escaped from the rebels, the twenty-fourth of May 1798; one Patrick  
4 Lee, a rebel, snapped a pistol four times at him. His house and all his property were destroyed, by which he, his wife and seven children, were reduced to the utmost distress.

*Sworn before alderman Manders of the city of Dublin, 9th July 1798.*

202 The houses and property of forty-nine persons were burned by the rebels at  
to 250 Arklow the 9th of June.

404 Hannah Wallis swore that her husband, who was parish clerk of Ballyhack church, was murdered by the rebels.

418 Judith Frayne swore that her husband, who lived in the parish of Castle Ellis, was murdered by them.

799 Ann Cahoe swore that her husband was murdered, who lived in the parish of Killtegan, and left two children.

Mary Saunders swore that her husband was murdered the 25th June, and left two children, of the same parish.

805 Margaret Ellison swore that her husband was killed the 25th of June, lived at Hacketstown, and left four children.

1332 Sarah Frece, of Stoops, swore that her husband was murdered the 17th of June at Vinegar-hill, belonged to the parish of Carnew, and left four children.

1411 Eliza Foley swore that her husband was murdered the 25th of June, and left one child; he was of the parish of Carnew.

1412 Ann Jackson, of Graige, was murdered the 25th of June.

1533 Eliza Freeman swore that her husband was murdered at Denoflory, and left two children; he was of the parish of Denoflory.

1635 Jane Carleton, of Kilguagan, swore that her husband was taken from his house and murdered the 2d July, and left one child; he was of the parish of Aghald.

1679 Mary Waddock, of Tomriland, swore that her husband was murdered the 14th of June with much cruelty.

1731 Susannah Gore, of Marigar, swore that her husband was murdered, and left two children; he was of the parish of Tomriland.

1736 Mary Twamly, of Rossinastraw, swore that her husband was murdered, and left eight children.

1748 Eliza Bolton, of Rathdrum, swore that her husband, a weaver, was killed there, and left one child; he was of the parish of Clara.

1827 Eliza Mitchell swore that her husband was murdered the 16th of September at Carnew, and left four children; he was of the parish of Carnew.

John Hope, yeoman, taken the 10th of June, brought to Vinegar-hill and piked; was of the parish of Carnew.

John Brady, do. do. do. of do.

John



John Forster, piked the Sunday before the battle of Vinegar-hill, at Tinahely, was of the parish of do.

John Walker, shot and piked the day after do. at Slirule, was of the parish of do.

Thomas Braddel, piked at Monaseed, parish of do.

Joshua Scott, do. at do. do.

Matthew Dowse, of Ballynabarny, parish of Kilpipe, was killed near do.

On the second of July, killed at the battle of Ballyrahin, captain Chamney, his nephew Joseph Chamney of Ballyrahin, captain Nixon of Nurney, James Twamley of do. Christopher Twamley of do. Michael Leonard of do. and James Bardon of do. in the parish of Coolkenney; all protestants.

Taken from Coolkenno town the same day and piked, in cold blood, George Davison, Joseph and William Halfpenny, Thomas Charlton, and also William Mires of Crownalay. The same day William Watters and John Restly of Coolatin, parish of Carnew, were piked. The same day George Driver, William Rice and Anneley Green of Tinahely, parish of Kilcomen, were piked; all protestants.

The same day, James Smith, and John Waters of Cross Patrick, were piked.

John Waddock, a papist, was taken out of his bed and murdered, for having seized a rebel with a pistol in his hand, returning from the battle of Newtownmount-kennedy.

John Beaghan was murdered in cold blood, parish of Tomriland.

Mr. Robert Freeman, sen. do. do.

John Burbridge do. do.

Henry Marks do. do.

John Mafon do. of Raheen.

John Langrel do. of Cappagh.

Samuel Langrel do. of Ballynabarny.

William Carter do. of Ballintornhigh.

Thomas Hatton was murdered while attending his farm at Tomriland.

Joseph Ellison, } They were three supplementary yeomen, and, having gone into  
John Bolton, } the mountains to assist Mr. Critchley in collecting cattle, they fell  
John Goggin, } into the hands of the rebels, who put them to death with extreme  
torture with pikes.

Edward Dockrell, of the parish of Glanely, was piked to death, with extreme torture.

John Wheeler, and Samuel Wheeler, his son, were taken from their looms at Mr. Allen's woollen manufactory, which they destroyed, in the parish of Greenane, and were carried to Glenmalure, where they were mangled with pikes in a most shocking manner; the father received sixty pike wounds.

Michael Twamley, of Coolafaney, and George Heppenstal of Rosnastraw, were taken off several miles and piked to death.

Moore and Christopher Kavanagh of Mt. Pleasant, carried to Ballymanus and piked to death.

Peter Twamley, of Coolkenno, was piked to death.

Peter Twamley, of Crownaleagli, do.

Roger Pierce, of Ballythomas, do.

Edward Hopkins, of Currindog, do.

Thomas Bryan, } Taken from their houses in the evening and butchered, two  
Joseph Bryan, } brothers and a son, of Ballyknockan.  
James Bryan, }

[K]

Joseph

Joseph Tate, of Coolflake, piked to death.

Christopher Cooper, of Newbridge, do.

John Leefon, of Ballyteskin, do.

Edward Keegan, yeoman in Mr. Beauman's corps, two of Homspeech's dragoons taken in Glénmalure, and two commissary generals drivers taken at Killballyowen, and killed at Aughavanagh.

J. Halfpenny, of Coolkenno, was piked to death.

On the 6th of October three men of the name of Hall, a son and two brothers, of the Castletown corps of yeomanry, were murdered near Wicklow.

In the same month, two farmers, of the names of Stewart and Synnott were murdered near Hacketstown.

One Cooke was murdered at Hollymount the same month. George Carr was murdered the 28th of June at Loughpark. Lawrence and John Farren, two papists, entered the house of William Moody at Coolabeg, county of Wicklow, the 29th of September 1798, and ravished Anne his wife, one after the other, one held her for the other; and they said, "We will sow croppies in you, you heretick bitch!" She had seven children near her while they perpetrated this barbarous act, for which they were afterwards hanged.

A protestant child of four years old was put to death at Tinnebawn, on the borders of the county of Wexford. All the houses of the middle and lower class of protestants, with very few exceptions, were burnt in the county of Wicklow, and the mansion houses of the gentlemen suffered the same fate, except such whose proprietors could afford to keep a guard in them.

A proclamation, containing denunciations against the government and against hereticks, was circulated in the parish of Rathdrum and county of Wicklow, in the Spring of 1798, and begins thus; it was the production of a popish school-master who was a secretary among the united Irishmen:

*A Notice and Caution to the Publick.*

"WHEREAS we, the united loyal subjects of different counties to liberty, are credibly informed that the orangemen and hereticks in general of the parish of Rathdrum and county of Wicklow, and other parts, by the authority of their diabolical government and their own infernal institution, are circulating through different parts of these counties, a proclamation for all united Irishmen of every persuasion whatsoever, and croppies in general, to bring in all their guns, pikes, and arms of all sorts, and to discover all in general one of another, who made them united Irishmen," &c. &c.

This alludes to the manifestoes issued by the magistrates, offering the most conciliating terms to the disaffected, inviting them to return to their allegiance, and offering them a full pardon if they complied with them.

County of Wicklow, } THE informations of Joseph and John Thomson, of  
to wit.. } Roundwood in said county, yeomen, father and son, who,  
\_\_\_\_\_ } being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, say, That shortly after the patron of the Seven Churches, in June 1798, they were taken prisoners by the rebels, and after some time they were brought to the Seven Churches and kept prisoners in an old yard. When the Wexford Rebels joined those of the county of Wicklow, they asked them, what they, the informants, and the other prisoners were? They received for answer, that they were bloody orangemen. The Wexford men said, why are you keeping them there, they should die? They were then driven by a mob of the rebels to the butt of the steeple; they surrounded them, and made them

them kneel down and were going to pike them, when some of the rebels cried out, that, as they were protestants, their blood should not be spilled on that blessed ground; they were then taken to another part of the Seven Churches, again put on their knees and surrounded, first having been stripped of their shoes, hats, and clothes; and again some of the rebels cried out that it was blessed ground, and no protestant blood should be spilled there, and that they should be taken to the mountains, there to be piked; that some of them, so far interfered in their behalf with the officers, that at last their lives were spared on condition of their joining the rebels, which they did, till they had an opportunity of escaping.

JOSEPH THOMSON.  
JOHN THOMSON.

*Taken and sworn before me, this 20th of June, 1799,*

WILLIAM COLTHURST.

Though numbers of the rebels had fallen by the sword and the gibbet in the province of Leinster, a spirit of disloyalty continued for many months after to be as great and universal as it was previous to the eruption of the rebellion, particularly in the county of Wicklow.

It appeared on the trial of Joseph Reilly and David Condron, by court martial, the twenty-eighth of March, 1799, that they attempted to seduce and attach to their cause some soldiers of the Fermanagh regiment; and that they formed a conspiracy to murder William Booth, a protestant, and his family, and to burn his house and offices. The soldiers pretended that they were Roman catholicks, to gain the confidence of the rebels. They desired the soldiers to go to maraud at Booth's house; and that he would entertain them if they said they were protestants. Condron declared to one of the soldiers, that no person would be allowed to live in the country contiguous to Roundwood, that was not a true brother.\* He declared that they were well furnished with arms; that they were to have taken Enniskerry, and expected to be joined by the King's county militia.

On the trial of Charles Doyle, at Wicklow, the twenty-second of March, 1799, it appeared on the evidence of John Harrison and Arthur Cooper, two soldiers of the Fermanagh regiment, that they supposed them to belong to the King's county regiment, and therefore considered them as friends. Doyle asked Harrison, whether he was a true catholick? and on being answered in the affirmative, he said, "God help the poor catholicks of Ireland! if it was not for the militia raised there, not one of them would be alive at this time." He also said, what do you think of the French fleet that were seen off the coast? They are to land, not as they did before, but in two or three places, which will give all the true brethren in the kingdom an opportunity of joining their friends. He said, that they were all true brothers in the Glyn, in which they lived, except Booth, who was a bloody orangeman. He desired him to meet him again on a particular day; and that he would procure for him from his delegate a list of the members of his corps; and he requested that he would bring a list of true brothers in his regiment, that he might return it to his delegate. He told him that they were soon to have a grand meeting of brethren in the Glyn, to inspect all their arms, and see whether they were fit for

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\* It appears that the words true brother were used by captain Sharkey of the defenders, in the prospectus found on him in the year 1789. See Appendix, No. II.



an engagement. He said, that they had delegates at that time employed in collecting money for the cause at Clonard, in the county of Meath, and at Carbery, in the county of Kildare. He told Harrison, that if he would desert from his regiment, he should have the rank of captain among the brethren. He also said, that the business would be ready for a rising on the sixteenth or twentieth of April; and that they would be joined by some friends from Dublin, and the King's county; that in order to be made a captain, he must assist in murdering Mr. Colthurst, because he was active in taking up pikes. He said, he had a pike hid in the hill, the head of which, covered with bacon, lest it should rust, was concealed in one place, and the handle or shaft in another.

In the month of April, 1799, five soldiers of the Fermanagh regiment were tried at Wicklow, for having conspired to murder their officers, of which three were sentenced to be hanged, and two to be transported. These unfortunate men fell a prey to the delusive arts of seduction, too often successfully practised on the king's troops.\*

Early in the month of June, 1798, the rebels attacked and entered the town of Blessington, and burned the mansion of the marquis of Downshire, which, with the furniture, was valued at 12,000*l.* and many good houses belonging to Mr. Patrickson. A few days after they burned or destroyed every good house in it, except the post-office, and Mrs. Farley's. In short, they burned and destroyed not only the houses of the protestant gentry, but those of the inferior class of that order, and carried off all their cattle for some miles round Blessington; and the army and the yeomanry retaliated by burning the houses of those who were notoriously disaffected, and had joined the rebels. The rebels burned also the house of the earl Fitzwilliam, who has a very large estate in the county of Wicklow, and whose great generosity and benevolence to his numerous tenantry are universally known.

After the rebellion had existed some time, and had spread universal desolation in that country, the marquis of Waterford repaired to his beautiful mansion at Hollywood, and, with his usual humanity and benevolence, announced that he would rebuild all the houses of the lower class of people which had been burned or destroyed, provided they would return to their allegiance, and accept the amnesty humanely offered to them by government; but instead of being touched with gratitude by his generous offer, they burned his house on the thirteenth of September.

John Mulligan, of Paddock, in said county, deposed, the twenty-first of May, 1798, before lord Powercourt, lord Monck, and John Edwards, esquire, that on the night when the report was spread that the orangemen were out to murder the Roman catholics, he was met and informed by George Coleman of the Long-hill, that the orangemen were to massacre all the Roman catholics; and that he should not get intelligence of it, unless he was sworn an united Irishman, and that he was accordingly sworn by the said Coleman, to whom he gave soon after 6*d.* to buy iron to make a pike head. The said Coleman, and others, cut some ash trees on lord Monck's land to make pike handles; and said, that they expected the French would land and gain the battle; and then that they would have their lands cheap.

Roger Coleman, of Ballyteikin, in said county, swore before the said magistrates the twenty-first of May, 1798, that in the month of November he met one Bushe, a school-master, on the commons of the Long-hill, and supposing him to be a united Irishman, asked him to swear him into that society, because he was informed, and believed, that the French would come, and that his life would be in danger unless he was sworn.

William

\* The great numbers of the popish militia and yeomen who were disaffected, and the great susceptibility in that order of being seduced, demands the serious consideration of the Imperial government.

William Kelly of Killcrouney, in said county, deposed before lord Monck, that he was sworn an united Irishman by one Burke, a schoolmaster, for the same reason; sworn the twenty-fourth of May.

Garret Quin, farmer, of Glenene, deposed before lords Powerscourt and Monck, the twenty-fifth of May, 1798, that he was sworn an united Irishman by one Kelly, a cabinet-maker; and that Charles Gallagher told informant, that they were to assist the French when they landed, and to fight for Ireland against king George.

*County of Wicklow,*  
*to wit.* } ISAAC HARRISON, of Ballinagee, this day came before me,  
\_\_\_\_\_ } and made oath on the Holy Evangelists, That about three weeks  
ago Daniel Lamb, of Ballinagee aforesaid, in the county of Wick-  
low, informed him, that a letter had been received from one Byrne, now imprisoned  
in Dublin, that the French were expected every day, but certainly not later than  
the last day of May, instant; that, as soon as they arrive, it is intended to murder  
lord Powerscourt, lord Monck, Mr. Quin, Mr. Colthurst, and such gentlemen in  
the neighbourhood; and farther said Isaac Harrison has heard, and does believe,  
that Daniel Lamb and many more united Irishmen, being apprehensive that infor-  
mation has been given against them, intend to rise and massacre all well-affected  
persons in the neighbourhood, either this day or to-morrow.

*Sworn before me, May 5th, 1798,*  
MONCK.

his  
ISSAC + HARRISON,  
mark.

*Witness present,*  
E. QUIN.

*State of the archdiocese of Dublin, in the autumn and winter of 1798.*

- 1 VICARAGE of Killfallaghan, three miles from Finglafs: Mr. Collis, the vicar, was obliged to abandon his parish and to retire to Dublin through fear of the rebels, who broke into his house, and plundered it; most of his protestant parishioners were obliged to fly to Dublin to save their lives.
- 2 Vicarage of Garretstown: Hector Monroe, vicar, was obliged to fly to save his life; and all his protestant parishioners were obliged to abandon their houses for the same purpose.
- 3 Parish of Clonmethan: Lord Strangford, rector, Galbraith Fenton, curate, most of the protestant parishioners obliged to fly.
- 4 Vicarage of Hollywood: John Echlin, Vicar; all the protestants but one obliged to fly for their lives.
- 5 Vicarage of Lusk: Philip Ryan, vicar; all the parishioners obliged to fly.  
N. B. All the above are in Fingall, and the most remote is not more than sixteen miles from Dublin.
- 6 Parish of Hollywood: William Porter, rector; all the houses in the town burned by the rebels; the church converted into a barrack; the glebe house much damaged; all the protestant parishioners, except one, obliged to fly.
- 7 Vicarage of Donard: Arthur Conolly, vicar, his house and all his property destroyed; and many protestant parishioners obliged to fly from their houses.

8 Vicarage

- 8 Vicarage of Donoghmore : Doctor Edward Ryan, vicar ; some of the protestant parishioners murdered, the remainder obliged to fly ; the houses of most of them burned ; no service in the church for seven months.
- 9 Vicarage of Blessington : Hill Benson, Vicar ; the church greatly damaged by the rebels ; most of the protestant parishioners obliged to fly.
- 10 Vicarage of Narraghmore : Reverend dean Keatinge, vicar ; obliged to fly and reside in Dublin ; glebe house much injured by the rebels ; many of the protestant parishioners murdered ; the remainder obliged to fly to preserve their lives.
- 11 Rectory of Fonthown : Walter Baggot, rector ; the church almost destroyed ; one-half of the protestant parishioners murdered by the rebels ; the rest obliged to fly for their lives.

*A song of the united Irishmen.*

ROUSE, Hibernians, from your slumbers !  
 See the moment just arrived,  
 Imperious tyrants for to humble,  
 Our French brethren are at Hand.  
     Vive la, united heroes,  
     Triumphant always may they be,  
     Vive la, our gallant brethren,  
     That have come to set us free.

Erin's sons, be not fainthearted,  
 Welcome, sing then Ca Ira,  
 From Killala they are marching,  
 To the tune of Vive la.  
     Vive la, united heroes, &c. &c.

To arms quickly, and be ready,  
 Join the ranks and never flee,  
 Determined stand by one another,  
 And from tyrants you'll be free.  
     Vive la, united heroes, &c. &c.

Cruel tyrants who oppressed you,  
 Now with terror see their fall !  
 Then bless the heroes who care for you,  
 The orange now goes to the wall.  
     Vive la, united heroes, &c. &c.

Apostate orange, why so dull now ?  
 Self-willed slaves, why do you frown ?  
 Sure you might know how Irish freemen  
 Soon would put your orange down.  
     Vive la, united heroes,  
     Triumphant always may they be,  
     Vive la, our gallant brethren,  
     That have come to set us free.

This was found on the mother of Dogherty, an united Irishman, who was killed by Woollaghan at Delgany, in the county of Wicklow in autumn 1798. She was seen to throw it out of her pocket, yet she swore she never saw it.\*

\* By means of songs the passions of the multitude were very much raised.



*A copy of a letter addressed to the earl of Mountnorris, by the undernamed parish priests and their flocks; and signed by them at their respective chapels in the county of Wexford.*

November 26th, 1797.

WE the parishioners of having heard with astonishment and concern  
the very extraordinary result of the meeting at Gorey, the twentieth of this month,  
beg leave to assure your lordship, that we are unconscious of having incurred the  
stigma so ungenerously thrown upon us, of disloyalty and disaffection; we therefore  
appeal to your lordship, as our neighbour, as a magistrate, and as a friend to humanity,  
to receive our oaths of allegiance, and to assure his excellency the earl of Camden,  
that we are as firmly attached to the constitution as any other members of the com-  
munity, whatever our enemies may insinuate to the contrary.

We further entreat your lordship's interference with government to avert a compliance with the prayer of the memorial,\* agreed to on Monday last, as being unsupported by evidence, and therefore ill founded.

A striking proof of the tranquillity of this peaceable country appeared at the convention at Enniscorthy, when, after the strictest investigation, there were not the slightest grounds for any parish in this district being proclaimed.

Allow us to ask your lordship, Whether any act of outrage has been committed to justify or palliate so cruel a measure? Should your lordship's exertions prove abortive, we mean to beg of you, as one of our governors, to call a meeting of the county; and we trust that the sense of that meeting will evince how unwarrantably we have been pointed out as profelytes to defenderism, for the congregate body will always protect the individual's good name, which is as dear to him as his life. Before we take leave of your lordship, we humbly request you will accept of our tribute of gratitude for your opposition to the determination of the twentieth; and you will add to the obligation by conveying our acknowledgments to the seven other magistrates who so liberally stepped forward to justify us from an imputation which we reprobate as unprovoked and unmerited.

In consequence of this, lord Mountnorris, and some more magistrates at his desire, attended those priests at their respective chapels, and swore the oath (given in the next page) on the altar :

Union of Blackwater, Killina, and three more parishes—Nicholas Redmond, parish priest.

Millina—Nicholas Synnott, parish priest.

Union of Rosmanogue and two more—Francis Kavenagh, parish priest.

Kilcormuck, (the chapel is at Boulavogue)—John Murphy, curate, a rebel general, who was hanged at Tullow.

Killina—Nicholas Redmond, parish priest.

Monomoling—Michael Lacy, parish priest.

Castle-ellis contains the following chapels, Blackwater, Killila, Ballivaloe and Ballivalden—David Cullen, parish priest.

Ballycanew

\* This alludes to a memorial sent to government to have nineteen disaffected parishes, comprehending many Unions, proclaimed: and those priests and their congregations addressed his lordship to avert that measure, though these parishes were at that time deeply engaged in the conspiracy.

Ballycanew—Michael Murphy, a rebel general, shot at the battle of Arklow.

Kilmuckridge and Killincooley—Michael Lacy.

Clogh—Francis Kavenagh, parish priest; John Redmond, his curate, a noted rebel, was hanged.

Ardemin, called the River chapel—Nicholas Redmond, parish priest; Nicholas Stafford, his curate, a notorious traitor.

Gorey and Kiliinahew—Francis Kavenagh, parish priest.

Kilbride and Ferns—Edmond Redmond.

Donamore and Kiltirisk—Nicholas Redmond.

Balwaldin and Blackwater—David Cullen.

*N. B.* The Roman catholic bishops made subdivisions of the parishes, and they are denominated from the place where the chapels stand.

*A copy of an oath, sworn by nineteen priests and their congregations, comprehending many Unions, in the county of Wexford, before lord Mountnorris and other Magistrates, in the month of November 1797.*

I DO sincerely promise and swear, upon the Holy Evangelists, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his majesty king George the third, and to the succession of his illustrious family to the throne. That I will, to the utmost of my power, support the constitution as by law established. That I will use every possible exertion to prevent and suppress all tumult, riot or secret conspiracy. That I am not an united Irishman, and that I never will take the oaths of the united men. That I will give up all kinds of arms, or offensive or defensive weapons, in my possession, and that I will inform against any man keeping arms without being registered. All the above I most solemnly swear, in the presence of the Almighty, and as I hope to be saved, through the merits and mediation of my blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, without any equivocation or mental reservation whatsoever. So help me God.

*Copy of a certificate given by the protestant clergymen, church-wardens, and protestant parishioners, of different parishes, in the county of Wexford, of the loyalty and peaceable deportment of their Roman catholic fellow-subjects, at the instance of the latter, in the month of December 1797.*

WE, the minister, church-wardens and protestant parishioners of the parish of Kilcormuck, in the county of Wexford, do hereby solemnly declare, that we know of no disposition to turbulence or disloyalty now existing in any part of the said parish. We see the generality of the inhabitants of our parish as quiet and as industriously employed as in the most peaceful times. Given under our hands the third day of December 1797.\*

THOMAS HANDCOCK, *rector.*

It is remarkable that John Murphy, the popish curate of this parish, laid a plot to assassinate Mr. Handcock and his congregation, on Whitsunday, when in church, but very fortunately the breaking out of the rebellion prevented them from going to divine service.

*The*

\* This does not appear like cruelty or oppression in the protestants of Ireland, so basely and falsely imputed to them by traitors, to palliate their disaffection!

*The following address was presented to the viceroy, the eighteenth of April, 1798:*

*Parish of Killenerin, and barony of Gorey: signed by John Synnott, parish priest, &c. sir Thomas Esmond, of Ballynastra, baronet, Laurence Doyle, of Springhill, Laurence White, of Scarnagh, James Doyle, of Mayfield, and one thousand three hundred and sixty inhabitants of said parish. Dated Killenerin chapel, April the twelfth, 1798, and published in the Dublin Journal, the third of May, 1798.*

*To his excellency John Jeffries Pratt, earl Camden, lord lieutenant, and general governor of Ireland.*

WE, the Roman catholic inhabitants of the parish of Killenerin, in the barony of Gorey, and county of Wexford, do think it our duty to come forward at this crisis of internal disturbance, thus publickly to declare our unalterable attachment to his sacred majesty king George the third; and we do hereby declare, and in the most solemn manner pledge ourselves, to support with our lives, fortunes and influence, his majesty's happy government established amongst us, determined as we are to exert ourselves for the suppression of rebellion and sedition. And we do likewise solemnly pledge ourselves, should any person attempt to disseminate amongst us seditious or levelling principles, all of which we hold in the utmost abhorrence, that we will use our utmost endeavours in bringing such miscreants to condign punishment. And we do further assure all our protestant brethren, of our sincere affection for them, and our absolute determination to co-operate with them in every means in our power, for the support of this happy constitution, the suppression of rebellion, the welfare of his majesty's government, and in love and loyalty to his sacred person.

And we do request of the right honourable the earl of Mountnorris, and sir Thomas Esmond, baronet, to present these our declarations to his excellency the lord lieutenant.

*The following priests and their congregations adopted the same address:*

1. Castlebridge chapel, signed by Michael Redmond, parish priest, and one hundred and fifty Roman catholic parishioners.
2. Ballynamonaboy chapel, signed by Nicholas Synnott, parish priest, and above one hundred and sixty parishioners.
3. Ferns and the Union ditto, signed by Edward Redmond, parish priest, and others, for themselves and one thousand five hundred of the Union, by and with their consent.
4. Kilmallock ditto, signed by Redmond Rooke, parish priest, and above one hundred and seventy parishioners.
5. Gorey ditto, signed by Barnaby Murray, and others, for themselves and six hundred and forty-five other Roman catholicicks of the parish.
6. Kilcormick ditto, signed by John Murphy †, curate, for himself and seven hundred and fifty-seven of the inhabitants, at the chapel of Boulavogue, on Monday, April the ninth.
7. Tomb, Killincher, Rossmannogue, Clough and Ballyconeen, signed by Francis Kavenagh, parish priest of said union, for himself and eight hundred inhabitants.
8. Ballycanoe, signed by M. Murphy ‡, coadjutor priest, for himself and seven hundred and seventy-three parishioners.
9. Ardemine, signed by Nicholas Stafford, parish priest, and three hundred and sixty parishioners.

[L]

10. Donoghmore,

† He was a rebel general.

‡ He was killed heading the rebels at Arklow:



10. Donoghmore, signed by Nicholas Redmond, parish priest, for himself and congregation, consisting of five hundred and thirty.

11. Kilmuckridge, Killincooly, and half the parish of Monomolin, signed Michael Lacy, parish priest, and eight hundred and thirty-four persons of said parishes. Dated April the eighteenth, 1798, and published in the Dublin Journal of May the fifth.

A reward of one hundred guineas was offered by the parishes of Killenerin, Arklow, and Kilgorman (that is the Roman catholic inhabitants,) for the discovery of wicked and designing persons, who spread a report that all the different churches in the neighbourhood were to have been attacked on Sunday the twenty-ninth of April, and that a general assassination of their protestant brethren was to have taken place.

*Signed by*  
WILLIAM RYAN,  
*Parish priest of Arklow and Kilgorman.*

JOHN SINNOTT,  
*Parish priest of Killenerin.*

D. MURPHY,  
*Parish curate of ditto.*

Sir THOMAS ESMOND, *baronet.*

LAURENCE DOYLE, *and others.*

In this they assure their protestant brethren, that they wish to have no interest separate from theirs, &c.

## No. XVIII. 1.

*The diploma of the reverend father John Murphy.*

EGO doctor dominus Franciscus de Aquilar et Rivon, presbiter, Hispalensis doctor theologus, ejus regie universitatis portionarius atque prebendatus metropolitane ac patriarchalis ecclesie ipsiusmet civitatis, administratorque actualis hujus sancte domus hospitii venerabilium sacerdotum, pauperum atque infirmorum salutem, fidem facio dominum Johannem Murphy, presbiterum Hibernicum diocesis Fernensis, qui ad has partes studiorum causa transivit atque existit a die decimo tertio mensis Julii, anni millesimi septingentesimi octogessimi usque ad presens, in predicta domo vivere ac sustentari pie cum assistentia ad spiritualia exercitia, cum bono exemplo, ac obedientia; vacandoque, cum applicatione, ad studia philosophica ac theologica, majoris collegii divi Thomae Aquinatis ordinum predicatorum: Propter quod predictum dominum Johannem Murphy dignum ac idoneum existimamus ad sue patrie redditum, ut sacram missionem spiritualique officia adimplere possit; in quorum testimonium presentibus literis subscripsi die vigesimo nono Martii, anni millesimi septingentesimi octogessimi quinti Hispali.

Doctor Franciscus de Aquilar et Rivon.

*The*

*The Testimonium of the reverend father John Murphy, obtained in the university of Seville, in Spain.*

+

IN DEI NOMINE. AMEN.

NOS, infra scripti, rector, regens, ac collegiales cathedratici sacræ theologiæ, et artium almi majoris collegii, ac generalis studiorum scholæ publicæ, pontificiæ, cesaræ, ac regiæ sancti Thomæ Aquinatis, ordinis prædicatorum civitatis Hispalensis, notum facimus omnibus, ac singulis præsentibus literas inspecturis, D. Joannem Murphy, ex diœcesi Fernensi oriundum, in publicis scholis nostris philosophiæ cathedras tribus integris annis Melchione Canono, alæxove theologiæ attente, sollicitè, sineque notabili interruptione, audivisse; in quorum fidem hoc illi instrumentum sigillo parvo hujus nostri majoris collegii munitum damus, juridice denuntiati in supradictò majori collegio, die quinto mensis Martii, anni Domini millesimi septingentesimi octogessimi quinti.

*Signed by*  
F. FRANCISCUS DE LEON,  
*Rector ac theolog. moralis cathed.*

*And a number of others, whose names are now illegible.*

[SEAL.]

*Father John Murphy's Journal; found by Captain Hugh Moore.*

*Saturday-night, May 26, at 6 A. M. 1798.*

BEGAN the republick of Ireland in Boulavogue, in the county of Wexford, barony of Gorey and parish of Kilcormick, commanded by the reverend doctor Murphy, parish priest of the said parish, in the aforesaid parish, when all the protestants of that parish were disarmed, and amongst the aforesaid, a bigot, named Thomas Bookey, who lost his life by his rashness.

26. From thence came to Oulart, a country village adjoining, when the republick attacked a minister's house for arms, and was denied of, laid siege immediately to it, and killed him and all his forces; the same day burned his house and all the orangemen's houses in that and all the adjoining parishes in that part of the country.

The same day a part of the army, to the amount of one hundred and four of infantry and two troops of cavalry, attacked the republick on Oulart-hill, when the military were repulsed with the loss of one hundred and twelve men, and the republick four killed, and then went to a hill called Corrigrua, where the republick encamped that night, and from thence went to a town called Camolin, which was taken without resistance, and the same day took another town and *sate* of a bishop\*. At three in the afternoon, the same day, they laid siege to Enniscorthy, when they were opposed by an army of seven hundred men, then they were forced to set both ends of the town on fire, and then took the town in the space of one hour, and then encamped on a hill near the town, called Vinegar-hill, where they remained that night.

BRYAN BULGER,†  
DARBY MURPHY, his hand and pen, dated  
this 26th day of

[L 2]

Orangemen

\* It alludes to Ferns.

† This, it is supposed, was written by one Bulger, who attended father Murphy as aid-de-camp.

Orangemen are men that formed alliance to kill and destroy all the catholicks of this kingdom.

GARET LACEY.

28th. At three in the afternoon, which was Whitfun-monday, they marched towards Wexford, and encamped on a hill that night, called the mountain.

2.

*County of the city of Dublin,*  
*to wit.*

} THE examination of Samuel Whealey, of Dranay, in the parish of Kilcormuck, and county of Wexford, farmer, who, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, maketh oath and faith, That he, this examinant, received information from some of his friends and neighbours of the protestant religion, on the first day of May last, that there would be an insurrection of the united Irishmen on that night, at the hour of one o'clock, and that a signal would be given to them for that purpose, by the lighting of a fire on the top of mount Leinster \* in said county, which was to be answered by fires lighted on the highest hills in all the adjacent counties, as a signal for a general insurrection; that in consequence thereof he and his protestant neighbours were on their guard for many nights after, but that examinant could not perceive any such fire until Saturday evening the twenty-sixth day of May last, when about sun set examinant saw a fire kindled on an adjoining hill, called Corrigrua, † in said county, and that examinant saw a few minutes after another fire, on a rising ground, contiguous to the house of father John Murphy, of Boulavogue, in said county, and about a quarter of a mile from the house of examinant; and that soon after the said John Murphy, and some other men, repaired to the house of one William Goff, a near neighbour of examinant, and that the said John Murphy cried out aloud, " Pull him out ! Pull him out ! Have you got him ? " to which answer was made, " Aye, aye ; " and that soon after examinant saw the houses of John and Robert Webster, both protestants, ‡ in a state of conflagration, and which houses were set on fire by the said John Murphy and his party. Examinant saith, that said John Murphy, and his party, proceeded to a townland called Mullaunree, in said county, and set fire to the house of James Dennison, a protestant farmer, after having put him and his family to flight. That he and his family sat up all night, as the said John Murphy, and his party, were proceeding in their destructive progress; and that being very much alarmed and terrified, one of this examinant's sons, a private in the Ballaghkeene cavalry, repaired to captain White, who commanded said corps, to inform him thereof, and his other son went to Enniscorthy, to communicate intelligence thereof to the yeomanry and king's troops quartered there. That early on the morning of Whitfunday last, the said John Murphy, after having burnt many protestant houses in the neighbourhood, attacked that of the reverend Mr. Burrowes a protestant clergyman, and that soon after examinant saw the house of the said Mr. Burrowes on fire; that the said John Murphy proceeded in his destructive progress, burning the houses of protestants, until he arrived at the hill of Oulart, § in said county, where the said Murphy encamped, with a numerous body of rebels, and where he, the said Murphy, was joined by one Edward Roche of Garrylough, attended also by a considerable body of rebels. Examinant saith, that having been informed that the said rebels meant to burn his house on the night of Whitfunday, he, this examinant, ordered his family to take the furniture thereout, and which they accordingly

\* Plate II. 6.

† Plate II. 7.

‡ Of Garrybritt.

§ Plate III. 2.



cordingly did; that on the said night, as soon as it grew dark, the said rebels, headed by said John Murphy, and the said Edward Roche, went to the house of examinant, and burned the same; and that examinant lay concealed in a ditch, so close to the said house while burning, that examinant could with difficulty bear the heat thereof. Examinant saith, that the said rebels carried off, or destroyed the whole of examinant's furniture, except one bedtick; that a great number of rebels went the next day in quest of examinant, in order to put him to death, but that examinant lay concealed in ditches at Dranay aforesaid. That two or three days after the burning of his house, the two daughters of examinant dug a hole in the bawn of said house, and having laid some oak planks thereon, and having covered the same with straw, and afterwards with the ashes of his house so burned, examinant lay concealed in said hole for about the space of one month; and that examinant during that time was supplied by his wife and daughters with food, but in the night only, lest he should be discovered; examinant saith, that during his concealment, the rebels came often and examined the ruins of said house, and the fields and ditches in its vicinity, for examinant, declaring at the same time, that they would put him to death, and that the said rebels often said during their search, at one time that he was a bloody orangeman, though examinant saith he never saw an orangeman, nor knew what they meant by that appellation, except that examinant has been universally informed that they meant a protestant by the word orangeman. That one day that the said rebels went to the ruins of said house, in quest of said examinant, they the said rebels knocked down the son of examinant, of the age of nine years, with the butt end of a firelock, because the said son refused to point out where his father lay concealed, and that said rebels put examinant's son on his knees three different times, and swore they would shoot him, unless he would do so, but that his said son declared his ignorance thereof. Examinant saith, that during his concealment at Dranay aforesaid, a great number of protestants were shot contiguous to examinant's house by said rebels, as they were flying across the country from various quarters from the merciless rage of said rebels; and that Michael Shea, Anthony Thackberry, Samuel Judd, Benjamin Judd, Clement Goff, James Shaw and Henry Lancaster, were of the number of protestants so shot or killed with pikes. That when the king's troops were victorious at Vinegar-hill, examinant's daughters called to his relief three of the Ancient Britons, who conveyed examinant to Oulart aforesaid, on horseback, as examinant was unable to walk, having had a bad fever from his confinement, and that he was afterwards conveyed by his two sons to Gorey, in said county, where Mr. Peppard gave examinant a small house, as examinant's house at Dranay aforesaid and all his substance, were destroyed.

*Sworn before me the 24th day of September 1798,*  
WILLOUGHBY LIGHTBURNE.

SAMUEL WHEALEY.

3.

*County of Wexford,*  
*to wit.* } JOHN ROSSITER of Grange, in said county, came before  
me this day, one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for said  
county, and voluntarily made oath on the Holy Evangelists, That  
he, this deponent, heard and believes that John Murphy, assistant priest of Boulavogue was at the head of the rebels who had burned the houses of the two Websters

sters of Garrybrit, and killed lieutenant Bookey, &c. some hours before the house of the said John Murphy was burnt by his Majesty's troops.

*Sworn before me this 27th day of July 1798,*  
JAMES BOYD.

his  
JOHN X ROSSITER.  
mark.

*County of Wexford,* } PETER CRAWLEY of Glandaw, in said county, farmer,  
*to wit.* } this day came before me and voluntarily made oath on the Holy  
\_\_\_\_\_ } Evangelists, That the reverend John Murphy was at the head of  
the rebels and had burnt the houses of John Webster and Robert Webster, both  
of Garrybritt, in said county, farmers and protestants, long before the house of the  
said John Murphy was set on fire by the Enniscorthy cavalry; and further, that  
lieutenant Thomas Bookey of the Camolin cavalry, and John Donovan, a private of  
said corps, were killed by the said rebels with the said John Murphy at their head,  
many hours before said Murphy's house was set on fire.

Deponent further saith, no house was burned in the said John Murphy's parish by  
the army, until he the said John Murphy and party had burnt the said Websters'  
houses as afore said.

PETER CRAWLEY †.

*Sworn before me, &c.*  
RICHARD NEWTON KING.

4.

*Copy of an affidavit made before the honourable judge Downes, by T. C. Burrowes, late of  
Kyle, County Wexford.*

THIS deponent saith, That the late reverend Robert Burrowes, this deponent's  
father, was rector of the parish of Kilmuckridge in the county of Wexford, and re-  
sided with his family, consisting of this deponent's mother, this deponent, who is aged  
between fifteen and sixteen years, and two brothers and two sisters, all younger than  
this deponent, upon the lands of Kyle, within about half a quarter of a mile of the  
village of Oulart, which is distant about ten miles from the town of Wexford.

That upon Saturday evening, the twenty-sixth of May last, several of the parishioners  
of Kilmuckridge and other loyal inhabitants of the neighbourhood of this deponent's  
father, with their families, took refuge in his house from an attack which they said  
was to be made on them by a numerous body of rebels; that they continued in said  
house until eleven o'clock of said night, when a man named Murphy came to the  
house and informed deponent's father, as this deponent has heard and believes, that he,  
said Murphy, was himself an united Irishman, and warned deponent's father to pro-  
tect himself against an attack which was intended to be made at day-light in the  
morning; that this deponent looked out about the house, and that, it being an uncom-  
monly light night, they could clearly discern men crowding about the adjacent cab-  
bins, and lurking about the hedges and ditches; that having fire-arms and ammu-  
nition sufficient for eight or nine persons in said house, they resolved to defend  
themselves to the last extremity; that they accordingly barricaded the lower part  
of

† Crawley was a lieutenant colonel in the rebel army.

of the house, and stationed themselves at the upper windows at different sides of it. Deponent saith, that about sunrise of said morning, a numerous body of rebels, amounting to three or four hundred persons, as this deponent believes, armed principally with pikes, approached said house and attacked the same, and set fire to a range of thatched out-houses belonging to and adjoining said dwelling-house, and fired several shots at the windows at which this deponent and said men were stationed; and notwithstanding the utmost endeavours of this deponent and said men, by firing several shots at said rebels, and killing and wounding several of them as they approached said house, the said rebels set fire to the kitchen door, which shortly after came to the staircase and other parts of said house.

This deponent saith, that after a defence of about half an hour, being in danger of being suffocated by the smoke, or consumed by the flames, and one Murphy a priest, who headed said party, having promised protection to deponent's father, upon condition of surrendering his arms, deponent and his father issued from said house, and this deponent and his father gave up their fire-arms, whereupon a shot was immediately fired at this deponent, and deponent's father was attacked and murdered by several men, and this deponent himself was severely wounded by a stab of a pike through the body, and left by the side of his father apparently dead, and that seven of the nine men, who were armed by this deponent's father in defence of the house were murdered, and that the house and furniture, plate, clothing, leases, securities for money and property of every kind contained in said house, were destroyed, and that the entire stock upon the grounds belonging to this deponent's father, except four cows and two calves, were taken away by said rebels; that this deponent, about three o'clock in the afternoon of said day, after the said mob had departed, was found languishing in the lawn before said house, and conveyed upon a door to the village of Oulart, where deponent's mother and brothers and sisters had been received; and that on Tuesday, the twenty-ninth of said month, this deponent, his mother and brothers and sisters were escorted by a party of said rebels to Castle Annesley, about five miles distant, and kept in custody of a party of said rebels until Wexford was re-taken, and general Needham having discovered where they were, sent a party of the Durham fencibles, who escorted this deponent and the rest of the family of this deponent's father to Wexford, where deponent's mother, his brothers and sisters are now living; and deponent saith, that deponent's mother and her family have been deprived of the means of subsistence, by the losses sustained by said rebels, and are now reduced to a state of great indigence.

*Sworn before me this twelfth day of July 1798,*  
W. DOWNES.

T. C. BURROWES. †

† This amiable young man died in the summer of 1800 of the wound which he received.

5.

*County of the City of  
Dublin, to wit.*

THE information of George Williams, farmer and Elizabeth Williams, wife of the said George, both of Ballyadams, in the parish of Kilmuckridge and county of Wexford; who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists make oath and say, That the said George is tenant to William Bolton of Island, in said county, esquire, and that said George Williams,



Williams, who with his wife commonly resides at Ballyadams, frequently slept at the house of the said William Bolton his landlord, for some time previous to the twenty-seventh of May last. Informant, George Williams, saith he was alarmed on the morning of the said twenty-seventh of May about the hour of four o'clock, in the said house of Island, where he had slept the preceding night, by the barking of dogs, and the noise of a concourse of people, tumultuously assembled in different parts of the country, and also by the firing of shots. That, on mounting to the upper story of said house of Island, he saw the houses of many protestants on fire in different parts of the adjacent country, and great numbers of the lower class of people assembled together in a tumultuous manner, and moving from one part of the country to the other; this informant, George, saith that he saw among other houses, those of the following persons in a state of conflagration: Edward Webster's, John Davis's, Edward Fox's, the rev. Mr. Burrowes's at Kyle, in the parish of Kilmuckridge, James Johnson's, Joseph Aston's and James Aston's, John Rath's and James Rath's, William Walsh's, Richard Burke's, Edward Thackaberry's, Francis Colbyrne's, Robert Johnson's, Charles Francis's, Blakeney Ormsby's, and the houses of many other persons whose names this informant cannot at this time recollect; all of whom were of the protestant religion. This informant, Elizabeth, who had passed the preceding night at her own house at Ballyadams aforesaid, saith, that she was alarmed during the whole of the night by the barking of dogs, and that on rising about four o'clock, on the morning of Whitfunday last, she saw great numbers of people moving about in a tumultuous and riotous manner, and some persons on the tops of houses looking out, as this informant verily believes for signals; and that two boys, the servants of the said George, were on the top of the house of the said George Williams, at Ballyadams aforesaid, looking out in the same manner. This informant Elizabeth saith, that being much terrified at such alarming appearances, she repaired to her husband at Island aforesaid, for protection. These informants say, that about the hour of ten o'clock on the same day, Hawtrey White, esquire, captain of the Ballaghkeene yeomen cavalry, arrived at the house of Island aforesaid, and informed the said William Bolton that the rebels had assembled in so large a body, that his corps joined to the yeomen of Gorey and Camolin were not sufficiently strong to face them, and the said Hawtrey White recommended to the said William Bolton to make his escape to the town of Gorey in said county as fast as possible. These informants jointly say, that the said William Bolton and his family set out soon after for Gorey aforesaid, consisting of himself, Mrs. Bolton and ten children, he and his eldest son on horseback, the remainder of his family in his chaise and on cars. These informants jointly say, that they attended the said William Bolton and his family in their retreat, and that when they had advanced about one mile from Island aforesaid, the said William Bolton, who preceded the party, was surrounded by a large party of rebels, who robbed him of his arms. That the said William Bolton and his eldest son on horseback, and the chaise containing Mrs. Bolton, and some of the children, were suffered to proceed, but that three cars containing some more of her children, and some maid servants, were obliged to retreat to some farm houses in the neighbourhood, and that one of the said children, a son, of about the age of twelve years, alarmed at the scuffle which took place, jumped off of the car, and made his escape in a circuitous manner, over hedge and ditch, to Gorey aforesaid. Informants say, that the said rebels dismounted and disarmed the steward of the said William Bolton, and that some of them cried out, "Cut at him!" And these informants

ants say, they are convinced in their minds that they would have murdered the said steward, whose name is Richard Bolton, but that some of them, who happened to have a regard for him, saved his life by their interference. These informants say, they were so much alarmed at the blood-thirsty disposition of the said rebels, that they retreated precipitately, and that these informants were closely pursued by the said rebels a considerable way; but these informants escaped, and arrived at their own house, at Ballyadams aforesaid, where he the said George was disarmed of his gun by some rebels. That on their arrival at their house they found two boys, who were in their service, plundering it of different articles. That this informant George Williams asked one of the said servants (both of whom were of the popish religion) what he the said George should do to save his life? and that the said servant replied, pointing at the same time, "You had better go to that country, which is inhabited by Romans, (meaning Roman catholicks) as the men who reside there are gone to the protestant country to burn the protestants' houses, and lie down there till night, and then you can make your escape." These informants say, that when they had gone about a mile and a half from their house, they saw many houses in Ballyadams aforesaid in flames, and that the house of these informants was also in flames. These informants say, that soon after they were pursued by a body of rebels from Ballyadams aforesaid, and they verily believe that the said rebels were sent in pursuit of these informants by their two servants whom they left behind them, but they eluded the pursuit of the said rebels by altering their course at different times, and by creeping under the cover of hedges, till they arrived at the sea shore; that having ascended on a high bank near the sea, they saw a great number of protestants houses on fire; that they saw, at some distance on the sea shore, a woman who they feared would betray them to the rebels, but on approaching her they found her crying bitterly, and lamenting the state of the country, and, as she said she was servant to Mr. Burkett, a gentleman farmer whose house was contiguous, they asked her, whether she thought her master would give them some nourishment, as they had fled from their own house, and narrowly escaped with their lives from the rebels, who had plundered them of all their substance, and that they were almost famished? These informants say, they were well treated by said Burkett, who gave them a plentiful meal; and that the said Burkett, who is of the protestant religion, fearing that his house would be burned, had taken out a great part of his furniture, which lay near the shore, and that a new-born child lay crying in a cradle near the sea shore. That said Burkett lamented his situation to these informants, and expressed his fears that the rebels would destroy him and his family, as he was a yeoman in captain White's corps of cavalry; and the said Burkett implored these informants, on their arrival at Gorey in said county, to excuse his non-attendance there, as he could not abandon his family, who he feared would be murdered, and that all his substance would be destroyed, if he left them unprotected. These informants say, they were informed by said Burkett, that he was under the necessity of soliciting the protection of a mean popish servant, who lived with him, to save his life, the lives of his family, and his substance from being destroyed, and that his reliance on him arose solely from his being of the popish religion; and that the said servant severely rebuked him, the said Burkett, for making free with this informant George, because he was a loyal subject and a yeoman. That they arrived at Gorey in the evening, much harassed and fatigued, without any clothes but what they had on their backs, and that their house and out-offices have been burnt, and that all their substance has been destroyed or carried

[M]

off,

off, except four cows and two yearlings, and a few metal pots. These informants say, that soon after their departure from their house at Ballyadams aforesaid, Mary Thackaberry, the mother of this informant Elizabeth, was attacked near Ballyadams aforesaid by Michael Redmond, servant to these informants, about the age of twelve years, who threatened to put her to death with a pike, which he then had in his hand; and threatened at the same time to burn her other daughter's house, unless she would deliver to him some wearing apparel of the said George, which the said Mary had in her custody, and that the said Mary, who is very old and infirm, was obliged, from motives of fear, to give the said wearing apparel to the said Michael Redmond.

GEORGE WILLIAMS,  
ELIZABETH WILLIAMS.

*Sworn before me the 27th day of August, 1798,*  
THOMAS FLEMING,  
*lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

## 6.

*County of Wexford,*  
*to wit.* } THE examination of John Horton of Ballingale, of the parish of Ferns in said county, who being duly sworn and examined upon oath, saith, That on the twenty-seventh day of May last, examinant was in the house of the reverend Francis Turner of Ballingale aforesaid, and that then and there examinant saw James Maher and William Beahan, both of Ballycarney in said county, with a large number of rebels armed with pikes and guns, who violently attacked said Francis Turner's house, and did then and there murder the said Francis Turner, William Christian, Thomas Dowse, and three men of the name of Ganford; and that examinant saw the aforesaid William Beahan come into the room where the said Francis Turner lay dead and flourish a scythe blade, and said "You lye there, my lad, in lavender, like Larry Ward's pig." Examinant further saith, that in a few hours after he saw the aforesaid James Maher fire at the Newtownbarry cavalry at Tombrack in said county.

*Taken, sworn and acknowledged before me, being first truly read to examinant, this 16th March 1799, at Newtownbarry in said county,*  
JOHN JAMES.

his  
JOHN + HORTON,  
mark.

Examinant bound in the sum of 50l. to prosecute.

*County of the city of Dublin,*  
*to wit.* } THE examination of James Doyle, aged seventeen years, servant to William Turner, esquire, who being duly sworn and examined on oath, saith, That on Whitunday last, examinant being at his master's brother's house, the reverend Mr. Francis Turner of Ballingale, in the county of Wexford, about the hour of two o'clock in the afternoon, a large party of armed rebels, amounting to three hundred and upwards, came to Francis Turner's house aforesaid, who called to them from one of the windows not to attempt his house, or he would transport them; whereupon they fired at him and wounded him in the jaw; saith, they afterwards broke into his house and demanded of him to deliver up his arms; upon his refusal, they murdered him and several other protestant neighbours who came to his house for protection, and then burned and destroyed his house and concerns; saith, said party of rebels was headed by Denis Carty of Ballycarney, who was armed with pistols, and fired several shots into



into the window of said house in said county of Wexford, likewise Luke Kehoe, Matthew Bulger, Murtha Nowlan, James Ryan, John Hendrick, John Meade, — Furlong, Peter Bryan, Mogue Redmond, Mogue Bryan, Martin and Michael Rorke and William Beahan.

JAMES DOYLE.

*Sworn before me the 17th day of March 1798,*  
WILLIAM JAMES.

*County of Wexford,* } THE examination of Cambia Carty, wife of Mr. William  
*to wit.* } Carty, of Ballycarney in this county, who being duly sworn  
\_\_\_\_\_ } and examined, deposeth and saith, That on the morning of the  
twenty-seventh of May last, Denis Carty of the city of Dublin, Moses Redmond  
of Ballycarney, farmer, with many other persons unknown to informant, left the  
house of said William Carty of Ballycarney, with the professed intention of going to  
the house of the reverend Francis Turner of Ballingale in this county, to destroy  
the same; that in about three hours after, he the said Denis Carty returned to the  
said house of William Carty, accompanied by James Maher of Ballycarney, publican,  
and both the said Denis Carty and James Maher did there and then declare that they,  
with a number of other persons unknown to informant, had broke open and after-  
wards burned the house of the said Francis Turner of Ballingale, and that they had  
shot the said Francis Turner and afterwards burned him in his house; and that the  
said James Maher did declare to informant, that a quantity of blood, which appeared  
on his breeches, was the blood of the said Francis Turner; and the said Denis Carty  
and James Maher did declare they had also killed, at the house of said Francis Tur-  
ner, five other men, one of whom fell by the hands of the said Denis Carty, as he  
the said Denis Carty did declare.

CAMBIA CARTY.

*Sworn, taken and acknowledged before me this 24th July, 1798,*  
SOLOMON RICHARDS.

Informant bound in 20l. to prosecute when called on.

No. XIX. 1.

*County of the city of Dublin,* } THE information of Benjamin Warren of Kilcor-  
*to wit,* } muck in the county of Wexford, yeoman, who being duly  
\_\_\_\_\_ } sworn on the Holy Evangelists, informeth and saith,  
That he was taken prisoner by the rebels at Kilcormuck aforesaid, on the twenty-  
ninth day of May, 1798, and was conveyed to the rebel camp on Vinegar-hill in  
said county, together with another protestant prisoner of the name of Samuel West,  
of Kilcormuck aforesaid; that on the arrival of this informant at said rebel camp,  
they put him into the walls of an old mill, where there were many other protestant  
prisoners; informant saith, that half an hour after the said rebels led out inform-  
ant to put him to death, for no other reason than because he was a protestant;  
informant saith, that the said rebels asked him, in what religion he would die?  
when informant answered he would die a protestant as he had been bred such; in-  
formant saith that the said rebels then said to informant, " You bloody orange thief,  
you are damned, and will go to hell the instant we put the breath out of you."  
Informant saith, the rebels thereon gave him several stabs of pikes in the body and  
neck, and that while some of the said rebels were wounding informant, others were  
engaged in tearing off with great vehemence the clothes of informant. Informant  
[ M 2 ] saith,

faith, that he suffered the most excruciating pain from his wounds, and was so exhausted by the loss of blood, that he lay motionless and speechless for some hours. Informant faith, that said rebels led out soon after thirteen protestants, whom they put to death with pikes one after the other in the said rebel camp, and that the body of one of the said protestants fell on this informant, which put him to very great pain, and almost extinguished what little remains of life there were in him. Informant faith, that next morning, finding he had strength enough to creep all-fours, he crept to the gripe of a ditch near the road, where he remained till it was dark, and then informant contrived to make his escape. Informant faith, he heard, and which he verily believes to be true, that the rebels shot, or butchered with pikes, twenty four protestants on the said day on Vinegar-hill afore said. Informant faith, that father Murphy, parish priest of Kilcormuck afore said, was commander in chief in said rebel camp, and that this informant applied to the said Murphy to save his life, but that said Murphy replied, he would not interfere about him, as he was going to take Wexford, and that he would leave them (meaning the rebels) to do as they pleased with them. Informant faith, that the said father Murphy was the first person who promoted an insurrection in the county where he lived, and that on Saturday the twenty-sixth, and Sunday the twenty-seventh of May last, he at the head of a rebel mob, caused all the protestant houses in the said parish of Kilcormuck to be burned, except three or four which were saved. Informant further faith, that among the prisoners so killed on said day were Henry Hatton, esquire, portrieve of Enniscorthy, in said county, and a yeoman in captain Richards's corps of cavalry, Thomas Colbourne of Enniscorthy afore said, victualler, George Stacey of Enniscorthy afore said, two men of the name of Gill, of a place called the Oiled-gate, between Enniscorthy and Wexford, Benjamin Stacey of Enniscorthy afore said, farmer, Jacob Minchin, of Enniscorthy afore said, cabinet-maker, Edward Brisket, of Enniscorthy, afore said, merchant, George Sparrow, of said town, farmer, Joseph Maud, of said town, farmer and a yeoman in captain Cormick's corps, William Tugman, of the parish of Enniscorthy, weaver, and several others whose names informant cannot at this time recollect. Informant faith, he heard, and which he verily believes, that a man of the name of Murtagh Bryan, a common executioner, shot twenty-four protestants in one day on Vinegar-hill, afore said; that he obtained a glass of whiskey for every person so shot. Informant faith, he was informed, and verily believes that one Luke Byrne, an opulent farmer, assassinated many protestants, and among others, one Samuel Goodison, an opulent farmer of Glendaw, in said county.

*Sworn before me this 23d day of August 1798,*

THOMAS FLEMING,

*lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

his

BENJAMIN + WARREN,

mark.

2.

*County of the city of Dublin,*  
*to wit.*

THE information of Richard Sterne of Enniscorthy, in the county of Wexford, staymaker, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, maketh oath, and faith, That on Whitfun-monday last, when the king's troops and the yeomanry were obliged to evacuate the town of Enniscorthy afore said, which they had defended for some hours against the rebels, captain Richards of the Enniscorthy cavalry, recommended to this informant, and to many other protestant inhabitants of said town, to accompany them in their retreat, which they were about to make to Wexford from Enniscorthy afore said, to escape the furious rage of the popish rebels, who in great numbers had attacked said town, commanded by the reverend father John Murphy, of Boulavogue in said county. Informant faith, that he being an infirm old

old man, and having carried on his back a grandchild of the age of five years, he was unable to keep up with the said troops in their march for Wexford; and therefore that he, this informant, accompanied by his wife and a son, who was far gone in a consumption, concealed themselves in a wood, called Ringwood, within half a mile of Enniscorthy aforesaid, where this informant and his said family remained four days and four nights, without receiving any nourishment whatever, except some potatoes and about a pint of milk from a fisherman who lived on the banks of the river Slaney; that he, this informant, sooner than perish with hunger, went out of the said wood, on or about the fifth day, in the morning, after he had made his escape from Enniscorthy aforesaid, and that he, this informant, was taken prisoner on the high road near Enniscorthy aforesaid, by a numerous body of the said rebels, who were headed by the said father John Murphy, to whom the said rebels conducted this informant; and that they asked the said father Murphy what the said rebels should do with this informant, and that the said Murphy desired the said rebels to discharge informant, as they were on their march to Wexford. Informant saith, that nevertheless the said rebels kept this informant in their custody; that the said rebels led this informant a second time before the said father Murphy, who preceded the said rebels on horseback with a large crucifix in his arms, and that they asked the said Murphy a second time, what they should do with this informant? and that the said Murphy replied, they, the rebels, might do as they chose with this informant; that the said rebels rebuked and abused informant for not having prostrated himself before the said crucifix, and frequently pricked him with their pikes for not having done so; that the said rebels frequently told him, this informant, that he was a heretick, that he was damned, and would go to hell; that said rebels strongly urged informant to be christened, to receive the sacrament from their priest, and to go to mass, and that by doing so, he would be sure of going to heaven, or to purgatory, either one or the other. Informant saith, he asked the said rebels, whether he would save his life by conforming to their religion? and that the said rebels replied, he would not, but that by so conforming, he should die an easy death by being hanged, instead of being tortured by pikes, and that the said rebels declared to informant that they would hang him to save his soul, lest he should afterwards relapse and become a heretick; that the said rebels then conducted him to the cross roads near the church of Killuran in said county, where the said rebels again urged this informant to change his religion, having threatened to put him to death with their pikes, unless he would do so; but informant replied, he would not, that he would die any death, and that instant, sooner than change his religion. Informant saith, that a rebel serjeant thereon gave this informant a violent blow of a spade handle in the head, which spade handle was shod or pointed with iron; and that when the said serjeant was on the point of giving him the said blow, he called out to the other rebels to pike him; that he was knocked down and made senseless and speechless by the blow so inflicted by the said serjeant; and that when he lay quite insensible on the ground, the other rebels gave him many stabs of their pikes in the body; and that one of the said pike wounds passed through the body of this informant from one side to the other. Informant saith, that the said serjeant gave him, this informant, a desperate wound in the head, from whence there issued a great quantity of blood; that he lay speechless and senseless on the road where he was wounded for about an hour, when, having recovered his senses, he crept to the house of George Ogle, esquire, about two miles distant, where he received some nourishment from the steward of the said

George



George Ogle; and that the said steward told informant he must depart, for that as he was an orangeman, (meaning a protestant) that his master's house would be burned; and that he, this informant, would be killed by the rebels if he kept him in it; that he thereon repaired to an adjoining wood, where this informant remained two days and two nights, during which time he received some nourishment from the same steward. Informant saith, he was at last discovered in said wood by a rebel woman, who was constantly plundering the house of said George Ogle, and who informed the rebels who were stationed therein, that the said wood was full of orangemen; but that said steward informed the said rebels, that this informant was not an orangeman, and had nothing to do with them; and that he was a poor old man that was wounded, and that he would bring this informant to them the said rebels; that the said steward, and the said rebels, repaired to the place where informant lay concealed in said wood; and that said rebels declared, on seeing the deplorable state of informant, that they would not hang or pike this informant; that he was then taken to the stable of the said George Ogle, where he remained two days and two nights; and then, that he, this informant, was suffered to make his escape. Informant saith, he was soon after taken prisoner by another body of rebels, who conducted him to a rebel guard house at Enniscorthy aforesaid, where he remained four days, with thirty-two other protestant prisoners, where informant would have been starved but for some nourishment which informant received once a day from his wife; that he, and his fellow-prisoners, were conveyed, on the fifth day, (to the best of informant's recollection) to Vinegar-hill, to be tried by a committee of rebel officers, on which hill, contiguous to Enniscorthy aforesaid, he remained two days and two nights; that said rebels shot twenty-three of the fellow-prisoners of this informant, and in the presence of this informant, on Vinegar-hill aforesaid; and this informant is convinced in his mind, that the said rebels had no other charge or accusation against the said prisoners, but that they were of the protestant religion. Informant saith, that before the execution of the said prisoners, another priest, of the name of Murphy, harangued the said prisoners, in words of the following purport: "You sons of Belial, that withstood our holy religion which existed eight hundred years before yours began, (cracking the fingers of his right hand, and then of his left,) you will see how these pikemen will treat you to-morrow, unless there is a great reformation in you;" that the said priest expressed the said words with a loud voice, and in a very angry tone. Informant saith, that his life was saved by the interference of one William Lacy, brother to a priest of that name, who seemed to have great power in said rebel camp on Vinegar-hill aforesaid, and with whom informant had been long acquainted, and from whom informant obtained a protection. Informant saith, that the rebels before they wounded him at Killuran aforesaid, stripped informant of his hat and wig, coat and waistcoat.

RICHARD STERNE.

*Sworn before me this 29th of August 1798,*

THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

*County*

3.

*County of the City of Dublin,* } CATHARINE HEYDON, widow of the reverend  
*to wit.* } Samuel Heydon, late of Ferns in the county of Wex-  
 ford, deceased, and late vicar of the said parish of  
 Ferns, and also late rector of Carne in said county, having been duly examined on  
 the Holy Evangelists, depofeth, and faith, That examinant, her husband, and all the  
 protestant inhabitants of Ferns aforefaid, on hearing the rebels were advancing in  
 great force, commanded by the reverend John Murphy, a priest, on the morning  
 of Whitsunday, the twenty-seventh day of May, last; and that this examinant,  
 with her said husband, was obliged to fly precipitately to Enniscorthy, in said county,  
 along with a small detachment of the North Cork militia; and depofeth, that said  
 town of Enniscorthy was taken by the rebels on Monday the twenty-eighth day of  
 May last; and that on the said day the king's troops and yeomanry, with most of  
 the protestants there, were obliged to retreat to the town of Wexford, to avoid the  
 merciless rage of said rebels; by which examinant and her said husband were left  
 unprotected, and were obliged to fly from one house to another for protection, as  
 most of the houses there were on the same day pulled down or burned by the  
 rebels. This examinant faith, that she, and her said husband retreated at last to the  
 house of one Stephen Lett, a cabinet-maker, and that two parties of the rebels came  
 into said house, and assured the said Samuel Heydon, that they would not injure  
 him, he being a good-natured man, as some of them declared; and that soon after  
 one other rebel came into said house, and said, that his information was right, for  
 that said Mr. Heydon was there; on which said Heydon replied, that two parties  
 were there before, and said he should not be molested, at which time stones were  
 thrown up at the windows; on which said Lett declared, that his house would be  
 destroyed, if he gave examinant and said Heydon protection any longer, and ad-  
 vised examinant and said Heydon to apply for a protection to a priest. Examinant  
 faith, that this examinant and said Heydon immediately after left said house, and  
 did accordingly apply to the reverend John Sutton, a popish priest, for protection,  
 in the street of said town, as they were furrounded by a large party of the rebels  
 who became riotous, and jostled examinant, and her husband; on which said Sutton  
 cried out to said rebels, "Fie! fie!" but afforded them no other protection, at which  
 time this examinant perceived blood running from the nose of her said husband; and  
 that his cheek was laid open by a pike, as examinant believes. Examinant faith,  
 that soon after he staggered and fell to the ground, with this examinant, who kept  
 her arms about him; that thereupon the said rebels dashed his head several times  
 against the stones, for the purpose of extinguishing what life remained in him; that  
 he soon after groaned and expired in this examinant's arms, during which time this  
 examinant, and after, received from them several blows on the back; that said  
 rebels thereupon took from said Heydon his watch, money, and pocket-book, con-  
 taining several bank notes, the amount of which this examinant knows not, but  
 believes said pocket-book contained the amount of his whole property, both in  
 money and bank notes. This examinant further depofeth, that soon after, a ferocious  
 rebel dragged this examinant by her arm down a steep hill with great violence,  
 and over the bridge, and to the water side, using at the same time very insulting  
 and opprobrious language, and asked examinant if she would go to ma's, and  
 damned examinant for a bitch; said she was always an enemy to the Roman catho-  
 licks; and asked examinant why she had left her house; said, they (meaning the  
 said rebels) had settled it this morning; and said rebel declared, he would take  
 examinant to the camp at Vinegar-hill, though said rebel was dragging examinant  
 a contrary

a contrary way. Examinant further depofeth, that ſhe called out for help, when a rebel, unknown to examinant, refcued examinant, and conveyed examinant to the houſe of one Walſh a rebel captain, who had been that morning liberated out of priſon. Examinant faith, that ſoon after ſhe arrived at ſaid houſe, her aunt, a lady aged eighty-one years, or thereabouts, was brought there by her ſervant maid, after having been robbed of her ready money, and all her worldly ſubſtance, which ſhe by her will bequeathed to this examinant to a conſiderable amount. Examinant depofeth, that during ten days ſhe reſided at ſaid Walſh's houſe, ſhe ſuffered very much from poverty, filth, and the ſociety of the moſt profligate wretches, who conſtantly uttered treaſon and blaſphemy, and often hinted that examinant had better go to maſs; and ſaid Walſh, and his wife, informed examinant that it would be at the riſque of their lives to harbour a proteſtant, as an order came from the camp not to proteſt any ſuch; that during examinant's reſidence at ſaid houſe, and for ſome time after, ſhe had no other clothes to wear, but what ſhe had on her back, and no bed to ſleep on for five weeks and five days. Examinant faith, that on leaving ſaid Walſh's, ſhe repaired to the ruinous houſe of Henry Gill, poſtmaſter of the ſaid town, which had been plundered and made a wreck of by the rebels. Examinant faith, that ſoon after ſhe went to the ſaid Gill's houſe, a meſſage was ſent to her by ſaid Waſh, that her life was not ſafe unleſs ſhe went to maſs; and in a few days after, about five o'clock in the morning, two rebels armed with muſkets, broke into examinant's room, and called out to Mrs. Gill to throw this examinant down ſtairs, and if ſhe did not, they would, and her houſe ſhould be burned; on which examinant aſked them what charge they had againſt her? to which they replied, her obſtinacy had been reported yeſterday; and that ſhe muſt go to Wexford, meaning by the word obſtinacy, as ſhe verily believes, was for not going to maſs; that examinant, dreading ſhe might be abuſed by the rebels, aſked the ſaid two ruſſians to ſhoot her, on which they replied, they would have nothing to do with one of her fort, meaning, as ſhe verily believes, a proteſtant; and then ſaid examinant might ſtay there until further orders. Examinant faith, that Mrs. Gill told examinant, that ſhe could not any longer proteſt her with ſafety to herſelf, and eleven children; on which examinant went to ſeveral houſes, whoſe inhabitants reſuſed to receive her, though proteſtants, from motives of fear, and the papists from motives of hatred; that thereupon one father Clinch, a prieſt, brother to a tenant of examinant's, informed her, that ſhe need not leave ſaid houſe, where ſhe remained in great poverty and diſtreſs, until the king's troops arrived, after which time ſome of the officers, from motives of compaſſion, ſupplied this examinant with provisions. This examinant faith, that the loſs ſhe ſuſtained by having her houſe plundered of houſehold furniture, and other valuable articles, amounts to between five and ſix hundred pounds, excluſive of the money and notes her ſaid huſband was plundered of at Enniſcorthy aforeſaid. This examinant faith, that her late huſband, by his livings and his agency from the right honourable lord Monck, including the glebe-houſe and lands at Ferns aforeſaid, enjoyed a yearly income of ſix hundred pounds and upwards.

CATHARINE HEYDON.

*Sworn before me this 31ſt day of Auguſt 1798,*

THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

*Part*



*Part of a conversation which Lewis Bulger had with Mrs. Heydon, after the death of her husband in Enniscorthy; he had lived fourteen years with her as Butler, and was very active in plundering her house at Ferns as soon as the rebellion broke out.*

A few days after the death of Mr. Heydon, and while Mrs. Heydon was in the utmost distress in Enniscorthy, Lewis Bulger visited her, told her he would save her jaunting car, and convey her in it to her own house; she said she had no house, as it belonged to the bishop, until he appointed another incumbent. "The bishop!" said Bulger with much contempt; "the bishop has no house now! it may be mine, or that man's," pointing to a pikeman who sat in the room; "but the bishop has nothing to do with it; there will be no laws now, for in about three months every thing will be settled in a much better way than they were." He told her, that she might live happily again in her own house, provided she would become a Roman catholic, and be surrounded by none but by persons of that religion; she answered, that she had charity for persons of every religion, but that she would live and die in the faith in which she was brought up. Bulger then said, you are liable to be shot if you appear in the street; there will be but one religion on the face of the earth; this is all the handywork of God; and as a proof of the divine interposition in favour of the rebellion, he said, "Father John Murphy catches red hot bullets in his hand."† If the priest was to bless a piece of meat, the most hungry dog would not touch it; this is a common opinion among the lower class of papists. A priest can bring a lighted candle out of a tub of water; he said to her, sure you won't remain there; she answered that she had no house to go to, but that she hoped soon to meet his master in heaven; on which he observed, "I will promise you, that you will never meet him there." What can be expected from a populace drenched with such superstitious and deleterious doctrines; and who believe that their priests can suspend and counteract the operations of nature! What a fruitful source of treason must that opinion be, that the divine will was visible in favour of a rebellion, formed for the prostration of the protestant state, and the exclusive establishment of the popish religion, by which alone the mass of the papists believe they can be saved!

## 4.

*County of the city of Dublin,*  
*to wit.* } The information of Edward Stacey, of Tomgara,  
in the county of Wexford, farmer, who being duly  
sworn on the Holy Evangelists, maketh oath, and saith,  
That he, this informant, was taken prisoner at his own house at Tomgara aforesaid by four rebels armed with muskets and spears, on the sixteenth day of June 1798; and that having led informant to a solitary place, about a mile and a quarter from his house, one of the said rebels asked informant of what religion he was, to which informant replied, he was born and bred a protestant; on which one of the said rebels asked informant, whether he did not know that while his body was creeping on earth, that the souls of him and all his sort were burning in hell? Informant saith, he answered said rebel by telling him that he believed no such thing; that informant was then led by said rebels to a deep marl pit which was full of water, and then that one of said rebels asked informant whether he could swim, and that he should have his choice of leaping into said pit, or of  
[ N ] being

† All the priests actively concerned in the rebellion endeavoured to persuade their flock that they could do so.

being shot; to which informant replied that he would not be accessory to his own death. Informant saith, that one of the said rebels asked him in what he believed; to which informant replied, that he believed in the great God that made the heavens and earth; on which the said rebel asked informant, whether he believed that the virgin Mary was blessed above all women; to which informant replied, that he believed she was. Informant having answered, because it was left on record, that all generations should call her blessed; and that the said rebel said thereon, "You vagabond, how should you know what was left on record?" Informant saith, that the said rebels then compelled him to go on his knees with his back turned towards them; and that one of the said rebels then fired a musket at informant, charged with a ball, which ball entered at informant's rump, and passed through his private parts. Informant saith, he fell to the ground as if dead; that his wife, having heard the shot, came up to him, and had informant carried to his own house, where he continued confined to his bed for six weeks, and at length recovered, though informant had not the assistance of a doctor or a surgeon. Informant saith, that the rebels deprived him of his arms on the twenty-eighth day of May preceding. That his nephew, Benjamin Stacey, was shot in the rebel camp on Vinegar-hill for being a protestant; and that George Stacey, the son of informant, was killed at Vinegar-hill aforesaid, for the same reason. Informant saith, that of the four rebels who took informant prisoner as aforesaid on the sixteenth day of June, Edward Sinnot was the only person he knew; that informant was the near neighbour of said Sinnot, and had been in a state of friendship with him; and yet the said Edward Sinnot was the person who shot informant as before mentioned. Informant saith, he verily believes that twenty-three protestants were massacred on account of their religion, and for no other reason, within one mile and a half of the house of informant; and that the following persons were among those who were so massacred: John Clifford, of Castle Annesley, esquire, John Lord, his servant, James Johnson, Robert Johnson, Robert Aston, William Abraham, John Colburne, William Johnson, James Shaw, Charles Ormsby, Eyre Ormsby, John Johnson, Elizabeth Stacey, sister-in-law of informant, George Greenlee, Margaret Greenlee, his sister, Henry Roufom, Robert Aire, Edward Earle, Joseph Aston.

EDWARD STACEY.

*Sworn before me, 24th of August 1798,*

THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

5.

*A copy of Mrs. Margaret Hunt's petition, whose husband, a lieutenant in the Enniscorthy yeomanry, was murdered at Vinegar-hill.*

THAT her husband, fighting against the rebels at Enniscorthy on the twenty-eighth of May 1798, was wounded in the morning of the said day by a gun-shot in the belly; and on the said day received seven wounds in his head, three in his body, and one in his arm.

That having in part recovered of the several wounds of said twenty-eighth instant, he was on the day following seized and taken out of his bed by said rebels, one of whom ran up and fired a loaded pistol at him, by which he fell; another, supposing him not killed, fired a second pistol, and a third fired at him, while down, with a musket.

That

That having survived all this barbarous and cruel treatment, he was dragged from his bed by said rebels, and was afterwards confined with petitioner in a cold guard-house for nine days, where they had no bed, and but little food.

That from thence he was dragged to the rebel camp at Vinegar-hill; from thence to a prison near said hill, where he was shot; that after his body lay exposed on the publick high road for many days, not being suffered by said rebels to be buried or given up to petitioner.

MARGARET HUNT.

Sworn before me 29th July 1798,  
RICHARD NEWTON KING.

*And verified on oath by her and the reverend Joshua Nunn, vicar of Enniscorthy, who swears he was an eye witness to a great part of the said savage treatment.*

[No. 200, archives of the house of commons.]

6.

County of Wexford, } EDWARD ST. LEGER, of Bormont, in the County of  
to wit. } Wexford, having been duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, de-  
\_\_\_\_\_ } poseth and saith, That on the first day of June last he was made  
a prisoner by a party of rebels, and brought to the old wind-mill on Vinegar-hill, in  
said county, and which the rebels used as a prison. That he remained in said pri-  
son about half an hour, when he was released at the intercession of one Fenlon.  
Deponent saith, as he was leaving the prison, he saw a man sitting on the ground  
without clothes, with a bit of a ragged blanket thrown over him, that he never  
saw so horrible a figure, that his eyes were out, his head and body swelled,  
his cheeks covered with ulcers; that on deponent's exclaiming, "My God! what  
miserable object is that?" the man attempted to speak, but was unable to articulate,  
and from the sounds he uttered, deponent believes his tongue had been cut out.  
Deponent saith, that a rebel with arms in his hands, who deponent believes was  
one of the guard, told deponent that the man was under punishment, and mentioned  
something of a slow death; meaning, as deponent believes, that the wretched object  
was condemned to suffer a slow death.

EDWARD ST. LEGER.

Sworn before me this 10th day of January 1799,  
JOHN W. LYSTER.

7.

County of Wexford, } THE information of John Pickering, of the Shelmalier yeo-  
to wit. } men cavalry, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists,  
\_\_\_\_\_ } depose and saith, That on or about the second of June last,  
about mid-day, a large body of rebels appeared near the town of Enniscorthy, and in a  
field of Mr. Beal's immediately joining the road; that amongst others he saw a man,  
commonly called Gray Thomas, a protestant, who lived at Newcastle, near the house  
of Mr. John Hay, and that he saw the said Mr. Hay make a desperate stroke of a  
sword at the said Gray Thomas, without any provocation that informant could  
hear, which stroke divided a considerable portion of his skull, and that immediately  
afterwards a shot was fired by a person\* unknown at the said Gray Thomas, of  
[N 2] which

\* Laurence Furlong was convicted of this crime at the Spring assizes of Wexford, 1801, and hanged. It was proved on said trial, that John Hay (the prisoners having been led out of Beal's barn for execution), said, that they would not have luck or grace while a protestant was left alive; on which Gray Thomas approached him with his hat off, and expressed a hope that he would protect him, as he had been his friend and neighbour, and that thereon he said, By God I will protect you, and instantly cleft his skull, that then he asked was there no person to finish the fellow, on which L. Furlong knelt down, and shot him through the heart with a musket, for which the popish multitude applauded him with acclamations.



which he immediately died; but informant is of opinion, that the first wound he received from the sword of said John Hay would have proved mortal; and informant further saith, that, upon the murder being committed, the rebels shouted and exclaimed that they had put one devil out of the world; after which Mr. Hay addressed the rebels, in words to the following effect: "Boys, if there is any among you of the same profession (meaning, as informant declares, a protestant) put him to death immediately; and if you know any of you to harbour or protect one, I will myself put such person to death, for they will betray you hereafter." And informant further saith, that during the whole of this transaction he was not above six or seven yards from the said John Hay, being detained a prisoner by the rebels.

*Sworn before me this 28th of December 1798,*

*being first duly read to him,*

NATHANIEL CAVENAGH,  
*a magistrate.*

JOHN PICKERING.

*Witness present,*

ARM<sup>d</sup>. BROWNE,

First lieutenant Shelmaliar cavalry.

### 8.

*An authentic account of the behaviour, conduct and confession of James Beaghan, who was executed on Vinegar-hill, on Saturday the 24th day of August 1799; taken before Christian Wilson, esquire, high sheriff of the county of Wexford, and J. H. Lysser, esquire, one of the justices of the peace for the said county.*

THE day but one before his execution, two popish priests went to visit him, and upon their entering his cell, he exclaimed against them in these words: "Begone from me, you accursed, who have been the cause of my eternal damnation; for, were it not for you, I never would have been guilty of murder."—Having so said, he turned from them, and requested that they might be put out; and in some short time after, he requested that captain Boyd might be sent for, to whom he made the following confession:

I, James Beaghan, acknowledge and confess that I am guilty of the crime for which I am to suffer; but that I did not commit it from ill-will to the people that were murdered, but from the order of \* Luke Byrne; I could not disobey him; no person dare refuse to obey the orders of the commanders. I am sure that any man in command could save the lives of the poor; every man that was a protestant was called an orangeman, and every one was to be killed, from the poorest man in the country. Before the rebellion, I never heard there was any hatred between Roman catholics and protestants, they always lived peaceably together. I always found the protestants better masters and more indulgent landlords than my own religion: During the rebellion, I never saw any one interfere to prevent murder, but one Byrne, who saved a man. I think all that were present were as guilty as those that perpetrated the murders. It was thinking that we were all equally guilty, that prevented me from flying the country. The women were numerous, and were as bad as the men. The rebels treated the prisoners with great severity, very different from the way that I have been used in gaol. They thought it no more a sin to kill a protestant than a dog; had it not been that they were so soon quashed, they would have fought with each other for the property of the protestants. They were beginning before the battle of Vinegar-hill. Ever since the rebellion I never heard one of the rebels express the least sorrow for what was done, on the contrary, I have heard them

\* Luke Byrne, a priest and a commander in the rebel army.

them say, they were sorry whilst they had the power they did not kill more, and that there were not half enough killed. I know that the rebels were determined to rise if the French should come; and I believe they did not give up half their arms. There are guns, bayonets and pikes hid in the country.

\* Now, gentlemen, remember what I tell you: If you and the protestants are ever in the power of the catholicks again, as they are now in yours, they will not leave one of you alive; you will all go smack smooth; even those who campaigned with them, if things had gone well with them, would in the end have been killed. I have heard them say so many times.

Taken before us, August 23, 1799,  
CHRISTIAN WILSON, *sheriff*,  
J. H. LYSTER, *justice of the peace*.

his  
JAMES + BEAGHAN,  
mark.

(A copy.)

Having arrived at the place of execution, captain Boyd brought him aside, and read his confession, and asked him if it was correctly taken down, to which he answered in the affirmative. Just as the executioner was about to turn him off he called out saying, "Stop!" and lifting up his cap, said with a very loud voice, "Captain Boyd, you have taken down my confession perfectly correct; if it was not for the priests I never would have been guilty of murder, nor have dragged five unfortunate persons out of the windmill to be murdered." Amongst these five, were the sons of old Minchin the carpenter.

9.

*A list of some of the protestants massacred in the diocese of Ferns and county of Wexford, specifying the parish or townland where they resided and were killed, with an account of many atrocities. The surviving sufferers made application to the commissioners appointed by parliament for part of the fund appropriated for their relief, and their loss was substantiated by their own affidavit and that of the parish minister, and was certified by their landlord and by a neighbouring magistrate. Such affidavits were numerically registered in the archives of the house of commons. The number in the left column refers to the number of the affidavit.*

No 69 Samuel Atkin, tide-waiter at Wexford, massacred at the bridge of Wexford.

James Austlin of Ballyadams, murdered; left a wife and six children.

James Aston of Kilmuckridge, murdered there.

47 Reverend Thomas Troke, curate, murdered on Vinegar-hill first of June, his widow in a state of derangement from her misfortunes; one of her children was starved to death, and another died from the same cause.

2 William Daniel, surveyor, murdered on the bridge of Wexford twentieth of June 1798, left a widow and seven children in the utmost distress.

3 Middleton Robson, excise officer, murdered same time and place.

5 Reverend Arthur Conolly, his house and all his property destroyed.

7 Reverend

\* From this mark Beaghan spoke without having been asked any questions, and spoke with an earnestness and in a manner that shewed his sincerity.

- 7 Reverend Simon Little, reduced to the utmost want and indigence with his wife and four children, by the destruction of all his property at Killan.
- 44 Lieutenant Carden of the Scarawalsh yeomen infantry, killed the twenty-eighth of May 1798, in defence of Enniscorthy.
- 46 John Clarke, weaver, massacred on the bridge of Wexford, twentieth of June.
- 58 John Smyth, hatter do. do.
- 58 Thomas Crane, hosier, do. do.
- 58 Abraham Henesfy, do. do.
- 69 Kenneth Mathewson, do. do.
- 58 Thomas Ganford, do. do.
- 69 George Tully, clothier, do. do.
- 69 Richard Whitney, farmer do. do.
- 60 Reverend Ulysses Jacob, curate, obliged to fly on Whitfunday from the parish of Donamore.
- 69 Edward Turner, esquire, a magistrate, murdered at the bridge of Wexford twentieth June 1798.
- 78 Robert Earl, murdered near Arklow, and all his property destroyed.
- 101 Jane Restwicke swore, that her husband was burned at Scullabogue.
- 102 Elizabeth Powel swore, her husband was burned at do.
- 113 Mary Reel swore, her husband was burned at do.
- 114 Frances Tweedy swore, her husband was burned at do.
- 121 Ann Barrett swore, her husband was shot through mistake by a Hessian, while standing at his door.
123. Ann McCoy swore, her husband was shot on the bridge of Wexford.
124. John Giffard swore, that his father, Milward Giffard, surveyor of excise, was shot at Scullabogue.
- 122 Susannah Turner swore, her husband, Samuel Turner, a schoolmaster at Taghmon, was shot at Scullabogue.
- 134 Eliza Box swore, her husband was murdered by the rebels near the Carrig-ferry-bridge the 31st May 1798.
- 131 Henry Roe, M. D. was obliged to fly from Gorey when colonel Walpole was defeated, and had all his property destroyed.
- 145 John Hatchel, hatter, massacred at the bridge of Wexford.
- 158 David Dalton, gauger, of the Enniscorthy yeomanry, was murdered at Wexford.
- 159 ——— Tomkins of Ballygullin, was murdered by the rebels.
- 169 Robert Miller, of Tintern, burned at Scullabogue.
- 170 David Cruin, do. do.
- 171 Thomas Power, and his son aged fifteen years, do. do.
- 172 John Pierston, shoe-maker, burned or shot at do. do.
- 173 Patrick Power, mason, do. do.
- 174 George Smith, slator do. do.
- 175 Joshua Box, weaver, and son aged twelve years, do. do.
- 176 Samuel Boyce, shoe-maker, do. do.
- 177 George Boyce, butcher, do. do.
- 178 George Canney, weaver, do. do.
- 179 James Duffield, do. do.
- 180 Thomas Eakins, do. do.
- 181 James Carlisle, labourer do. do.

Reverend



- 184 Reverend James Morgan, rector of Horetown, was driven out of the county, with a large family, and deprived of subsistence.
- 190 Robert Wheatley's son was murdered at the church of Gorey.
- 270 The reverend George Howse, rector of the union of Inch in the diocese of Dublin and county of Wexford, was obliged to fly from his house to save his life, which the rebels plundered to the amount of four hundred pounds. His wife, three sons and three daughters, fled without any clothes but what they had on their backs.
- 274 Mary Rigly swore her husband was murdered by the rebels the 29th of May, at Enniscorthy, and her house, offices, and all her property destroyed.
- 275 Lucy Hunter swore her husband, William Hunter, was murdered same time, and her house and property destroyed at Enniscorthy.
- 276 Peter Bates, of Monart, farmer, swore his house, offices, and all his property, were consumed by the rebels, who murdered his two brothers, two brothers-in-law and one uncle, the twenty-eighth of May 1798, all of Templehambo.
- 277 Frances Gill, of Monglafs, swore her husband, John Gill, farmer, was murdered on Vinegar-hill the twenty-ninth of May, her house and property destroyed, and she, with six children, reduced to great want.
- 278 Alice Butler, of Marley, swore her husband, Richard Butler, was murdered at Enniscorthy the twenty-eighth of May, for his loyalty; his house, offices, &c. burned, and she and three children reduced to want.
- 280 Joseph Hawkins, of Fairfield, murdered on Vinegar-hill for his loyalty, his house, offices, &c. burned, and his wife and three children reduced to want, do.
- 283 William Simmons, of Shannaul, burned at Scullabogue 5th of June, his wife and three children reduced to want.
- 284 Thomas Whitty, of Rattfilla, shot at do. do.
- 285 Samuel Simmons, burnt at do. do.
- 291 John Hogan, an opulent shop-keeper, imprisoned by the rebels at Wexford, and his house plundered to the amount of 1000l.
- 294 Reverend Roger Owen lost to the amount of 700l. and he, his wife and seven children, reduced to the utmost want, at Camolin.
- 297 Robert Burkett, of Enniscorthy, plundered to the amount of 1263l.
- 295 John Harries, of Gorey-hill land, murdered by the rebels.
- 298 Reverend William Hinson, curate of Enniscorthy, deprived of means of subsistence.
- 304 Jane Hatton, of Hollywood, swore her father, Henry Hatton, deputy portrieve of Enniscorthy, was murdered on Vinegar-hill, sooner than change his religion.
- 328 John Whitney, of Old-court, was shot at Scullabogue, of the parish of Adamstown.
- 329 William Neile had one brother shot, and another burnt at Scullabogue, and Robert Parslow's father was shot, and his brother burnt at do.
- 300 William Dobbyn, of Myster, with his father and two brothers, were burnt at Scullabogue.
- 331 Elizabeth Dobbyn, Widow of James Dobbyn, of Old-court, burnt at do.
- 322 Patrick Dobbyn, of do. do.
- 360 Mary Store swore her husband, James Store, of Windmill, near Wexford; was dragged from his house at Three Rock camp, and shot there.

- 366 Jane Rath, of Jamestown, swore her husband, Joseph Rath, was murdered at Enniscorthy for his loyalty, parish of Rosdrecht.
- 371 Margaret Shaw, of Clough, swore her husband, Abraham Shaw, was killed by the rebels.
- 390 Rebecca Colbyrne, of Ballnastra, swore her husband was murdered the thirtieth of May, of Monomolin parish.
- 382 George Abraham, of Ballyedmond, murdered by the rebels the second of June.
- 392 Henry Johnson, of Balmurtra, murdered on Whit Sunday, of the parish of Monomolin.
- 395 Mary Rowson, of Cullentrath, swore her husband, a weaver, was murdered by the rebels, of the parish of Monomolin.
- 429 John Oaks, gardener of Hawtry White, esquire, of Peppard's castle, murdered on Whit Sunday.
- 434 Thomas Thornton, coachmaker, of Taghmon, murdered in the beginning of the rebellion.
- 435 John Boyd, esquire, murdered at Wexford.
- 442 Reverend Richard Radcliffe, rector of White-church, plundered by the rebels, and deprived of subsistence.
- 445 Robert Johnston, of the Ballaghkeene cavalry, killed in a battle near Carnew the thirtieth of June.
- 450 Edward Slye, shop-keeper, murdered at Enniscorthy twenty eighth of May, of St. Mary's parish.
- 452 John Plumer, white-smith and yeoman, wounded, and afterwards murdered at Enniscorthy twenty-eighth of May, of St. Mary's parish.
- 454 Thomas Oaks, of Enniscorthy, publican, murdered on Vinegar-hill the thirtieth of May.
- 455 Francis Monk, and his son Edward, massacred at Scullabogue, of Rossgarland.
- 456 William Jordan, of Foulkes-mill, shot at Scullabogue, of do.
- 457 John Eakins, and his son, Thomas, burnt at do.; left a widow and five children, of do.
- 458 Thomas McDonnell, steward of Mr. Leigh, M. P. massacred at Scullabogue, left a widow and six children, of Rossgarland.
- 459 William Gray, weaver, and son, seventeen years old, both murdered at Scullabogue; left a widow and four children destitute.
- 460 John Magrath's daughter, of Ballybrack, aged eighteen years, was shot by the rebels; he, his wife and six children, reduced to want.
- 461 Richard Davis, of St. John's, burnt at Scullabogue; left a widow and six children.
- 462 Joseph Stannard, and Mary, his wife, both burnt at do; left six children, of do.
- 463 Owen Field, weaver, massacre at do. left a widow and six children, of do.
- 464 John Lindsay, aged twenty-one, and William, his brother, aged nineteen, burnt at do. of Clongeen.
- 466 John Moran, aged twenty years, massacred at do.; left a mother and five children, younger than him, in want and misery, of do.
- 543 Mary Edmonds, of Rathaspeck, union of Wexford, swore her husband, John Edmonds, was murdered by the rebels, and left four children.
- 548 John Chamley, burnt at Scullabogue, of Horetown.

- 549 Samuel Hall, yeoman, of Templeshannon, killed at Enniscorthy the twenty-ninth of May; left a widow and four small children, of St. Mary's.
- 550 Henry Reafon, a quaker, shot at Scullabogue, left a widow and two children.
- 551 William Fanner, burnt at do. left a widow and three children, of do.
- 552 John Crumpin, yeoman, in the Scarawalh corps, murdered the twenty-fifth of July; left a widow and three children, of Drumgold.
- 556 Edward Byron, burnt at Scullabogue; left a widow and two children, of Horetown.
- 557 Joseph Power, do. at do. left a widow and children, of do.
- 561 Joseph Turpin, murdered by the rebels in cold blood, at Foulks's-mill, on the fifth of June; left four orphan children, of do.
- 567 George Fisher, murdered the twenty-fourth of June; left a widow and four children, of Mothel and Dyfart.
- 568 Anne Tracy, swore her son was killed by the rebels, who was her only support; she is a widow with seven children, of do.
- 588 Margaret Tugman, swore, her husband, William Tugman, a weaver, of Enniscorthy, was killed by the rebels, and left eight children.
- 589 Francis Plumer, of Enniscorthy, murdered on the bridge of Wexford, the twentieth of June; left a widow and four children.
- 594 Benjamin Stacey, murdered the first of June, on Vinegar-hill; left a widow and four children, of Templeshannon.
- 595 William Power, of Enniscorthy, murdered the first of June, on do.; left a widow and four children, of St. Mary's.
- Samuel Radwell, killed at Enniscorthy, the twenty-eighth of May, in battle, of Rosfdroit.
- Andrew Radwell, murdered the thirtieth of May, at David's-town.
- 1824 Anne Caulfield, her husband murdered at Oulart.
- William Hawkins, killed at Enniscorthy.
- Six of that name and family were murdered, a father, five legitimate, and one natural son.
- 597 George Stacey of Enniscorthy, wheelwright, murdered at Vinegar-hill; widow and six children left.
- 598 Joseph Mackins, schoolmaster of Enniscorthy, murdered on Vinegar-hill; widow and three children left.
- 599 Thomas Walkins, farmer, of Clonjordan, murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirty-first of May; widow and one child left.
- 600 James Campbell, and son, murdered on Vinegar-hill; a widow and four children left.
- 602 Thomas Simpson, linen-weaver, murdered on do.; a widow and two children left.
- 606 William Caslin murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirty-first of May; a widow and six children, and an infirm mother-in-law left.
- 609 John Croshaw, murdered at Enniscorthy, twenty-eighth of May; a widow left.
- 612 William Carrol, murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirty-first of May; a widow and seven children left.
- Mary Maud, widow, her son killed on do. twenty-ninth of May, of Craken, Enniscorthy.
- 616 Samuel Crumpton, killed at Enniscorthy, thirtieth of May, of do. a widow and eight children left.



- 620 Samuel Barber, of Clevals, murdered, twenty-eighth of May ; a widow and five children left, parish of Enniscorthy.
- 622 Charles Cooper, brazier, murdered near Wexford, first June ; widow and two small children, and she pregnant.
- 623 Benjamin Sunderland, hatter, of Enniscorthy, murdered on the bridge of Wexford, twentieth of June ; widow and five children left.
- 627 Eliza Pepper, of Tincurry, a son killed by the rebels, she a widow, and seven children left, parish of Ferns.
- 628 Patrick Connor, murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirtieth of May ; widow and one child left, of Enniscorthy.
- 630 John Baubier, of Finchoge, near Enniscorthy, killed the twenty-eighth of May ; three small motherless children left.
- 631 James Rigley, murdered, thirtieth of May, on Vinegar-hill, a wigmaker and a Chelsea pensioner ; widow and three small children left, of Enniscorthy.
- 632 Thomas Hall, murdered on Vinegar-hill, fourteenth of June ; a widow and nine children left, of Enniscorthy.
- 633 William Baubier, of Enniscorthy, murdered, twentieth of June, on the bridge of Wexford ; widow and two children left.
- 634 John Hawkins, murdered, twenty-eighth of May, at Enniscorthy, of Tomakippeen ; widow, three daughters, and one grand-child left.
- 635 James Sutton, of Clonmore, murdered, fourteenth of June, on Vinegar-hill ; a widow, one child, father and mother left, of Enniscorthy.
- 637 John Smith, murdered in Enniscorthy, twenty-ninth of May ; a hatter ; a widow helpless, aged seventy-nine, left, of Enniscorthy.
- 639 Samuel Oakes, of Finshoge, killed at Enniscorthy.
- 640 Michael Sutton, murdered, thirtieth of May, at Enniscorthy, of Finshoge ; a widow and six children left.
- 643 John Copeland, killed twenty-eighth of May, at Enniscorthy, of Enniscorthy.
- 645 John Larkin, of Enniscorthy, killed by the rebels.
- 648 Walter Green, shoemaker, murdered at Enniscorthy, twenty-eighth of May ; a widow and four children left, of Enniscorthy.
- 656 Margaret Dixy, of Enniscorthy, two sons killed for their loyalty.
- 657 Joseph Copeland, murdered on Vinegar-hill, twenty-first of June, parish of Kilcormuck.
- 659 William Willis, corn-merchant, of Enniscorthy, murdered on Vinegar-hill, twentieth of June.
- 660 Edward Sly, of Blackstoop, farmer, murdered at Enniscorthy, twenty-eighth of May, parish of Enniscorthy.
- 662 William Mooney, innkeeper, murdered, first of June, near Wexford ; widow pregnant, and four small children left, of Enniscorthy.
- 676 Thomas Crowley, shoemaker, killed at Enniscorthy, twenty-eighth of May ; widow and five children left, of Ferns.
- 678 William Richardfon, parish clerk and schoolmaster of Ferns, killed at Enniscorthy, twenty-eighth of May ; widow and five children left.
- 683 James White, nailer, killed at Rofs, fifth of June ; widow and seven children left.
- 710 William Sherlock, of Monart, farmer, murdered the twenty-eighth of May ; four motherless children left.
- 722 John Whiteacre, of Gorey, murdered.

- 729 Hannah Walker, of Killinahue, near Gorey, her husband murdered on Whit-funday, and she fled and left her property ; two children left.
- 730 Robert Webster, of Garrybrit, murdered in cold blood on the bridge of Enniscorthy ; left a widow and eleven children, property burned, his eldest son in Ballakeen cavalry, parish of Kilcormuck
- 731 Eliza Crane, her husband killed on the bridge of Wexford, twentieth of June.
- 738 Cornelius Hogan, of Gorey, killed by the rebels.
- 749 George Horneck, of Girrane, two sons killed, one between Enniscorthy and Wexford, the other shot at Enniscorthy, thirtieth of May. His son-in-law, George Cooper, was also murdered, his house burned and property destroyed, parish of Killane. His brother Philip murdered on Vinegar-hill.
- 748 William Neal, two sons killed, one on Vinegar-hill, and one at Scullabogue, of Ballybrennan.
- 778 Eliza Bates, her husband killed the fourth of June, 1798, parish of Camolin.
- 857 Jane Maud, her husband and two sons killed ; nine children left, parish of Clough.
- 866 Anne Maule, her uncle murdered, parish of Clough.
- 933 Mary Murphy, of Tomgara, her husband killed ; two children left, parish of Killincooly.
- 936 Anne Johnson, her husband, son, and apprentice, murdered, of Gorey.
- 958 Alice Kennedy, her husband killed, parish of Clough.
- 986 Anne Piper, her husband killed, parish of Clone.
- 996 Anne Hendrick, her husband and son killed ; three children left, parish of Clone.
- 1002 Catharine Crofts, her husband murdered, at Enniscorthy, twenty-eighth of May ; four children left, of Clone.
- 1009 Jane Cooke, her husband killed at Ballatigan.  
Reverend Mr. Pentland, a protestant clergyman, murdered on Vinegar-hill, he was a resident at Killan parish.
- 1001 Alice Butler, her husband killed, twenty-eighth of May, at Enniscorthy, parish of Templeshambo.
- 1015 Margaret Stanford, of Tubberneering, her husband killed ; five children left.
- 1072 Jane Gibson, her husband murdered on the bridge of Wexford ; twenty-first of June ; two children left, of Wexford.
- 1094 Eliza Ellison, husband killed ; six children left, parish of Killan.
- 1098 Mary Byron, her god-father, mother, uncle, and husband, murdered at New Rofs.
- 1010 Jane Warren, her husband murdered at New Rofs, her eldest son gone mad.
- 1126 Susanna Whitney, her son murdered on the bridge of Wexford, parish of New Rofs.
- 1130 Anne Vero, of Verona, her husband, Charles Vero, esq. a magistrate murdered at Enniscorthy, of Rofsdroit.
- 1134 Alice Foxton, of Kyle, her husband murdered, twenty-second of June, near Gorey ; three children left.
- 1136 Sarah Hinch, her husband murdered near Gorey, parish of Kilmehew.
- 1137 Mary Lord, of C. Annesly, her husband murdered at Kilmuckridge ; six children left.
- 1143 Sarah Hubster, her husband murdered ; five children left, parish of Kilmehew.

- 1144 Eliza Bafs, her husband, Joseph, murdered fourth of June ; two children left, parish of Gorey.
- 1146 Mary Whitty, her father murdered at Enniscorthy, twenty-eighth of May, of St. Mary's parish.
- 1152 Elizabeth Dormer, her husband murdered ; four children left, of St. Mary's parish.
- 1156 Margaret Goodeson, her husband killed at Enniscorthy ; nine children and mother left, of Kilcormuck.
- 1158 Mary Johnston, of Garane, her husband killed, fourth June ; one child and mother left, parish of Kilmuckridge.
- 1160 Elizabeth Comerford, of Kyle, her husband killed ; five children left, of Kilmuckridge.
- 1194 Mary Edwards, her husband burnt at Scullabogue ; one child left, of Kilavin.
- 1202 Mary Ralph, her husband killed, twenty-eighth of May, at Enniscorthy ; seven children left, of Ferns.
- 1203 Alice Brownrigg, father murdered ; five children left, of New Ross.
- 1211 Catharine Warren, her husband murdered ; two children left, of Ballycanew.
- 1215 Anne Saunders, her father and mother murdered, of Ballycanew.
- 1217 Esther Croshaw, her husband and three sons murdered, verified by the reverend Joshua Nunn, of Rosfdroit.
- 1255 Elizabeth Walsh, of Carrigeen, her husband killed twenty-eighth of May, at Enniscorthy ; one child left.
- 1269 Anne Love, her husband murdered, parish of Ballycanew.
- 1272 Esther Hawkins, her husband murdered, fifth of June, near Enniscorthy ; three children left, of Templeshannon.
- 1274 Susanna McDaniel, of Daphne, husband, William, murdered, twenty-eighth of May, at Enniscorthy ; four children left, of Rosfdroit.
- 1280 Elizabeth Sparrow's husband, of Templeshannon, murdered on Vinegar-hill ; twentieth of June ; two children left.
- 1284 Mary Hatton's husband, of Enniscorthy, murdered on Vinegar-hill, was portrieve of Enniscorthy, of St. Mary's.
- 1288 Mary Sparrow's husband, Henry, of Enniscorthy, murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirtieth of May, of St. Mary's.
- 1289 Agnala McDaniel, of Ballygeston, husband murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirtieth of May ; five children left.
- 1291 Sarah Ganford, of Monglafs, husband murdered on Vinegar-hill, twenty-first of June.
- 1292 Mary Prescott, of Enniscorthy, husband murdered on Vinegar-hill, twentieth of June ; five children left.
- 1300 Hannah Birt, of Enniscorthy, husband murdered there, twenty-eighth of May ; two children left.
- 1315 Elizabeth Jones, of Tincurry, husband murdered on Vinegar-hill, seventh of June ; six children left, parish of Ferns.
- 1319 Sarah Brickley, of Enniscorthy, husband murdered ; three children left.
- 1321 Martha Rath, of Enniscorthy, husband killed there ; one child left.
- 1322 Anne Warren, of Ballinbeg, husband killed, parish of Killan.
- 1336 Reverend Mr. Heydon, murdered in Enniscorthy, rector of Ferns.
- 1354 Elizabeth Beates, of Ballynamona, son killed ; three children left, parish of Tomb.



- 1358 Elizabeth Butler, of Ballycomeclone, husband killed ; two children left.
- 1375 Mary Langrish, of Sandyford, husband killed at Gorey, in June ; three children left young.
- 1392 Jane Gordon, of Ballyduff, husband murdered on Wexford bridge, twentieth of June ; four children left, parish of Tomb.
- 1445 Catharine Taylor, husband killed ; five children left, parish of Camolin.
- 1463 Elinor M'Bryan, husband killed at Enniscorthy, twenty-fifth of June ; one child left, of Enniscorthy.
- 1464 Mary Saunders's husband, of Enniscorthy, murdered the thirtieth of May.
- 1467 John Stringer, killed at Enniscorthy by the king's troops, through a mistake.
- 1489 Susanna Leech, of Enniscorthy, husband murdered first of June ; three children left.
- 1491 Anne Bint, of Enniscorthy, husband murdered, twenty-eighth of May.
- 1496 Anne Basset, of Enniscorthy, wounded at Enniscorthy, twenty-eighth of May, and murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirtieth of May.
- 1497 Margaret Hawkins's husband, of Greenville, Enniscorthy, murdered on Vinegar-hill, seventh of June ; six children left.
- 1500 Thomas Daly, of Enniscorthy, miller and yeoman, two sons burned at Scullabogue, one twelve years old, the other fourteen.
- 1502 Mary Coplin's husband murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirtieth of May ; seven children left, of Edermine.
- 1504 Rebecca Darmond's husband, of Corrygrege, murdered on Vinegar-hill, twenty-ninth of May, parish of Templeshambo.
- 1506 Elizabeth James, of Mangan, husband murdered at Enniscorthy, twenty-ninth of May ; seven children left, of Templeshambo.
- 1509 Mary Martin, of Oulart, husband murdered near Enniscorthy, first of June, parish of Kilcormuck.
- 1512 Jane Whitney, of Tinnick, husband, Thomas, murdered near Enniscorthy, first of June, parish of Kilcormuck.
- 1517 Rebecca Mowles, of Craneful, husband murdered, twenty-ninth of May, in flying from Enniscorthy to Rofs ; two children left, parish of Clone.
- 1521 Anne Hawkins, husband murdered on Vinegar-hill, twenty-ninth of May ; three children left, of Clone.
- 1526 Margaret Thomas's husband murdered at Enniscorthy, twenty-eighth of May, sexton to Ferns' church ; four children left.
- 1566 Henrietta Parsons, of Gorey, husband killed near Carnew, thirtieth of June, of Gorey.
- 1577 Mary Lett, of Newtown, husband murdered ; eight children left, parish of Kilmuckridge.
- 1579 Winifred Slator, of Smithfield, county of Dublin, husband murdered at Scullabogue.
- 1652 Hannah Pender, of Clough, husband murdered ; four children left.
- 1667 Eliza Sutton, Enniscorthy, husband murdered at do. twenty-ninth May, three children left.
- 1672 Mary Brophy, of Curraghmore, husband murdered at Scullabogue, of Tintern.
- 1681 Eliza Austin, of Ballyadams, husband murdered, six children left.
- 1682 Eliza Frances, of Ballyadams, husband killed, six children left.
- 1698 Eliza Butler, husband killed, of Gorey cavalry, two children left, of Prospect.

- 1755 Elinor Johnson, husband murdered, four children left, parish of Kilrush.
- 1759 Ann Stephens, of Ballinree, husband taken prisoner 11th June, stripped almost naked, marched, after five days imprisonment, to Vinegar-hill, without hat or shoes, and shot there, carried first to Gorey, her father also killed, three children left, of Tomb.
- 1761 Mary Hawkins, of Monart, husband murdered, three children left, of Monomolin.
- 1769 Mary Lord, of Monomolin, husband murdered, nine children left.
- 1771 Hannah Hawkins, of Enniscorthy, husband murdered near do. first June, four children left, of St. Mary's.
- 1807 Ann Griffin, husband murdered at Vinegar-hill, six children left, parish of Killan.
- 1808 Jane Donovan of Tubbergall, husband John killed, three children left, parish of Kilcormuck.
- 1809 Mary Lawler of Wexford, killed at do. in a gun boat, three children left.
- 1812 Mary Johnson, husband murdered, parish of Kilmuckridge.
- 1817 Mary Whitney of Adamstown, son John burned at Scullabogue, parish of Adamstown.
- 1829 Catherine Reynolds of Monart, husband murdered at Enniscorthy.
- 1830 Catherine Murphy of Enniscorthy, husband murdered at Vinegar-hill, thirtieth May, of St. Mary's.
- 1831 Mary Farrel of Enniscorthy, her son, one of the five murdered in Killoughrain wood.
- 1833 Juliana Pepper, son murdered eleventh June, on Vinegar-hill, parish of Killan.
- 1837 Mary Edwards, husband murdered at Vinegar-hill, parish of Wexford.
- 1841 Ann Ormsby of Gorey, husband, father, brother, and three cousins, murdered.
- 542 William Butler of Clough, three miles from Gorey, murdered, widow and three children left.
- 1830 Ann Christian of Clobemon, husband murdered at Ballingale, at Mr. Turner's, with torture, left four children.
- 949 Mary Cane of Clone, her husband murdered.
- 1277 Margaret Callister, pursued and wounded at Enniscorthy by rebels, twenty-ninth May, and killed unknowingly by the king's troops, twenty-first June.
- Thomas M'Daniel, Joseph M'Daniel murdered 20th May, of Rosdrait.
- Henry Biftot murdered 28th May, at Enniscorthy.
- Jacob Minchin, wounded on 28th May, at Enniscorthy, afterwards murdered on Vinegar-hill.
- Richard Whealy, an old man of eighty-five years, murdered at his own door, of St. Mary, Enniscorthy.
- Thomas Hall murdered, in presence of his wife, on Vinegar hill, being first cruelly whipped with a scourge, composed of whipcord and twisted brass wire, of do.
- Thomas Cavenagh endured the same treatment, and suffered in presence of his wife, of do.
- 628 Pat. Connors, killed on Vinegar-hill.
- 631 James Rigly murdered on Vinegar-hill, of do.
- William Basset, do. do. of do.
- Michael Furlong, do. do. being first cruelly scourged, of do.
- Edward Prescot, do. do. of St. Mary, Enniscorthy.

Thomas

Thomas Robson, murdered on Vinegar-hill, of St. Mary, Enniscorthy.  
 William Sly, do. do. of do.  
 Thomas McBrair, an officer on half pay, murdered on the hill, of do.  
 Richard Bennet, murdered near St. John's, of do.  
 Garret Murphy, murdered on the hill, of do.  
 Richard Murphy, murdered in Barony of Forth, of do.  
 Henry Drury, murdered in Templeshannon, of do.  
 Thomas Rigley, murdered and burned in the market-house of Enniscorthy.  
 Sarah Daly, wife of a yeoman, forced to Scullabogue and burned in the barn, of do.

William Daly, James Daly, only children of the above, burned with their mother in the barn, the eldest seventeen years, the other fourteen, of do.

John Plunket, senior, murdered at home, of do.

John Plunket, junior, yeoman, wounded in the attack on the town, afterwards thrown by the rebels from an upper window and killed, of do.

Jeremiah Smith, murdered on the hill, of do.

John Smith, do do. of do.

Charles Taylor, revenue officer, murdered at Edermine, of do.

Joseph Smith, murdered on the hill, of do.

Benjamin Sunderland, murdered on the bridge of Wexford, of do.

William Moony, murdered on the road from Wexford to Enniscorthy, of do.

James Lett, do. do. do. of do.

Thomas Wilkinson, do. do. do. of do.

622 Charles Cooper, murdered near Castle-bridge, of do.

Thomas Knight, killed in the engagement at Enniscorthy, of do.

John Brahee, murdered on the hill, of do.

Henry Bais, murdered fourth June, at Gorey.

James Wheatly, do. at do.

William Spencer, and William Walker, do. sixth June, at do.

Thomas Jolly, George Reed, Michael Patchel, John Needham, Joshua Cheafe, William Hill, Henry Rogers, Joseph Reed, George Nicholson, George Cockell, William Bates, John Cooke, William Spencer, Humphrey Spencer, all murdered twenty-second June, at Gorey, called bloody Friday, with twelve more.

John Godkin, George and William Butler, Peter Clough, Stranford Clough, John Buttle, all killed at the battle of Ballyellis thirtieth June, of Kilbride.

Ralph Williams, murdered second July, at Gorey.

Robert Webster, Henry Kinch, do. twentieth June, at do.

William Buttle, do. twenty-third June, John Burke, John Ellis, John Fowler, murdered sixth June, at do.

Robert Maude, Jonathan Sadler, George Carley, George Thomas, John Bennett, protestants, killed in the union of Ardcolm, the church in Castle-bridge.

Two brothers of the name of Bateman, compelled by their landlord John Hay, to join the rebels, were killed by the king's troops on their return from Vinegar-hill.

— Stephens,



——— Stephens, of Castle-bridge, was killed there by the rebels on their first rising.

John Shee, burned at Scullabogue, of Ballybrazil.

William Jeffares, killed at the battle of Rofs.

Richard Burrell, killed by the rebels in their retreat from Rofs, of Mul-rankin.

Hyacinth White, burned at Scullabogue, of do. do.

Isaac Jeffords, killed by the army, of do. do.

Peter Burb, Robert Burb, murdered on Wexford-bridge, of do.

Samuel Murphy, James Fannin, John Warren, George Piper, Joseph Henry, Thomas James, Samuel James, Robert Hughes, Michael Deacon, protestants, murdered in the parish of Killan.

Edward Dorman, shot fourth June, at Gorey.

William Prender, piked on Gorey-hill, at do.

William and Robert Bale, killed at do. twenty-second June, of Rofs-menouge.

James Dorman, do. of do.

Robert Mercy, killed tenth June, of Killtennell.

Robert Earl, do. twenty-second June, of Monomolin.

William Griffin, do. twenty-second do. of Ardemine.

Isaac Earl, piked on Vinegar-hill, of do.

John Feltis, piked do. on Gorey-hill, of Kilnahue parish.

John Tomkin, do. tenth June, on Limerick-hill, of do.

James Moore, do. ninth June, at Arklow-hill, of do.

William Inman, do. thirtieth June, at Ballyellis, of do.

—— Dowger, second July, piked on Gorey-hill, of do.

Roger Pierce, do. at Limerick-hill, of do.

John Maud and son, piked on Gorey-hill, of Clough.

John Shaw, do. of do.

William Debbin, do. of do.

Peter Stanford, do. thirtieth June, at Ballyellis, of do.

William Butler, do. thirtieth do. at do. of do.

William and Joseph Spencer, twenty-second June, of Killcaben.

John and George Hall, killed by Hacket's party, fifteenth October, of do.

John Lancafter, twenty-seventh May, of Kiltrish.

John Dangrell, do. of do.

Two Shaws, shot do. of do.

—— Grindly, and sister, shot do. of do.

Henry Johnson, of Killena, twenty-seventh May, of Donoughmore.

James Wrath, do. twenty-seventh May, of do.

Joseph Kennedy, twenty-second June, of Tomb.

Richard Errett, John Lee, John Sharp, of Clough, killed at Gorey, twenty-second June.

Timothy Foxton, killed at Gorey, second June, of Kilcormuck.

—— James, father and son, murdered, striving to escape from Rofs, before the battle of Rofs.

Clement

Clement Gifford, piked to death, of Rofs.

Three gentlemen, messieurs Bartholomew Cliffe, Richard Elliot, and Richard Annesley, murdered at the Roar, of Rofs.

Two others, a father and a son, named Meany, were also murdered at a little distance in the county Kilkenny, of Rofs.

William Hoare, esquire, of Harperstown, captain Allen Cox, of Coolcliffe, piked on Wexford-bridge, twentieth June.

William Eakins, of Slevoy, burned or shot at Scullabogue.

Robert Cook, butler to reverend Robert Hawkshaw, do.

Do. his wife murdered.

James White, of Taghmon, killed in Rofs.

Benjamin Green, of Coolstuff, murdered in Wexford.

Two men of the name of Esmond, William and Thomas, burned or shot at Scullabogue.

James Wade, mason of Coolstuff, burned at do.

Peter Standford, and William Butler, killed at Ballyellis, of Clough.

William Butler, at Gorey, twenty-second June, of do.

William Dobbin, and Joseph Kennedy, twenty-second June, of do.

William Jones, fourth June, Thomas Fennel, twenty-second June, of do.

Richard Dugan, do. William Pendor, fourth do. Henry Rynehart, on Wexford-bridge, of do.

Reverend Mr. Burrowes, Joseph Aston, of Kilmuckridge.

Thomas Earl, and Edward Howlan Darcy, esquire, twenty-seventh May, of do.

James Aston, Henry Rath, Robert Johnston, of do.

Clement Goff, killed in cold blood on his own ground of Tomnaboly, parish of Kilcormick.

Anne Escott, a poor old school-mistress, wife of a Chelsea pensioner, wantonly smothered with others in a pump hole, of do.

George Warren, murdered on Vinegar-hill, of Killan.

James Fannin, do. do. of do.

Allen Ellison, do. do. of do.

Thomas James, do. on the road to Rofs, of do.

Reverend John Pentland, murdered on Vinegar-hill, of do.

James Wade, burned in the barn at Scullabogue, of do.

Samuel Cottom, shot at Scullabogue, of Adamstown.

John Cottom, do. do. of do.

John Whitney, do. do. of do.

John Parslow, murdered near his own house, of do.

Thomas Parslow, almost an idiot, murdered near his father's house, of do.

Shepherd Parslow, escaped from the first persecution to Rofs, returned to make up his harvest, when he was horridly murdered by some of the rebellious banditti that infested the country, of do.

Thomas Bell, shot at Scullabogue, of Tintern.

David Besley, do. do. of do.

Miles Vaughan, do. do. of do.

William Reel, burned at do. in the barn, of do.

Water Basset, do. do. of do.

Thomas Kelly, burned at Scullabogue, of Tintern.

John Duffield, do. do. of do.

John Power, do. do. of do.

Jane Presley, do. do. of do.

Ann Presley, do. do. of do.

Walter Green, murdered on Vinegar-hill, St. Mary's, Enniscorthy.

William Owens, an aged man, his brains dashed out by an iron bar, of do.

John Larkin, do. in the barony of Forth, of do.

Henry Cookman, a gentleman deranged in mind, murdered in the street, of do.

John Kenersley, murdered on the hill, an old man, of do.

John Hill, do. do. of do.

George Sparrow, do. in the town of Wexford of do.

John Clarke, do. in Enniscorthy of do.

Edward Flinn, do. of do.

John Walsh, do. of do.

Philip Annesley, do. on the hill, of do.

William Clampit, John Dixey, John Farrell, John Crumpton, and James Peppar, yeomen, surprised and murdered near the woods of Killoghoran, of do.

Thomas Cook, murdered on the road from Wexford to Enniscorthy, of St. John's.

Joseph Grothier, do. on the hill, of do.

William Power, do. of do.

Saunders Frain, forced by the rebels to Ross, and put in front of the battle where he was killed, of do.

John English, burned in the barn at Scullabogue, of do.

James Trimble, do. of do.

John Prescott, murdered in the town of Enniscorthy, of do.

Edward White, esquire, senior, do. at home, of do.

Edward White, junior, do. do. of do.

William Hawkins, murdered at Davidstown, of Templeshannon

John White, esquire, do. on the hill, of do.

James Brickley, do. at Oulart, of do.

Samuel Brumpton, do. in the barony of Forth, of do.

John Brumpton, do. on the hill, of do.

Edward Hayes, do. do. of do.

Thomas Rath, do. at the fort of Duncannon, of do.

Samuel Hall, do. in the town, of do.

Samuel Mills, missing, of do.

Mrs. Esmond, starved while the rebels held Enniscorthy, of do.

Edward Hawkins, murdered on the hill, of Ballitwishard.

John Carton, do. do. of do.

Samuel Babier, do. on the hill, of do.

James Sutton, do. do. of do.

Miles Frain, do. at Ballimurran, of do.

Thomas Watkins, do. at home, of Templeshambo.

Edward Watkins, do. of do.

John Stafford, do. of do.

Thomas Dormer, do. of do.



Roger Percival, murdered on the hill, of Templehambo.  
 Joseph Brown, do. of do.  
 William Nanton, do. of do.  
 Richard Ganford, do. of do.  
 Stephen William Reynolds, do. on Vinegar-hill, of do.  
 George James, do. at home, of do.  
 Richard Coplin, do. do. of do.  
 John Hawkins, do. on hill, of do.  
 William Sherlock, do. at Enniscorthy, of do.  
 John Sherlock, do. do. of do.  
 John Pounden, esquire, first wounded in the engagement twenty-eighth May, then murdered, of do.  
 Samuel Murphy, murdered on Vinegar-hill, of Killan.  
 George Kearley, boat-builder, aged about seventy, a protestant, was dragged out of his house, put on his knees in his garden, where his brains were blown out; an innocent honest man.  
 William Thoruton, coachmaker in Wexford, in endeavouring to make his escape to Waterford, taken near Taghmon, his eyes first piked out, and barbarously murdered the next day.

*Protestant inhabitants of the parish of Ferns, murdered in the rebellion.*

Thomas Bookey, esquire, lieutenant of Camolin cavalry, killed by father John Murphy's party.  
 Reverend Francis Turner, rector of Edermine, murdered in his own house, of do.  
 Robert Ganford, farmer, Richard Ganford, his son, Richard Ganford, his nephew, Thomas Dowse, farmer, all murdered in the reverend Mr. Turner's house, all of do.  
 William Richardson, parish clerk, Francis Smith, ditto, Richard Thackaberry, farmer, William Rudd, farmer, Thomas Crofts, ditto, John Crofts, his brother, John Crofts, his nephew, all killed in Enniscorthy, the day of the first engagement, twenty-eighth of May, and all of do.  
 Roger Sparks, farmer, John Sindon, labourer, John Hawkins, farmer, Thomas Piper, farmer, Thomas Kendrick, farmer, Samuel Kendrick, ditto, his son, Samuel Crofts, farmer, William Kane, labourer, Thomas Mowles, farmer, all murdered on Vinegar-hill, of do.  
 John Pounder, farmer, John Sly, ditto, John Rickaby, linen weaver, Nicholas Jones, carpenter, John Mackee, gauger, all murdered on Vinegar-hill, of do.  
 John Berry, labourer, killed at Gorey, of do.  
 Philip Bacon, labourer, murdered on Wexford-bridge, of do.  
 George Graham, farmer and miller, murdered in his own house, of do.  
 Thomas Hawkins, and Edward Sly, farmers, killed in retreating to Duncanon Fort, of do.  
 Thomas Wallis, labourer, killed at Ferns, of do.  
 Francis Monk, murdered, of Horetown.  
 Richard Davis, do. of do.  
 Edward Monk, do. of do.  
 J. Chamney, do. of do.

[ P 2 ]

*Protestant.*

*Protestants who were murdered in the rebellion in the parish of Kilcormick.*

Robert Webster, the nephew of Robert, senior, of Kilcormick.

Holland Finley, Thomas Floyd, Roger Floyd, Thomas Floyd, Thomas Whitney, Samuel West, Samuel Judd, Benjamin Judd, Thomas Fogan, Ann Efcott, George Kearley, all of Kilcormick.

## 10.

*County of the city of Dublin,*  
*to wit.*

ANNE PIPER, alias Kendrick, widow of the late George Piper, came before me this day, and made oath on the Holy Evangelists, and said, 'That she and her late husband, George Piper, lived in the parish of Clone, in the county of Wexford, where their house and offices were burned, and all their substance was destroyed by the rebels, on the twenty-ninth, or thirtieth of May, 1798, for no other reason, as she verily believes, except that they were protestants; for the property of all the loyal protestants in that county was destroyed. Deponent saith, that her said husband was taken prisoner between Vinegar-hill and Scullough's-bush, in said county, by a party of rebels, who conducted him to Vinegar-hill afore said, where the said rebels were then encamped; and that deponent and her said husband, with four children, remained there till next morning, viz. Thursday the thirty-first of May, 1798, when they were discharged, in consequence of an oath sworn by one Thomas Hart, to the following purport: "That he, the said George Piper, was a quiet innocent man;" which oath was sworn before a rebel court-martial, at that time sitting at Vinegar-hill afore said. Deponent saith, that her said husband was discharged, but at the same time was informed, that he could not be safe without the protection of a priest. In consequence of which she and her husband repaired to father Edward Redmond, parish priest of Ferns, in said county, but as deponent and her husband were going there, they were arrested at Milltown-bridge, near Ferns, afore said, by another party of rebels, well armed, who led her said husband before one William Goff, who seemed to be a captain of said rebels, who ordered him to be put to death, and repeatedly said and swore that he and every person of his profession that came in his way should be put to death; on which the said George Piper produced a pass obtained from one William Lacy, a rebel leader, and commissary to the rebels on Vinegar-hill afore said, to enable him to go and to secure his person, while he went to father Edward Redmond afore said; but as the said Goff declared that the said pass was a forgery, she, this deponent, went off with the utmost speed to the said Edward Redmond, whom she solicited to save the life of her husband, but the said Edward Redmond declared that he could not, and would not do any thing for deponent or her husband, though the father of deponent and the said Edward Redmond had always lived on terms of intimate friendship. Deponent saith, she returned directly to Milltown bridge afore said, and that she told the said rebels, though falsely, in hopes of saving her husband's life, that the said priest desired that her husband should be conducted to him, and he was accordingly led by a party of rebels before said priest. Deponent saith, that the said priest became very angry, and much enraged, on seeing her and her husband, and declared he would do nothing for her, or any of her husband's sort, and he ordered the said George Piper to Vinegar-hill, to suffer where he would get his deserts; and said, that he and all his sort, that came in his way, should die, though deponent on her knees, and with tears in her eyes, solicited him by the early friendship of their fathers, and their close intimacy as neighbours, to save her husband's life: but the said priest remained deaf to her

her intreaties, and ordered her husband to Vinegar-hill to suffer ; in consequence of which, deponent faith, a rebel attempted to put her said husband to death with a pike, but the said priest seized the rebel in his arms, and ordered the said rebels to take the said George Piper to Vinegar-hill, the place of sufferance for him and all his sort. Deponent faith, her said husband was immediately conducted to Vinegar-hill, and as she verily believes, was put to death there that evening, as a woman of the name of Walkin, related to the said George Piper, declared, and has since proved, on a court-martial held at Enniscorthy, in the aforesaid county, that she saw the body of the said George Piper after he was killed, on the evening of same day, on Vinegar-hill aforesaid.

*Sworn before me, this 8th day of June, 1799,*  
W. LIGHTBURNE.

her  
ANNE X PIPER,  
mark.

# II.

ROBERT WHITNEY of Moneytucker in the county of Wexford, a member of captain Richards's yeomen cavalry, deposes, That he was at Enniscorthy on the twenty-eighth day of May last, on which day the rebels made an attack on said town ; that when the troops evacuated said place, he returned to his house to protect his wife and family, was pursued, and narrowly escaped the fury of the rebels, by concealing himself in a covert of furze ; that deponent and wife, feeling their situation unsafe and dangerous, quitted their house, and went for better protection to Henry Alcock's of Wilton in said county, esquire, where they remained for that night ; the next morning deponent, anxious about the fate of his house and property, returned and found that his house was nearly plundered, and learned that vengeance was denounced against him ; that in consequence thereof, he and his wife on the same day removed from his own house to Lingstown, in the barony of Forth, to the residence of Mr. Boxwell, distant about twenty miles, and remained there for a few days ; in the mean time the rebels plundered him of the entire of his household furniture, provision of all kinds, horses, cows, sheep, pigs, calves, fowls, &c. burned his dwelling-house and out-offices, propagated evil reports of his conduct, as the means of working his destruction ; in consequence of which, a search was made for deponent by the rebels, under the command of Thomas Doyle of Moneytucker, who stiled himself a captain. Deponent was found and brought a prisoner by a guard of rebels from Lingstown to Enniscorthy ; the charge against deponent was, that he was an orangeman, as his mittimus set forth, signed by John Colclough of Ballyteigue. Deponent on his way experienced several severe assaults and insults ; being brought to Enniscorthy, deponent was put in close confinement for three days, was then taken under a strong guard to Vinegar-hill, where he expected every instant to be murdered ; that many of the rebels sharpened their pikes in his presence, and with a savage pleasure, exclaimed they did so in compliment to him, that he might the sooner be put out of pain ; that he was confined in the tower of a windmill on said hill, from seven o'clock in the morning until about five in the afternoon without receiving any kind of nourishment ; was then marched back to Enniscorthy, and put into his prison again, where he remained about an hour, when he was desired to come out by Thomas Carty of Enniscorthy, to a place where the rebels had just whipped one George Stacey a loyalist ; without any trial or reason that deponent could account for, he was stripped of his coat, waistcoat, and shirt, and tied up to a tree, planted in the main street of Enniscorthy, which the rebels called



called the tree of liberty; when one of the rebels present ordered him to get one hundred and fifty lashes with a scourge composed (he was told) of whipcord and wire; before he had received this number, the cords with which his hands were bound loosed by his struggling, when deponent fell on his knees to supplicate the rebels not to punish him any more, declaring that the face of God he might never see if he knew any thing of an orangeman; that the rebels immediately cried out that he was very safe in saying that, as he knew that no heretick could ever see the face of God; not content with this cruelty, they kept him in the street with a gun presented at his breast, declaring that they would deprive him of his existence. After suffering all this agony, they blindfolded him with his shirt tied about his head, and dragged him in this condition back to prison, exclaiming in the most shocking manner, that if he did not relent before morning, and make some discoveries of orangemen, that they would pike him to death; that he was ordered dressing for the wounds he received on his ribs and loins; the next day he was marched along with other prisoners to the town of Wexford, guarded by several rebels, who frequently goaded him with their pikes, to make him get on with that speed, which his languid and reduced condition would not permit him to do; that the said rebels stopped him three times on his way, swearing that they would shoot him; that he was confined in the coal-house of the barrack of Wexford, and remained there standing in mire for one whole night, fastened by cords to another prisoner, nor did he receive more food than a few cold potatoes; that deponent was removed from thence to another apartment not quite so bad in the barrack, and continued there a prisoner until liberated by his majesty's forces, when they took possession of said town of Enniscorthy.

ROBERT WHITNEY.

*Savorn before me this thirteenth day of October, 1798,*  
STEPHEN RAM.

I 2.

*County of Wexford,* } ROBERT WHITNEY of Moneytucker, in the county of  
*to wit.* } Wexford, yeoman in the Enniscorthy cavalry, maketh oath,  
\_\_\_\_\_ } That he heard the rebels say while their prisoner, that if any  
one of them killed three protestants he was sure of salvation; and if any one of them were killed they went directly to heaven, as they were fighting the battle of Christ; that on the contrary that any heretick like him went to hell immediately; that they said it was prophesied many years ago, that there would be but one religion, and that it would be theirs (meaning the popish religion,) and any that would not comply by *fair means*, should by the point of the sword; he also deposes, that the rebels (conversing about the murders that had been committed) said that was the way to put down heresy, from which he firmly believes, that it was their intention to murder all protestants; and he further believes, that no protestant can at present reside with safety in the country; that his farm is between four and five miles from Enniscorthy, and that he has not been there since the twentieth of September last, through fear of being murdered; he also deposes, that while he was at Mr. Boxwell's in the barony of Forth, whither he fled for security, he heard and truly believes, that one Whitty a popish priest in that country christened many protestants; and that he, with thirty-seven other prisoners in Enniscorthy, were obliged

obliged in preservation of their lives to cross themselves (or to bless themselves) as the papists term that ceremony.

*Sworn before me at Enniscorthy in the county of  
Wexford, this 3d day of December, 1798,*  
WILLIAM RICHARDS.

ROBERT WHITNEY.

12.

*County of Wexford,*  
*to wit.*

} THE information of Samuel Hendrick, of Kilconnel, in said  
- } county, farmer, who being duly examined and sworn, saith,  
- } That on the twenty-ninth day of May last, informant was taken  
prisoner by a number of rebels, and by them brought to Patrick Quigley, a popish  
priest of the parish of Clone, in said county, in order to obtain a protection from  
him, to preserve him from being murdered. That informant being brought, as aforesaid,  
to the said Patrick Quigley, he replied, when asked for a protection, that informant,  
until married, could not obtain a protection, as his present marriage, viz. by the  
reverend Mr. Handcock, minister of the parish of Kilcormuck, was of no use, as it  
only served to gratify a brutal passion; and must, therefore, be married by him, or  
some other of his persuasion. That informant, in preservation of his life, was again  
married by the said Patrick Quigley, and that the said Patrick Quigley, at the time  
of his thus being married, extorted from informant, the sum of one pound two shil-  
lings and nine pence.

SAMUEL HENDRICK.

*Sworn before me at Enniscorthy, this twenty-ninth  
day of March, 1799,*  
A. JACOB.

13.

*The trial of Thomas Clooney.*

ON the trial of Thomas Clooney, a rebel leader, held at Wexford, the eighth of July, 1799, it appeared, on the evidence of Richard Ganford, and others, that a gang of rebels, who were sent in quest of protestants, seized on Whitfun Monday, 1798, at Mountglass, near Clooney's house, the said Ganford, John Gill, Isaac Rigley, his son, and some other protestants; that after burning their houses, they kept them prisoners that night, and conveyed them next morning to a place called the Leap, where Clooney, and a Mr. Devereux, another rebel leader, were, at the head of a numerous body of them; that these two captains ordered the loyalists into a gravel pit, and desired them to prepare to be executed; that soon after, an order was given to march to Vinegar-hill, which was instantly obeyed; that when they arrived at Mr. Swiney's house, in Templeshannon, a suburb of Enniscorthy, William Hanton, a protestant, was dragged out by a party of rebels, and put to death; that the remainder of the prisoners were committed to the old walls of the wind-mill; that John Gill applied three or four times to Clooney, to save his life; that at last he ordered the rebel guard to let Gill out to him, which they complied with; that Gill stood near Clooney, who was on horse-back, for near two minutes, about three steps from the mill door, when Clooney turned his horse away, as if to depart. He was then forced back into the mill, and soon after some person cried out, "Drag the orange rogue out!" on which Gill was forced

forced out of the mill, and a rebel cut his throat with a scythe. Edward Hampton, one of the prisoners, while on his knees, preparing for death, was so near Gill, that his blood spouted on him.

## 14.

## VINEGAR HILL.

*The trial of William Fenlon.*

ON the trial of William Fenlon, the twelfth of September, 1799, at Wexford, for the murder of Thomas Hall, a protestant, on the fourteenth of June, 1798, at Vinegar-hill, it appeared, on the evidence of Mary Hall, widow of the deceased, that on the morning of that day, she sent her son with some tea to her husband, who was at that time a prisoner in Mr. Bayle's barn: her son returned soon after, and told her that his father begged she would repair directly to him, as he had been put into the wind-mill, on the top of the hill, and was afraid of being put to death; and on going to her husband, he said, pointing to William Fenlon, the nailer, Bill Fenlon is the person that will kill me. Fenlon then entered the mill, and desired her husband to come out with him. She asked Fenlon, whether he would not give her husband a trial? He answered, that he would, and that Daniel Flaherty (a man who had sworn against her husband) should try him. She said she was contented, provided he was tried; and begged he would have compassion on her and her ten children. Fenlon then said, he would shoot him first, and try him afterwards. Fenlon, on that, tore her husband out of her arms, and placed centries on each door to keep her in. Some time after, hearing a shot fired, she forced her way out of the door, and saw the rebels dragging a body by the heels. Fenlon was there with a blunderbuss and an officer's sash; and on enquiring, she found that the body they were dragging, was her husband's. She took the body in her arms, during which time it thundered violently, with much lightning; on which the rebels fell on their knees, and blessed themselves. Some of them desired her to throw away the body of her husband, and to bless herself. They asked her, "What was the reason of the thunder?" She answered, "That God was angry at their acts." "No, you whore!" replied they, "God is founding the horn of joy, because an orangeman is killed." Her husband, who she thought was dead, stretched out his feet, and turned to her, saying, "Molly, my dear, take me from these people;" on which he expired. His body was black, as if from a cat-o'-nine-tails, and had the mark of a bullet, that entered his breast, and came out at his shoulder. The rebels, among whom was the prisoner, refused to let her take the body; but she said she would not leave it. They said they would not kill her, as she was with child, and she would have a christian,\* which she never had before; but that if she was so fond of a dead husband, they would cut him in pieces, and put him in her skirts.

James Hall, son of the deceased, confirmed her evidence, and added, that Morgan Byrne,† ordered a man to whip his father, and called out for one Murtagh Keane,‡ to come to shoot him; but some one answered, that Keane was gone to Mr. Richards's.

*The*

\* On a supposition, that the child must be brought up a Roman catholic:

† The son of Luke Byrne, a man of wealth and education.

‡ The common executioner, who, it is said, put three hundred persons to death on Vinegar-hill.



## 15.

*The following facts appeared on the trial of Andrew Farrell, a leader of the rebels, charged with being concerned in various murders. He was tried the twenty-second of May, 1800, at Wexford, having eluded justice a long time.*

WILLIAM FURLONG, a protestant, declared upon oath, that he was taken prisoner by the rebels, on Whitfun Tuesday, 1798, and conducted to the windmill, where he saw the reverend Mr. Pentland, and the reverend Mr. Trocke, three men of the name of Gill, and about thirty more loyalists. Andrew Farrell had a sword in his hand, and was called captain by the rebels. He desired the loyalists to fall on their knees, and prepare for death, as they should be killed directly. He then seized Mr. Pentland by the breast, and dragged him out of the mill by force, though he resisted as much as he could. He was instantly put to death, and fourteen or fifteen more immediately met with the same fate. Andrew Farrell told the witnesses, that he must know where there were arms and ammunition concealed in Enniscorthy, and that he should be saved if he discovered where they were. He said he would; and on going there, his life was saved by a man who had been master to his uncle. He saw Farrell distributing powder to the rebels. He believes that only eight of the protestants who were in the windmill, escaped death.

Francis Bradley, saw Farrell conducting to Vinegar-hill Philip Annesley, a protestant, who desired him to take his watch and money, and give them to his friends, because he said Farrell was taking him to be killed; but he was afraid to do so.

Henry Whitney, a protestant, who had been a prisoner in the windmill, saw Mr. Pentland piked to death, and he believes that twenty-five protestants more were put to death at the same time. He saw their bodies lying dead out-side the windmill. Mr. Pentland's, which was naked and bloody, lay separate from the rest.

When the prisoners were desired to go on their knees, and prepare for death, messieurs Pentland and Trocke expostulated and begged they might be saved, as they were both clergymen. The former said he was a northern man, and had been but a short time in the country. He then offered his watch, which was taken by a man of the name of Foley.

John Gill, a witness, was a prisoner in the windmill, on Whitfun Tuesday. The party who conducted him into it, said, Captain Farrell (pointing to Gill) there is an orangeman. Gill asked Farrell to save his life, as he saw him much in the esteem of the rebels. He asked him his name. He answered Gill. Farrell replied, that is a bad name, prepare for death, you have not an hour to live. Gill was a protestant name in the county of Wexford.

John Gill, of Monglafs, was lying dead there. A party of rebels, with guns and pikes, formed a line in front of the windmill door, and behind them there were some men on horse-back. On being led out, he addressed the rebels, and asked them if they would put a man to death without a trial? Andrew Martin, the executioner, who stood inside the line with a drawn sword, cried out, Damn your soul, do you come here to preach? made a stab at him, and wounded him in the wrist. Some of the rebels desired Martin to stop, and asked Gill how he would choose to die? He replied, as a christian. A man on horse-back said, Are you a christian? He answered, that he believed in the favour of the world, and that he hoped to be saved through him. Martin then said, Oh! Damnation to your soul, you are a christian in your own way, and directly stabbed him in the side. He then fell on his face, and was stabbed in the

[Q.]

back,

back, and beat on the head with some heavy instrument. He still continued in his senses. His brother was next brought out, and having been asked the same question, he boldly answered that he would die a protestant ; on which he was instantly put to death. He then fainted, and continued insensible till his wife came for him in the evening, and she found great difficulty in saving him, as there was an old man with a scythe, examining the bodies, and striking it on the head of such of them as had any signs of life. She took him to the bottom of the hill, where, finding that he had some appearance of life, she concealed his body. Next morning he was discovered by a party of rebels, who carried him to the hill, where he was saved by a man who was to have married his daughter. About half a mile from the hill, he was met by two men, one of whom fired at him, and the ball grazed his head and stunned him. His wife, at her return, found him again, and from that time, till Vinegar-hill was taken by the king's troops, he lay concealed in ditches in that deplorable state ; but at last recovered, and is still alive. John Austin, a protestant, was taken prisoner and conducted to Enniscorthy by one captain West, when Farrell was on parade with some rebels.—West said, Captain Farrell, here is an orangeman. Farrell ordered him to a rebel guard-house, where there were fifteen or sixteen loyalists, and he swore that he would have them all put to death the next night. A Mr. Robinson who was there begged that Farrell would save them. Austin was saved by the intercession of a rebel. John Mooney swore, he saw Farrell head a party at the attack of Borris, the seat of Mr. Kavenagh. That after it, he saw him sworn in a captain, on which, father Kearns, the priest, kissed him. He was called St. Ruth.

Morgan Byrne and he disputed who should be eldest captain. The former said he had subscribed a long time to the united Irishmen ; Farrell answered, that he had subscribed full as long.

David Ogden, a witness, swore, he was taken prisoner by him at Mr. Wheeler's house, whither he had taken refuge. He took him and Mr. Wheeler to conduct them, as he said, to Vinegar-hill ; but they were released by one McLean, who threatened to go to the hill, and discover there, that Farrell, on the day of the battle of Enniscorthy, disguised in woman's clothes, was robbing, instead of fighting the king's army.

## 16.

ON the trial of Nicholas Walsh, a rebel leader, held at Wexford, the fourteenth of April, 1800, it was proved that he was a captain of rebels at Enniscorthy during the first week of the rebellion, that he danced round the tree of liberty before his corps in the streets of that town, and offered 50l. for the head of Mr. Jacob, or any other heretick.

On the seventh of June he went to the house of Thomas Hall, with a number of pike-men, and desired his wife to deliver up that bloody orangeman her husband.—On her saying he was not at home, he went up stairs to search for him, leaving two centinels at the front door and two at the back door. She and her children followed him up stairs : Walsh found her husband in the garret, concealed in the set-off of the chimney, and desired him, the orange rascal, to come down. She, on her knees, implored mercy for him ; on which he swore he would cut her head off in two minutes, if she did not descend, and he threw down stairs two of her children. He then conveyed him to the rebel guard-house, and desired his men to give three cheers for having taken the orangeman, and said he should be killed next day. He was kept there till the eleventh of June, when Walsh repaired thither,



ther, and asked why the prisoners were not put to death ? and said he would kill the guard if they were not put to death before next day. The prisoners, in number twenty-four, were conveyed that evening to Bayle's barn, which lies at the foot of Vinegar-hill, and was used as a prison for protestants by the rebels. Next day messieurs Hunt, Reynolds, Robinson, and one Simpson a weaver, were murdered. Mary Hall saw their bodies lying naked in the fields. On the fourteenth, her husband and sixteen more were murdered. The rebels dragged the body of her husband round the hill.

It was proved that Walsh, with a party of rebels, murdered William Mooney, Richard Leech, John Hawkins and James Lett near Castlebridge, a week after Wexford was taken by the rebels. When they were shot, Walsh dismounted, and ran his sword into one of their bodies. Moses Allen proved that he saw this horrid transaction ; and John Mooney, the brother of William, that he saw the four bodies lying dead.

William Furlong and John Mooney saw Nicholas Walsh sworn in as captain of the rebels at Enniscorthy, when father Kearns, the priest, kissed him and wished him good luck.

George Freeman, a protestant, and a prisoner, proved that Nicholas Walsh, who headed a party of rebels at Vinegar-hill, compelled him to shoot John White, esquire, an aged gentleman, and a magistrate ; and the same day he ordered five or six more protestants to be put to death with pikes on Vinegar-hill, and to be buried in a hole ; and as some of them had life in them at the time of interment, Nicholas Walsh stabbed them with pikes, and cut down one of the prisoners with his sword.

As soon as the prisoners were put to death, he ordered his rebel corps to shout aloud, and to go off in quest of more protestants.

John Harris swore that he was ordered to throw Mr. White's body into a hole, and that he was gasping while he was doing so.

This wretch was in good circumstances, and was well educated. He was hanged on Vinegar-hill.

## 17.

*Vinegar-hill, fifteenth July, 1799.*

*Trial of James Beaghan, at Wexford, charged with the murder of George Piper, Thomas Piper and William Kean, on the thirty-first May, 1798, on Vinegar-hill.*

ALEXANDER MAGEE swore, that he was taken prisoner in Wexford on Wednesday the thirtieth May, 1798 ; that the day following he was led to the windmill on Vinegar-hill, where he found a great number of people ; that soon after George and Thomas Piper and William Kean were put in there ; that in a quarter of an hour Luke Byrne came to the door of the mill, and ordered those fellows to be taken out to be shot. Immediately after James Beaghan stepped out and asked, which of them ? witness did not hear Byrne's answer ; but Beaghan rushed into the mill, and swore by Jesus Christ he would neither pick them nor choose them, but would take the first that came to his hand. He then laid his hand on one of the Pipers, and turned him and his brother out. Witness heard the report of a gun, and immediately each man was carried out. Kean was led out in the same manner. Beaghan then led out a stranger, who resisted, and cried out, " Murder !" on which Beaghan pushed him against the wall, gave him two boxes, and said, " Damn you, you he-



retick dog ;" and having dragged him out, he was killed within three yards of the door. Next morning, about eight o'clock, witness was taken out to be shot, when he saw the two Pipers lying dead, with eighteen or nineteen bodies more. Witness was saved by a rebel who took compassion on him.

Michael Foley was tried for the murder of Mr. Henry Hatton, deputy portrieve of Enniscorthy, April nineteenth, 1799. Henry Whitney declared, that the prisoner swore vehemently on Vinegar-hill, that he would have the life of Henry Hatton ;— that some person having tried to dissuade him from it, he swore vehemently that he would quit the hill with one hundred men,\* if he was prevented from killing him ; on that he pushed Mr. Hatton out of the windmill and shot him. Several persons were led out of the windmill and murdered the same day.

James Beaghan, who was tried and convicted of the horrid crime of murder, made the confession, the day but one before his execution, which I have inserted in page 100 of the Appendix, No. XIX. 8.

## 18.

*County of the city of Dublin,*  
*to wit.* } THE examination of Mr. John Semple, of Borris,  
in the county of Carlow, engineer, who being duly  
sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth, and saith,  
That on the twelfth of June, 1798, and at the hour of one o'clock in the afternoon, the town of Borris in the county of Carlow, was attacked by a numerous mob, who called themselves united Irishmen ; and who had three pieces of cannon, and were armed with guns, swords, pistols, and pikes ; that the said mob attacked and forcibly entered the house of examinant, at Borris aforesaid, and feloniously took thereout all the household furniture, and many books, papers, and bonds of very great value. Examinant saith, that as soon as the said mob had so plundered his house, they set fire to the same. Examinant saith, that, at that time he was at some distance from the town of Borris aforesaid ; and that on seeing a smoke issuing out of said house, he this examinant ran towards said house, with a design of rescuing his books, papers, and bonds from the flames. Examinant saith, he was made a prisoner by the said mob, who stripped him of all his clothes before he arrived at his house ; and that they presented five pikes and a musket at examinant, with an intention, as he verily believes, of putting him to death. Examinant saith, he immediately threw himself on his knees to implore mercy, and asked the said mob what crime he this examinant was guilty of ? On which two of the leaders or captains of the said mob cried out aloud, " That he, this examinant, was a vagabond orangeman, and must instantly die ;" by which examinant is convinced in his mind the said captains meant a protestant, as this examinant, who was born in Scotland, was not an orangeman, nor had any connection with orangemen. Examinant saith, that two others of the said captains then said, that examinant was too old, and not worth killing ; on which another of the said captains cried out aloud, addressing himself to the said mob, " You vagabonds ! remember your oath," with a design to urge the said mob to put this examinant to death ; as this examinant has seen the form of an oath, which he heard and verily believes the united Irishmen, or some of them had sworn to destroy and murder all hereticks. Examinant saith, that while the said mob were scrambling for his property which they had taken out of his house, he, this examinant, made his escape into a sand pit, and that soon after, one of the said mob came up in great haste, and exclaimed, " Have you dispatched the vagabond ? for his son has killed one of our best captains, and is killing them

\* He had these men under his command.

them as fast as they get up ;” meaning to the house of Walter Kavanagh, esquire, of Borris aforesaid, to which the said mob were at that time laying siege, and at which they were firing cannon ; and this examinant saith, that James Sempleson of this examinant, was at that time in the mansion of the said Walter Kavanagh, assisting in the defence of the same. Examinant saith, that the said mob burned thirteen houses in Borris aforesaid, for no other reason, as examinant verily believes, than because the proprietors thereof belonged to the yeoman corps, commanded by the said Walter Kavanagh. This examinant saith, he heard, and verily believes that the said party of united Irishmen was commanded by father Roche, a priest who was afterwards killed at Scullaghgap on the bounds of the counties of Wexford and Carlow. Examinant saith, that one of the said mob told examinant that he had better turn to mass, and that by doing so he would get a lease for ever of any demesne he chose in the kingdom.

JOHN SEMPLE.

*Sworn before me the 14th day of August, 1798,*

THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

No. XX. 1.

*County of the city of Dublin,*  
*to wit.*

THE examination of corporal Sheppard of the Royal Irish artillery, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, maketh oath, and saith, That he this examinant, when on his march with a detachment of militia of the Meath regiment from Duncannon fort, to the town of Wexford, was taken prisoner on the thirtieth day of May last, at a place called the mountain of Forth, within three miles of Wexford aforesaid, together with two howitzers, and nine privates belonging to the said Royal Irish artillery, by a numerous body of rebels, who were encamped on the said mountain. Examinant saith, that as soon as the said rebels had made him and his comrades prisoners, they were going to put them to death ; but that previous to their doing so, one of the said rebels asked them what religion they were of ; and that a private of the said Royal Irish artillery, whose name is Patrick Dungannon, replied, that they were all Roman catholics, though examinant said, that he and five more of his said comrades were protestants. Examinant saith, he is convinced in his mind, that the said rebels would have put the whole of said party instantly to death, but that they believed they were Roman catholics. Examinant saith, that he and his said comrades were conducted as prisoners to Wexford, on the said thirtieth day of May, and put into prison ; but that he this examinant and his comrades were committed to different apartments. Examinant said, that while a prisoner at Wexford, he was taken out into a small square in the gaol to be shot, and that on being placed against a wall in said square, they the said rebels burned priming four times at examinant with a musket ; on which father John Murphy, a priest, who had entered the said gaol, cried out aloud, that he this examinant had longer days to live ; and at the same time, the said priest said, “ Let the heathen go back to prison, and be damned.” Examinant saith, that while he and his comrades were in prison, the rebel guards who were placed over them, frequently attempted to break open the doors of the place where they were confined, with an intent as the said rebel guards declared, to murder examinant and his comrades, having often declared that they would not stand as guards over heretics ; and that the officers of the said rebels with the greatest difficulty prevented the said rebels from putting them to death. Examinant saith, that during



ten days that he and his comrades were confined in Wexford, they received no other food but potatoes and water; and of which they got but one meal in twenty-four hours; that during his confinement, the said rebels took out many prisoners to execute them, and examinant verily believes they were put to death, as the said prisoners never returned to the prison; and he this examinant was informed that they had been shot or put to death with pikes in the Bull-ring, or in some other part of the town; that he and his comrades were asked to serve in the rebel army by one captain Dixon, and by one Roche, the brother-in-law of said Dixon, who wore two epaulettes, and passed for a rebel general; and that said Dixon and Roche promised examinant and his comrades commissions in the rebel army, and estates in some time, if they would serve in said army; that he and his comrades, well knowing that they had no other way of making their escape from Wexford, complied with the desire of said Dixon, and the said Roche; that he, and three of his comrades, were conducted by the said rebel general Roche to the rebel camp of Gorey, near the town of Gorey, in the county of Wexford, on or about the eleventh day of June last, where examinant found three of his said comrades before him in said camp, and some soldiers of the Meath and Antrim regiments who had been taken prisoners. Examinant saith, that on the morning of the day that the said rebels marched from said camp to attack the town of Arklow, one Murphy a priest who was killed at the battle of Arklow that day, mounted on a car, and preached a sermon of exhortation to the said rebels, in which the said Murphy assured the said rebels that they were fighting in the cause of God; that the more of the heathens (meaning the king's army) they would kill, the sooner they would go to heaven; and that if any of them died in battle, they would be sure of immediate salvation; that said Murphy took some bullets out of his pockets, shewed them to the rebels, and assured them, that they had hit him at the battle of Gorey, in different parts of his body and limbs, and that they could not do him any injury. That said Murphy said further in said sermon, that he would take the gravel off the road and throw it at the hereticks, and that he could kill them with it. Examinant saith, that another priest of the name of Dixon declared to the rebel general Roche, that they would take the town of Arklow in half an hour, that then they would be joined by twenty thousand men; that then they would proceed to Wicklow, and from thence to Dublin; that said rebels wherever they marched, put to death such protestants as fell into their hands; saying often on such occasions, that the kingdom was their own, and that there should be but one religion. Examinant saith, that said rebels on their arrival at Gorey aforesaid, after the battle of Arklow, put many protestants to death, though they had served with the said rebels in said battle; and that when they were on the point of executing one Walker a blacksmith, some of said rebels pleaded in his favour, having said, that he had made many pikes, and fought well with them; but that father John Murphy said, that if there was but one drop of protestant blood in a family, they ought to put that family to death; and that said Walker was accordingly put to death. Examinant saith, he repaired with the said rebels from Gorey, to a place to the best of examinant's recollection, called Limbrick, from thence to Tinnahely, and from thence to Carnew, and from thence to Vinegar-hill; and that said rebels in their march from Gorey to Vinegar-hill aforesaid, killed all the protestants they could get into their custody. Informant saith, that he and his comrades made their escape at the battle of Vinegar-hill aforesaid.

ANDREW SHEPPARD.

*Sworn before me this 7th day of September, 1798,*

THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

We,



We, the undersigned officers of the Royal Irish artillery, do certify that Andrew Sheppard, a corporal in said corps, is a man of an honest fair character, and that he is to be credited on his oath. September fourteenth, 1798.

J. STRATON, colonel commandant, lieutenant general.

RICHARD BETTESWORTH, colonel commandant, major general.

H. SNEYD, major, Royal Irish artillery.

JOHN PRATT, lieutenant colonel, brevet.

W. WRIGHT, lieutenant colonel.

J. D. ARABIN, lieutenant colonel.

2.

*County of the city of Dublin,* } THE information of George Taylor, of Ballywalter,  
*to wit.* } and barony of Ballaghkeen in the county of Wexford,  
gentleman, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, maketh oath, and faith, That he this informant was very much alarmed on the morning of the twenty-seventh of May, 1798, having been informed that the rebels in great force were approaching his place of residence, and that they had burned the houses of many protestants, and had murdered their inhabitants; among whom were, as he was informed, lieutenant Bookey of the Camolin cavalry, the reverend Mr. Burroughs, and Mr. Howlin Darcy; on which informant faith, that he repaired for protection to the town of Gorey, about four miles distant, Informant faith, that he, his mother, and sister, repaired with the army to Arklow, as the town of Gorey was exposed to the rebels when the army marched from it on the twenty-eighth of May. Informant faith, that he returned towards Ballywalter aforesaid, on the fifth of June; but that he, this informant, before he arrived there, was taken prisoner by the rebels on the sixth day of June, when he was within three miles of Ballywalter aforesaid. Informant faith, that he was led by the rebels the same day to the town of Gorey, and was confined with many other prisoners in a room over the market-house of said town during a week. Informant faith, that soon after he was committed a prisoner as aforesaid, the rebels robbed him of half a guinea, and deprived him of his hat, his neckcloth, his coat, waistcoat, breeches and shoes, and gave him in their stead the old ragged apparel of a soldier. This informant faith, that while he and the other prisoners were in custody of the rebels at Gorey aforesaid, they were led out to the rebel camp to be shot, for no other reason, as informant verily believes, than because they were protestants. Informant faith, that one of the said prisoners was marked out to be saved, because he was a papist, and gave a proof of his being such, by crossing himself, and by saying popish prayers, which the rebels required him to do. Informant faith, that before he and his fellow prisoners could be executed, an order was received from general Bagenal Harvey, that the rebels should not in future, under the pain of being shot, put any of their prisoners to death, which order, as informant verily believes, saved the lives of him and his fellow prisoners. This informant faith, that during his confinement at Gorey aforesaid, some of his Roman catholick neighbours visited him, and wished him a speedy liberation; and at the same time, informed him that the only mode of procuring it was, to be baptized by the priest, to embrace the holy Roman catholick faith, and to take up arms, and to fight for the cause of liberty. And informant faith, that his said neighbours informed him that they feared he would not escape, unless he complied with their  
advice;

advice; and at the same time they expressed much concern at seeing him in the act of reading protestant prayer books. Informant saith, he answered them by saying, he professed the protestant faith from conviction, and therefore would not renounce it; that during his confinement at Gorey aforesaid, and previous to the arrival of general Bagenal Harvey's humane order for saving the lives of the prisoners, the rebels took out two yeomen who were their prisoners, and shot them, one of them of the name of Rogan, was of the Arklow corps, the other whose name was James Wheatley, was of the Castletown corps; and that a rebel horseman fired a pistol at one of the prisoners, and that the ball lodged in the shoulder of the said prisoner; and that another prisoner, previous to the arrival of the said humane order, received some wounds of a pike in the side, by which three of his ribs were broken. Informant saith, that when they were leading the prisoners out of the camp, a rebel gave informant two or three strokes of a pike in the back; that said rebel camp near the town of Gorey, was attended by one Michael Murphy a priest; that on the morning of the ninth of June last, the rebels at Gorey aforesaid, cut off the hair of all the prisoners (this informant excepted) and put pitched caps on their heads; and that the reverend Mr. Owen, a protestant clergyman, one of the said prisoners, was treated in that manner. Informant saith, that the said prisoners having as aforesaid pitched caps on their heads, were compelled to put out their heads and shoulders out of the market-house of Gorey aforesaid; and that while the said prisoners were so exposed, the rebel troops marched by, and insultingly expressed their joy by repeatedly shouting aloud; that on Wednesday the thirteenth day of June, they instituted a kind of trial of the prisoners confined in the market-house of Gorey aforesaid, on which they selected such as they thought were steady to the protestant cause, among whom this informant was one, and that they sent them to the goal of Wexford, under a guard, after having pinioned them with cords, and tied them one to the other, two and two. Informant saith, that they compelled the remainder of the prisoners to join the rebel troops as soldiers; that on the arrival of the prisoners at Wexford, on the fourteenth day of June, they saw the houses hung with green emblems, and the mob in the streets expressed their joy by shouting aloud. Informant saith, that he and his fellow prisoners were committed to gaol at Wexford, about eleven o'clock on the morning of the fourteenth of June; and that informant was told, and verily believes, that there were about two hundred prisoners in said gaol, all of whom, as informant heard and believes, were of the protestant religion; that during his confinement in said gaol, they frequently committed other prisoners, among whom was colonel Lehunte; and that this informant heard a rebel commander of the name of Dixon tell the said colonel Lehunte, who was confined to a condemned cell, that he should have but ten minutes to live. Informant saith that during his confinement at Wexford, his food was very scanty and very bad; and that he had no other bed but damaged straw which was full of vermin; that on Wednesday the twentieth day of June, this informant with seventeen other prisoners was taken out of the gaol, and conducted to the bridge of Wexford, in order to be put to death with pikes, as many of this informant's fellow prisoners met with the same fate a few minutes before; and that informant, as he passed along the bridge, walked through the blood of the said victims, that while the rebel guards were conducting the said prisoners to the bridge, and while the said prisoners were praying on their knees, on said bridge, the rebel guards desired them to bless themselves. Informant saith, that six of the said prisoners so conducted to



to the said bridge were put to death with pikes, and that he verily believes the remainder would have shared the same fate, as there were but two persons between this informant and the last person put to death; and this informant was desired to rise and to take off his coat, in order to prepare for execution; but Mr. Corrin, parish priest of Wexford arrived, and made the rebels desist from any further slaughter.—Informant saith, that he was soon after conducted to prison, where he and his fellow prisoners remained until next day, when they were liberated by the king's troops, who arrived at Wexford on the twenty-first day of June. This informant saith, that the country for some miles round the residence of this informant had been for a long time so peaceable, and the machinations of the rebels were so secret, that neither he, nor any of the loyal subjects his neighbours, had any suspicion whatsoever, that a general insurrection was so near, except that some pikes and some ammunition had been found in the possession of the lower class of people some time before. Informant further saith, that when the said James Wheatly was about to be shot at Gorey aforesaid, the rebel general Perry informed the said Wheatly that he should have but five minutes to prepare himself for death; on which the reverend Mr. Owen, a protestant clergyman, asked the said Perry, whether there was no appeal? to which the said Perry replied, that he would hear no plea in his favour; that the said Wheatly was shot in about ten minutes after; and this informant heard, and verily believes it to be true, that the said Wheatly received three balls in the body, on which he asked for some water, and told the persons who shot him that he had some ammunition in his pocket, and requested they would put him out of pain; on which his thigh was broken by another shot, and that he received the fifth ball in the head which killed him. Informant saith, he saw the body next day disfigured and covered with blood.

GEORGE TAYLOR.

*Savorn before me this 28th day of July, 1798,*

THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

3.

*City of Dublin,*  
*to wit.*

} BLEAKNEY ORMSBY, of Garrane, in the parish of Mylan, and county of Wexford, farmer, came this day before me, and made oath on the Holy Evangelists, That about the hour of eight o'clock on the morning of Whitsunday, 1798, a party of united Irishmen, all of the popish religion, as deponent verily believes, went to the house of this deponent, and called on him to attend them; that deponent said in answer, that he would remain at home and not take any part with either side. That thereon one of the said body of united Irishmen gave deponent a severe wound of a pike in the head; that soon after two of the party desired deponent to go on his knees and beg his life, which he accordingly did. That while deponent was on his knees, one of the party gave him so violent a blow of a firelock on the head, as to break it in pieces, by which deponent was left senseless on the ground. That deponent lay in a languishing state till Thursday the thirty-first day of May, when a numerous body of united Irishmen armed with pikes and guns went to deponent's house, and compelled deponent to go to the house of David Cullen at Blackwater, a parish priest, to be baptized; but the said Cullen declared he would have nothing to do with deponent, until he saw how he conducted himself in future. That next morning deponent, well knowing that he could not make his escape, repaired to the rebel

[R]

camp



camp at Oulart-hill where he was to be tried, though he had little or no hope that his life would be saved. That on deponent's arrival there a popish yeoman in military uniform who had become a rebel, cried out that deponent should be tried.— That deponent appealed to the said rebels, whether he did not always bear a good character, to which they all assented, except one man of the name of Kierwan, who bore an enmity to deponent, because said Kierwan had stolen turf from him; that however deponent was discharged and returned directly to his own house. That when deponent returned to his house at Oulart aforesaid, he found that his house had been burnt and plundered, and that a woman who was sister to John Brennan, a labourer who lived on deponent's land, had turned out his wife and family, and informed them in a threatening manner, that they would be put to death if they remained there; that about a week after deponent was compelled (though in a languishing state) to go to the rebel camp at Gorey, where he found several protestant prisoners, among whom was the reverend Mr. Owen, a protestant clergyman. That on deponent's arrival there, he was asked by a rebel of the name of Maurice Doyle, whether he this deponent was a Roman catholic? to which he answered that he was bred a protestant. That said Doyle asked him, what he thought of the virgin Mary? to which deponent answered, that he thought she was next in glory to Christ. That soon after deponent was committed to prison in the market-house of Gorey, where, including deponent, there were thirty-nine prisoners, all protestants; that about the hour of four o'clock the same day, the said protestant prisoners were led out by a party of rebels to Gorey-hill, to be put to death, and which would have taken place as deponent verily believes, but that an order was received from general Bagenal Harvey, desiring that no person should kill his prisoner under pain of death. That notwithstanding said order, a rebel fired a pistol at one of the protestant prisoners, and wounded him in the shoulder. That the rebels on hearing the said humane order, seemed much disappointed, and expressed an earnest desire of putting the prisoners to death. That deponent was discharged the same day by the orders of one Richard Monaghan a rebel captain, and was compelled to join the rebels as a soldier. That next day deponent was compelled to march with the rebel army to the battle of Arklow. That Michael Murphy a priest, who had the chief command, stopped very often in their way thither, and said prayers for the rebels, who always knelt down and often kissed the ground. That said Monaghan desired the rebels not to kill the soldiers, as they were their friends, and would join them. That deponent received a ball in the thigh at the battle of Arklow, and lay in a languishing state one night within two miles of Arklow; and that deponent recovered from his wound, and is now perfectly well, though he received no medical assistance. Deponent saith, that great numbers of wounded rebel soldiers were carried the same night on cars or on horseback to Gorey aforesaid. Deponent saith, that while he lay sick of his wound, a man of the name of John Brennan, his labourer, often pressed him to send for a priest and to change his religion, as no person could be saved out of the Roman catholic church; and it was not known that a protestant ever was saved. Deponent saith, that his father, Charles Ormsby, was murdered on Whitsun Saturday, his brother Eyre Ormsby, on Whitsunday, and his brother William Ormsby on the twenty-second day of June, 1798, all in the county of Wexford; and that his brother John Ormsby, fled from the rebels to Dublin, and after his return to the county of Wexford, on the first day of March, 1799, died of grief. Deponent further saith not.

BLEAKNEY ORMSBY.

*Sworn before me the 10th day of May, 1799,*

THOMAS ANDREWS, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

*County*

4.

TINTERN.

*County of Wexford,*  
*to wit.* } CATHERINE POER of Tintern, widow, being duly  
sworn on the Holy Evangelists, declareth and saith, That on  
the morning of Sunday, the third of June, 1798, John Flaherty  
of Tintern, taylor, Michael Ryan and Pat. Hogan, labourers, of Salt-mills in said  
county, went to her house and called for her husband, Pat. Poer, a protestant; saith,  
they carried him, as she heard and believes, to Scullabogue, where he was burnt  
with the other protestants. Saith, that some time after the massacre at Scullabogue,  
she, this examinant, went to John Houghran of Tintern, mason, who acted as a  
commissary to the rebels for distributing provisions, and asked him for a pound of  
meat, as she was starving; and that said Houghran asked her if she was a christian?  
and that on saying she did not come under the rules of his church, he said she was  
not a christian, and that it would be giving meat to his enemies, and breaking his  
oath. Saith, said Houghran ordered her to go to the priest to be made a christian,  
and was surprised she did not do it before. Saith, that to save her life and get  
victuals, she went to the priest to be christened.

*Sworn before me, this 28th day of December, 1798,*  
JOHN KENNEDY, *magistrate.*

CATHERINE POER.

*County of Wexford,*  
*to wit.* } FRANCES MILLER of Tintern, in said county, widow, be-  
ing duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, declareth and saith,  
That on the third day of June, 1798, a gang of rebels came  
to examinant's house, headed by Patrick Fallon of Tintern aforesaid, and Martin  
Murphy of Curraghmore, in said county; saith, they insisted on her husband, Robert  
Miller, to go with them; saith, they hurried him away so suddenly, they did not  
give him time to break his fast, though examinant requested that indulgence for her  
husband. Saith, that she heard and believes they took him to Scullabogue, where  
he was massacred, along with several other protestants, on Tuesday following. Saith,  
that through fear of being murdered, she went to the priest to be christened.  
Saith, that she always considered John Houghran of Tintern, as the leading man  
of the Tintern rebels.

*Sworn before me this twenty-eighth day*  
*of December, 1798,*  
JOHN KENNEDY, *magistrate.*

FRANCES MILLER.

AT the trial of John Houghran, a mason, at Wexford, on the twenty-sixth Sep-  
tember, 1799, it appeared on the evidence of Mr. Bridges, that he appeared at  
Tintern to be the leader of a gang of rebels, who carried off the protestants to  
Scullabogue, and that he took the witness to be christened by a priest.

Sarah Smyth, whose husband was taken by him, swore that twenty-four protest-  
ants, young and old, were taken to the barn of Scullabogue and murdered there;  
and among them her husband, her brother, sister and niece.

That, when the widows and relations of those who had been murdered, assem-  
bled together in the streets of Tintern, and were lamenting the loss of their rela-  
tions, the prisoner threatened them with the fate of their husbands if he heard  
any more of it.

[ R 2 ]

That

That there were two corps of rebels at Tintern ; the one went from it to murder, the other staid at home to send the protestants to them, and to plunder.

Catherine Poer swore, that she applied to him for something to eat ; but he said he would not give her any, unless she became a christian (meaning a papist) for if he did he would break his oath.

Sarah Kelly, whose father was burned at Scullabogue, swore, that on general Lake's proclamation coming out, she heard the prisoner address a party of rebels, and say, " Boys ! we may as well lay down our spears for a few days to save our lives, as the protestants turned to mass to save theirs."

Thomas Byrne swore, that Michael Devereux seemed to have the command, and gave the prisoners orders to collect the protestants, and keep them 'till he should call for them. The prisoner was only transported !!!

## 5.

*County of Wexford,*  
*to wit.*

ELIZABETH DOBBYN, of Old-court, in the parish of Adamstown, and said county, widow, came before me this fifth day of January, 1799, and made oath on the Holy Evangelists, that on Friday, the first day of June last, her three sons, William, Richard and Samuel, were taken prisoners from her house by Thomas Cavenagh, of Old-court aforesaid ; that on Saturday, the second of June, her husband, Patrick Dobbyn, was taken prisoner by said Thomas Cavenagh, aided by William Power of Bruchurrow, in said parish, and another person unknown to deponent. That on Sunday, the third of June last, deponent went to Scullabogue, where she saw her husband and three sons confined in a dirty pig-yard ; that at their desire she went to look for Michael Downes, a rebel captain, to endeavour to procure their release, and to Mr. Shallow the parish priest, for the same purpose ; that deponent could not meet Michael Downes, but found Mr. Shallow at his own house ; that deponent requested said Shallow to procure the release of her husband and sons, to which said Shallow replied, " That he would not go near the rebel camp ; that, if he did, he would be in as much danger as said Patrick Dobbyn and sons.\* Said Shallow then asked deponent how many of her people were in ? she replied, her husband and three sons were confined by the rebels ; upon which said Shallow shuddered and seemed to be shocked, by which deponent conjectured immediately that her husband and children would be put to death, and that said Shallow knew what would happen. That deponent went back, on said third of June, from Mr. Shallow's house to Scullabogue, where she found her husband and sons removed into the barn, which was full of prisoners, crowded as close as they could stand, and told them that said Shallow had refused to come to Scullabogue ; whereupon said Patrick Dobbyn, his sons and the other prisoners, lamented and said they had no hopes of their lives. That deponent continued at Scullabogue said day until sun-set, during which time one of her sons, and a woman who was a prisoner, called for a draught of water, and one of the rebel guards asked them if they would drink salt water, and said, " Damnation to you, ye orange dogs, down with your prayers." And a rebel woman said, " Do they want water ? give them poison !" That on Saturday, the ninth of June last, deponent went to Scullabogue to look for the bodies of her husband and sons, who she had been told were burnt in the barn on Tuesday the fifth

\* It appears by an affidavit, Appendix XX, 10, that this priest was active in promoting the rebellion in Carrickbyrne camp.



fifth of June. That she found the barn burnt and full of dead bodies, all in a standing posture, some with their limbs burnt off, and others with their bowels hanging out, and others with their faces and features disfigured with the fire. That deponent could not distinguish the bodies of her husband and sons from the other dead. That about two or three nights after the said ninth of June last, as deponent was in bed with two young children, her house at Old-court was entered by a great number of men armed with pikes, who said they came to search for orangemen, having heard that deponent harboured them; deponent replied, that there were no men there; that her husband and sons were taken from her. They took a light and searched the house and out-offices, and then went away. That on the 19th day of September last, deponent's house, at Old-court afore said, was entered by four men armed with pistols, who murdered there Shepherd Parflow of Bruchurrow in said parish, who had gone out of Ross to save his harvest at said Bruchurrow, and beat deponent and broke her collar bone, and struck and cut deponent's mother, an old woman almost eighty years old. That on deponent's asking them if it was not a sin to use a poor christian so cruelly? they replied, she was no christian, and who had made her a christian? they then robbed deponent of what they pleased to take from her and went away.

*Sworn before me at Ross, in the county of Wex-*  
*ford, this 5th day of January, 1799,*  
 EDWARD CARR, *deputy sovereign.*

her  
 ELIZABETH X DOBBYN,  
 mark.

## 6.

## FEATHARD.

ON Saturday, the twenty-sixth of May, a band of assassins roaming the country in quest of protestants, and headed by Michael Devereux and Joshua Colfer, entered the town of Feathard, about eleven miles from Scullabogue, and seized William Jordan and James Tweedy, both protestants, and conveyed them to the barn where they were burned; the former was servant to the reverend Mr. Kennedy, rector of Feathard, who had fled and narrowly escaped to Duncannon fort. Colfer often regretted that he had not that orange rogue, Mr. Kennedy, to put him to death; he exclaimed very much against protestants, and said they deserved to be punished. Some of the protestant inhabitants of Feathard saved their lives by going to mass, and by assuming the semblance of sincere conversion. The reverend father Doyle, who acted with humanity towards them, advised them to do so, as the means of preserving their lives. William Hurdis, a witness on Colfer's trial, swore, that Patrick Murphy, one of the gang of assassins, made him swear to be true to the catholic war. These facts were proved on the trial of Joshua Colfer, before a court-martial, held at Waterford, the third of December, 1798, by order of general Johnson. Colfer had been malster to Mr. Clarke, a brewer of Feathard, resided there constantly, and had lived on terms of intimacy with the protestants.

James Murphy, a witness on the trial of Colfer, and servant of the reverend Mr. Kennedy, swore, That the prisoner asked him, whether he would kill his master? and declared, that he would kill him if he would not. He said also, that all orangemen should be killed.

Philip

Philip Clarke, a protestant, and son of Mr. Clarke the brewer, who employed the prisoner, declared, that he (Colfer) desired him and his brother to be christened by a priest, and sent for a popish manual to have him, his brother and sisters, taught their catechism; that he, his brother and sisters, and other protestants of Feathard, were saved merely because they were considered as converted.

Richard Stewart, a boy of nine years old, and brother-in-law of Twcedy, followed him crying, on which Colfer threatened him. This child was afterwards murdered.

On Saturday, the second of June, another band of assassins, headed by the same Michael Devereux of Battletours, arrived there and swept away all the protestants they could find. It fortunately happened that they were but few in number, as most of them had escaped or were doing duty in a yeoman corps at Duncannon Fort. The rebels were so zealous in this service, that they locked up such protestants as they seized, while they went in quest of others.

Samuel Orange, now living, is a memorable instance of this. He was taken by his own neighbours, Patrick Henefy and James Savage, alias Bryan, and was locked up in the house of the former; but while they were hunting for others, he providentially made his escape through a back window, and concealed himself in ditches till Sunday, the fifth of June, when Colfer returned with another gang, and conveyed him to Wexford, Scullabogue having been consumed. Michael Devereux having visited Feathard again on the third of June, with another gang, seized Mrs. Duffield, aged seventy-five, Mrs. Clarke, and Philip Clarke, a boy of about thirteen years. John Jones, a humane and respectable Roman catholic, solicited the release of the prisoners; and even on his knees, he implored him to discharge the latter, as he was the child of his near neighbour; but to no purpose, as he said he could not release him consistent with his own safety. This shewed that he acted by the orders of his superiors, who I have been well informed, were supplied with lists of the protestant inhabitants of every parish.

The three were conveyed on a car to Scullabogue, but fortunately for them, Bagenal Harvey, who happened to arrive there, discharged them, gave them a pass to return, and desired that no more women or children should be taken prisoners. On Saturday, the ninth of June, one Thomas M'Daniel, a sanguinary ruffian, went to Feathard, at the head of another gang, in quest of Elizabeth Ennis, a protestant, who had escaped all their former searches; and, when discovered, she threw herself on the mercy of John Jones, already mentioned, who very humanely locked her up in a room in his own house. When M'Daniel was on the point of breaking open the door, Mrs. Jones placed herself between him and it, and said they must first murder her. She also assured him, that she was no longer a protestant, having been christened by the priest, and was become a Roman catholic. The poor trembling wretch's life was saved by Mrs. Jones's firmness, and her assurances of her conversion.

After that period, such of the protestants as remained at Feathard, were saved by going to mass.

Father Doyle, the priest, assembled them in a house, under a pretence of baptizing them, though in fact he did not perform that ceremony; and he very humanely announced, in order to save their lives, that they were sincere converts to his religion.

These facts were proved on the trial of Devereux, Colfer, Haughran, and some other assassins concerned in this atrocious business.

*County*

## 7.

*County of Wexford,* } RICHARD GRANDY, of Ballyshan, in said county, came  
*to wit.* } this day before us his majesty's justices of the peace, and made  
 \_\_\_\_\_ } oath on the Holy Evangelists, that he this examinant was attack-  
 ed and seized at the cross-roads of Kilbride, on Sunday the third of June, be-  
 tween the hours of nine and ten o'clock in the morning, as he was returning from  
 a farm he has on the lands of Kilbride, by several persons armed with guns, pikes  
 and spears; that amongst the number were Michael Poor, Thomas Poor, Martin  
 White, Richard Shee, Martin Colhoun, Nicholas Brown, Michael White, John  
 Moran and Lawrence Moran, all of Kilbride aforesaid, with many others, whose  
 names examinant did not know, though their faces were very familiar to him; he  
 was conducted from thence to the rebel camp at Carrickbyrne, in said county, and  
 in the afternoon of the same day was brought to Mr. King's house at Scullabogue,  
 that he was introduced into a room where he saw Bagenal Harvey, of Bargo Castle,  
 esquire, William Devereux of Taghmon, Francis Breen, Nicholas Sweetman of New  
 Bawn, with a few more whom he did not know, but believes that John Colclough  
 of Ballyteigue, and a son of William Devereux aforesaid, were of the number;  
 that he was closely examined by Bagenal Harvey as to the state of Rofs and Dun-  
 cannon Fort, and whether he was an orangeman or an united man; that said Bage-  
 nal Harvey pressed him to take the united man's oath and become one of their com-  
 munity; that at last he obtained a pass from said Bagenal Harvey, with which he  
 came as far as Bryanstown, where he was stopped by the rebel guard stationed there;  
 that he was conducted back again to Collopswell, where he met with said Bagenal  
 Harvey and said Nicholas Sweetman; that Nicholas Sweetman signed the pass he  
 got from Bagenal Harvey before; that he had not gone far before the pass had  
 been taken from him and torn, upon which he was taken prisoner to Scullabogue  
 house, where he was confined 'till Tuesday morning, with several other protestants;  
 that about nine o'clock John Murphy of Loughnageer, (who had the command of  
 the Rosegarland rebel corps, and was the officer of the guard over the prisoners)  
 had ordered them out by fours to be shot by his company, till thirty-five were mas-  
 saced; that the spear-men used to take pleasure in piercing the victims through,  
 and with exultation licking their bloody spears; that whilst this horrid scene was  
 acting, the barn, in which were above one hundred protestants, as examinant heard  
 and believes, was set on fire, and all consumed to ashes; that examinant's life was  
 spared, because Murphy knew that Bagenal Harvey had given him a pass, and that  
 through his intercession with Murphy, Loftus Frizzle was likewise spared; that they  
 were both tied and conveyed within a mile and a half of Rofs, where they met  
 Bagenal Harvey, Cornelius Grogan of Johnstown, in said county, William Deve-  
 reux aforesaid, and many others retreating from the battle of Rofs.

That Bagenal Harvey ordered the said Murphy to take the two prisoners to his  
 lodging at Collopswell, where he had given a pass to Loftus Frizzle, but refused to  
 give one to examinant, for fear he would come and report what he had seen and  
 heard at Duncannon Fort; that deponent heard and believes it to be a fact that said  
 Cornelius Grogan\* had the command of the Barony Forth rebel troops at the battle  
 of Rofs; that deponent was taken to Foulkes's mill that night, where he continued  
 for two days under a guard, dressing the wounded; that he was afterwards con-  
 veyed to Ballymitty, where he obtained a pass from Edward Murphy of said place,  
 to pass and repass through his district for the purpose of curing the wounded. That  
 he

\* It is most certain, that this unfortunate gentleman never acted, but from compulsion.



he was sent to Taghmon, where the sitting rebel magistrates, John Breen, James Harpur, Joseph Cullomore, and Matthew Commons, were of opinion, that he might with the priest's pass have gone back again and remain there ;\* that he strolled along the sea-side, till at last he effected his escape across the Ferry of Bannow to Feathard, on Friday the twenty-second instant, and from thence to Duncannon Fort this morning ; that he often heard it reported whilst in custody, that John Colclough and Thomas Macord, both of Tintern in said county, were very active in promoting the rebellion ; that he saw John Devereux, junior, of Shilbeggan in said county, at Scullabogue, on Monday the fourth instant, and that he seemed, and believes that he had a principal command in the rebel army. He likewise saw Charles Reilly, of Ramer's-grange in said county, at the camp at Carrickbyrne amongst the rebels, very busy and active to promote their cause. Deponent farther saith, that he attended mass celebrated by Edward Murphy aforesaid, parish priest of Bannow ; and that after mass he heard him preach a sermon, in which he said, " Brethren, you see you are victorious every where—that the balls of the hereticks fly about you without hurting you—that few of you have fallen whilst thousands of the hereticks are dead, and that the few of you that have fallen was from deviating from our cause, and want of faith—that this visibly is the work of God, who now is determined, that the hereticks, who have reigned upwards of an hundred years, should be extirpated, and the true catholick religion be established."—And deponent saith, this sermon was preached after the battle of Ross, and that he heard several sermons preached by the priests to the same effect ; that he likewise heard many rebels who had been at the battle of Enniscorthy and elsewhere, declare, that father Roche, a rebel general, did constantly catch the bullets that came from his majesty's arms, and give them to his men to load their pieces with. Deponent further saith, that every protestant that was admitted into the rebel corps, was first baptized by a priest ; and that every protestant that refused to be baptized was put to death ; and that many, to save their lives, did suffer themselves to be baptized,

*Sworn before us, this twenty-third of June, 1798,*

GEORGE OGLE.

ISAAC CORNICK.

JOHN H. LYSTER.

JOHN KENNEDY.

RICHARD GRANDY.

*The following horrid oath was taken by all the rebels, printed copies of which were found upon numbers that were slain, particularly at the battle of New Ross, and Ballicanew, and is now called "the bloody oath;" but in most places the black oath.*

"I A. B. do solemnly swear by our Lord Jesus Christ, who suffered for us on the cross, and by the blessed virgin Mary, that I will burn, destroy, and murder all hereticks, up to my knees in blood. So help me God."

## 8.

*County of the city of Dublin,  
to wit.*

THE information of William Fleming, of Taghmon, in the county of Wexford, yeoman, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, maketh oath, and saith, That he, this informant, was a yeoman in the Taghmon cavalry, was taken prisoner by the rebels, at Killburn, near Taghmon, aforesaid, on Thursday, the thirty-first day of

\* This shows how great the influence of the priests was.

of May last, by a man of the name of Brien, who was a captain of said rebels; and that said Brien asked informant, whether he would be baptized? on which informant replied, that he was baptized before, and that he did not think a second baptism necessary. Informant saith, that said Brien asked him, whether he knew that this was a religious war? to which informant replied, he did not; on which said Brien told informant that no person would be suffered to live but he that was a true Roman catholic. Informant saith, that said Brien, thereon, cocked his gun, presented it at informant's breast, and declared he would shoot informant, as he did another orange rascal at the camp at Taghmon afore said; but that another of said rebels told said Brien, that he had no right or authority to shoot him, unless it was done at the camp. That informant was conducted to the said camp, in the midst of a great crowd of rebels, who cried out aloud, Which is the orange rascal that is to be shot? Informant saith, that his life was saved that evening, by the interference, as informant verily believes, of Mr. William Devereux, a Roman catholic gentleman, of Taghmon afore said, who was a captain of said rebels. That the guards who were placed over him that night, having a knowledge of, and a regard for informant, gave him his liberty, on which he repaired to a furze brake, where informant lay concealed for two days and two nights. Informant saith, he was advised by a friend to return to the said town of Taghmon, as the rebel camp had marched to Carrickbyrne, and which informant did on the second day of June, to the best of his recollection. That some days after, on or about the third day of June, he was ordered to repair to the camp of Carrickbyrne, in said county, which informant did from motives of fear. Informant saith, he was compelled to march with said rebels, on the fourth of June, to a camp at Corbet-hill, within a mile of New Ross, in said county, where the rebel officers fixed their head-quarters, at the house of one Murphy; that when he was returning thence, after the battle of Ross, he, this informant, was taken prisoner by a body of rebels, at the bridge of Ballynabola, in said county. Informant saith, that one of the said rebels told him, that he had just put an end to an orange rascal, of the name of Byron; and informant saith, he saw, lying in a ditch at Ballynabola afore said, John Byron, a protestant inhabitant of the parish of Taghmon afore said, with whom informant was well acquainted; and that said Byron was grievously wounded, and covered with blood, and on the point of expiring. Informant saith, that said rebels called informant an orange rascal, and threatened to serve him as they did Byron; and informant saith, he is convinced in his mind, that said rebels would have put him to death, but that he produced a pass which he had obtained from Brien Murphy, a priest of Taghmon, and that said pass saved the life of informant. That said rebels had a custom of warning the inhabitants of each townland to attend their army, under pain of death, in case of disobedience; and that informant was compelled by such warning, to attend a rebel camp at Slievekelta,\* sometime in the beginning of June, where the said rebels were on the point of trying him for being an orangeman; but that informant was relieved by the kind interference of Mr. John Devereux, of Taghmon. Informant saith, that father Roche, a priest, who was commander in chief of said camp, preached a sermon, or exhortation, to the rebels therein, of the following tenor: "That they were fighting for their religion, their liberty, and the rights of their ancestors, and that they must persevere. That they should examine their ranks, and if they found any orangemen, or disaffected men among them, to extirpate them, as they could not prosper or thrive while they had such among them."† Informant saith, he was again taken prisoner by a

[S]

body

\* See Plate VII. 7.

† Sermons of this tenor were daily preached by priests at the head of the rebel columns, in their camps.

body of the said rebels, at Killburn mountain aforesaid, on the nineteenth of June, and compelled to repair to the Three-rock camp, near Wexford, where many thousands of the rebels were assembled and arrayed for the purpose of marching next day to fight the king's troops, at Foulkes's mill in said county; and that the said camp was commanded by generals Bagenal Harvey, and father Roche, a priest. That the said rebels, in said camp, marched on the twentieth of June, to Foulkes's mill aforesaid, where they fought, and were defeated by his majesty's forces. That the said rebels returned on the night of the twentieth of June, to the said camp, at Three-rock hill aforesaid, and that the next day, on the approach of the king's troops, the said rebels fled in different directions, some towards Wexford, and others towards the barony of Forth, in said county. Informant saith, that a barn at Scullabogue, in said county, having a great number of protestants in it, was consumed on the fifth day of June; and that informant went to said barn on the seventh day of said month, to look for the body of one Robert Cooke, a friend, who perished therein, for the purpose of interring it; but informant saith, he could not distinguish one body from another, from the injuries the said bodies sustained from the fire. That some of said bodies were entirely consumed, that the heads and limbs of others were also consumed, but the bodies remained entire, and very much discoloured. That the features of such persons as were not consumed, were so black and discoloured, that he could not distinguish one from the other. That the bowels of some of the said bodies lay exposed on the floor. That some of the said bodies lay against the wall, as if in the act of praying. That a heap of the said bodies lay near the door of said barn, to which they flocked, as informant very believes, for the sake of fresh air, to prevent suffocation. Informant saith, that he found a guard of rebels at said barn, and that one of the said rebels told informant, and some others who were with informant, and seemingly with much joy and pleasure, that he, the said rebel, had been assisting in burning said barn, and in shooting a number of protestant prisoners, who were buried in the gripe of a ditch, which said rebel shewed, with much seeming satisfaction, to informant, and those who accompanied him. Informant saith, that said rebel informed him, that one hundred and ninety-nine persons were consumed in said barn, or shot at Scullabogue aforesaid, and that said rebel turned to one of his comrades, and said, the number wanted one of two hundred; and that said rebel told informant, that a man with a pike had been at said barn, turning up and examining the bodies therein, for money and watches, which informant verily believes to be true, as the said bodies showed evident marks of having been stirred, and as the bowels of some of the said bodies lay exposed on the ground.

WILLIAM FLEMING.

*Sworn before me, this twentieth day of September, 1798,*  
WILLOUGHBY LIGHTBURNE.

9.

*County of Wexford,* } MICHAEL ASKINS, having been duly sworn on the Holy  
*to wit.* } Evangelists, depose and saith, That on the fifth of June, he  
\_\_\_\_\_ } was forced to join a party of rebels, and proceed towards Ross; that when the party got within three miles of Ross, they met a man riding very fast, who seemed by his dress, to be a priest. That this man cried out, we are defeated, Bagenal Harvey has ruined us; I will go to Scullabogue and destroy every soul in it. That immediately this man threw down a firelock he had, and galloped off towards Scullabogue. Deponent saith, he never saw the man before, but that the party he was  
with



with said, he was the stoutest priest in Ireland, father Murphy of Taghmon. That soon after, deponent and the party retreated to Scullabogue, where they saw thirty-nine bodies dead before the door, and the barn burned, and the roof fallen in. Deponent heard that one hundred and fifty persons were destroyed in the barn, amongst whom were twenty-eight women and fifteen children; and deponent says, he heard the same from numbers who were there, and he verily believes the numbers were rather more.

*Sworn before me, this 18th day of January, 1799,*  
JOHN H. LYSTER.

his  
MICHAEL ASKINS,  
mark.

## 10.

## COUNTY OF WEXFORD.

*Affidavits sworn before the reverend John Kennedy, and the reverend Robert Hawkeshaw, by the desire, and in the presence of general Fawcett.*

DAVID NEVILLE swore an information, the second day of July, before the said John Kennedy, and in presence of general Fawcett, that John Cody, Michael Devereux, of Battlestown, John Devereux, of Dungulph, and David Walsh, of Ballygo, in the county of Wexford, were busy in promoting the rebellion; and said that the object of the rebellion was to murder such protestants as would not turn to mass.

James Murphy, a papist, deposed, on the second day of June, that the object of the rebellion was to murder all the protestants, and to have the kingdom to themselves.

John Fitzgerald, of Black-hill, deposed the same, the third of July, 1798.

Charles Reilly deposed, That he saw fathers Byrne and Shallow, at the camp at Carrickbyrne, active and busy in promoting the rebellion. Dated fifth of July, 1798.

Joseph Kelly, a protestant, deposed, the fifth of July, 1798, that he was baptized by Bernard Downes, a priest, along with many more; as he heard and believes, that every protestant was to be put to death. He also deposed, that brakes of furze were set on fire by the rebels, in expectation of finding protestants hid in them.

Andrew Shepherd, and Patrick Dungannon, of the Royal Irish artillery, who were taken prisoners at the mountain of Forth, on the thirtieth of May, deposed, that the rebel generals, Roche, Fitzgerald, and Murphy, informed them, that John Colclough, esquire, of Tintern, in the county of Wexford, was at the head of six hundred rebels, at Tintern aforesaid, ready to cut off the retreat of the thirteenth regiment of foot, and that fathers Dixon, Cavanagh, Murphy, and several other priests were very busy and active at the rebel camp at Gorey, promoting and forwarding the rebellion. The said Dixon endeavoured to persuade the rebels to march to Dublin, for the purpose of taking it, and that they would be joined by twenty thousand rebels in the county of Wicklow.

## I I.

## SCULLABOGUE.

*Redmond Mitchell's trial.*

ON the trial of Redmond Mitchell, alias Miscelly, held at Wexford, the eighteenth of June, 1799, it appeared, that he was active among the rebels at Scullabogue, in murdering the loyalists, being armed with a fire-lock, with the butt-end of which, he was knocking and battering such of the prisoners as were expiring at the front of the dwelling-house. He had a pair of new boots on, which were much bespattered with blood, which, and a watch, he obtained from Mr. Loftus Frizzel, a prisoner in the dwelling-house, who, and Richard Grandy, were the only prisoners that escaped. He was so much admired by the rebels, for his sanguinary and ferocious disposition, that they called him the true-born Roman.

He gave Mr. Frizzel his shoes, on getting his boots. Mr. Frizzel gave Mitchell his watch and boots, in hopes that he would save his life, which he did, and conveyed him to the rebel camp at Carrickbyrne.

That numbers were trying to set the barn on fire, which was difficult, as the walls were high; that a number of rebels, in front, were piking and firing on the prisoners, who drew in the door to protect themselves; that they put a bundle of lighted straw in at the door, which set fire to the barn, which fire they kept up till the prisoners were destroyed, but many were shot dead before.

## I 2.

## SCULLABOGUE.

ON the trial of Matthew Furlong, at Wexford, in September, 1799, Robert Mills swore, that he was at Scullabogue, and was ordered to stand guard on the loyalists who were in the barn. That all the orders to burn the barn were resisted, till three men arrived and said, that a certain priest had given orders that the prisoners should be put to death; on which the rebels all set about the murders, and it was impossible to say who was most active. Orders were given to put any man to death who should quit his post at the barn. A man ordered the witness to guard the door, and not let any of the loyalists out. The roof was on fire, and the loyalists were trying to force open the door to effect their escape, but were prevented by the rebels, of whom the prisoner was one; and he made several stabs of his pike at those who endeavoured to get out, particularly a woman, and on striking her he bent his pike. He afterwards went to the forge of Scullabogue, and straightened his pike there.—Patrick Kerrivan swore, that the prisoner, in assisting the rebels to burn the barn, lifted up the thatch with his pike, that others might put faggots under it, and that he called for more straw. That he saw him strike with a spear a man who was endeavouring to make his escape.

On the trial of Michael Murphy, at Wexford, on September fourteenth, 1799, it appeared, that he was raising the thatch of the barn for the admission of fire, and that he was followed by persons with lighted bushes, who were putting them into the  
apertures

apertures which he had made. That he and Matthew Furlong, who were guards at the door, speared a man who was endeavouring to make his escape. That the prisoner put his pike under the thatch to make it blaze. That he and Furlong went afterwards to the forge, which was near, to sharpen his pike; and on being asked, whether they were all dead? the prisoner replied, "I'll engage they are all settled."

September twenty-seventh, 1799, on the trial of Matthew Revel, it appeared, that one gang of assassins, coming from Tintern, with a drove of protestants, met another at some distance from Scullabogue, with Mr. Milward Giffard, and John Moran in their custody, and that the two parties joined, went to Scullabogue together, and committed the prisoners to the barn.

On the trial of Patrick Furlong, at Wexford, on the twelfth of September, 1799, for being concerned in the massacre at Scullabogue, it was proved, that the messenger who conveyed orders to captain Murphy, to put the prisoners to death, said they were sent by father Murphy, which corresponds with the affidavit of Michael Atkins, Appendix XX. 9.

### 13.

#### GENERAL ORDERS.

*At a meeting of the general and several officers of the united army of the county of Wexford, the following resolutions were agreed upon:*

RESOLVED, That the commander in chief shall send guards to certain baronies for the purpose of bringing in all men they shall find loitering and delaying at home, or elsewhere; and if any resistance be given to those guards so to be sent by the commanding officer's orders, it is our desire and orders, that such persons so giving resistance, shall be liable to be put to death by the guards, who are to bear a commission for that purpose; and all such persons so to be found loitering and delaying at home, when brought in by the guards, shall be tried by a court-martial, appointed and chosen from amongst the commanders of all the different corps, and be punished with death.

Resolved, that all officers shall immediately repair to their respective quarters, and remain with their different corps, and not depart therefrom under pain of death, unless authorized to quit by written orders from the commander in chief for that purpose.

It is also ordered, that a guard shall be kept in the rear of the different armies, with orders to shoot all persons who shall fly or desert from any engagement, and that these orders shall be taken notice of by all officers commanding at such engagement.

All men refusing to obey their superior officers, to be tried by a court martial, and punished according to their sentence.

It is also ordered, that all men who shall attempt to leave their respective quarters when they have been halted by the commander in chief, shall suffer death, unless they shall have leave from their officers for so doing.

It is ordered by the commander in chief, that all persons who have stolen or taken away any horse or horses, shall immediately bring in all such horses to the camp, at head quarters, otherwise any horse that shall be seen or found in the possession of any person to whom he does not belong, shall, on being convicted thereof, suffer death.

And any goods that shall have been plundered from any house, if not brought in to head quarters, or returned immediately to the houses, or owners, that all persons so plundering as aforesaid, shall, on being convicted thereof, suffer death.

It



It is also resolved, That any person or persons who shall take upon him or them to kill or murder any person or prisoner, burn any house, or commit any plunder, without special written orders from the commander in chief, shall suffer death. \*

Head-quarters, Carrickbyrne camp,  
June 6, 1798.

By order of  
B. B. HARVEY, *commander in chief.*  
FRANCIS BREEN, *secretary and adjutant.*

#### 14.

#### TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

*Countrymen and Fellow Soldiers!*

YOUR patriotick exertions in the cause of your country have hitherto exceeded your most sanguine expectations, and in a short time must ultimately be crowned with success—Liberty has raised her drooping head; thousands daily flock to her standard; the voice of her children every where prevails—let us then, in the moment of triumph, return thanks to the Almighty Ruler of the universe, that a total stop has been put to those sanguinary measures, which of late were but too often resorted to by the creatures of government to keep the people in slavery.

Nothing now, my countrymen, appears necessary to secure the conquests you have so bravely won, but an implicit obedience to the commands of your chiefs; for, through a want of proper subordination and discipline, all may be endangered.

At this eventful period, all Europe must admire, and posterity will read with astonishment, the heroic acts achieved by people, strangers to military tactics, and having few professional commanders. But what power can resist men fighting for liberty!

In the moment of triumph, my countrymen, let not your victories be tarnished with any wanton act of cruelty; many of those unfortunate men now in prison were not your enemies from principle, most of them, compelled by necessity, were obliged to oppose you; neither let a difference in religious sentiments cause a difference amongst the people. Recur to the debates in the Irish House of Lords of the nineteenth of February last, you will there see a patriotic and enlightened *protestant bishop* (Down, and many of the lay lords) with manly eloquence, pleading for catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform, in opposition to the haughty arguments of the lord chancellor, and the powerful opposition of his fellow courtiers.

To promote an union of brotherhood and affection amongst our countrymen of all religious persuasions, has been our principal object; we have sworn in the most solemn manner, have associated for this laudable purpose, and no power on earth shall shake our resolution.

To my *protestant* soldiers I feel much indebted, for their gallant behaviour in the field, where they exhibited signal proofs of bravery in the cause.

EDWARD ROCHE. †

Wexford, June 7, 1798.

Copy

\* This humane order checked the rebels at Gorey camp from massacring their prisoners, and occasioned B. Harvey's deposition.

† This was the lay general.

## 15.

*Copy of a letter from B. B. Harvey, to Francis Glascott, esquire, then in the camp of Slievekeelta.*

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED your letter, but what to do for you, I know not; I from my heart wish to protect all property; I can scarce protect myself; and indeed my situation is much to be pitied, and distressing to myself. I took my present situation in hopes of doing good, and preventing mischief; my trust is in Providence; I acted always an honest disinterested part, and had my advice been taken by those in power, the present mischief would never have arisen. If I can retire to a private station again I will immediately. Mr. Tottenham's refusing to speak to the gentleman I sent into Ross, who was madly shot by the soldiers, was very unfortunate; it has set the people mad with rage, and there is no restraining them; the person I sent in, had private instructions to propose a reconciliation, but God knows where this business will end; but end how it will, the good men of both parties will be inevitably ruined.

I am, with respect,

Yours,

B. B. HARVEY.

## 16.

*By order of the council for directing the affairs of the people of the county of Wexford.*

*Oaths to be taken by all the united army, in the most publick and solemn manner.*

## TEST OATH.

IN the awful presence of God, I, *A. B.* do voluntarily declare, that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen of every religious persuasion; and that I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland. I do further declare, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments, not even death, shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform, or give evidence against any member or members of this, or similar societies, for any act or expression of theirs, done or made collectively or individually in or out of this society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation.

So help me God.

*Oath of a private.*

I, *A. B.* do solemnly and sincerely swear, and take God and his only son our Lord Jesus Christ to witness, that I will at all times be obedient to the commands of my officers; that I am ready to lay down my life, for the good of my country; that I have an aversion to plunder, and to the spilling of innocent blood; that I will fight courageously in the field, and shew mercy where it can be given; that I will avoid drunkenness, tending to disorder and ruin; that I will endeavour to make as many friends, and as few enemies as possible; that above all, I detest a coward,  
and

and that I will look upon him as an enemy who will stand back in the time of battle.

So help me God.

*Oath of an officer.*

IN the awful presence of God, who knows the heart and thoughts of all men, and calling my country to witness, I, *A. B.* officer in, &c. do solemnly swear, that I do not consider my life my own, when my country demands it; that I consider the present moment calls for a proof of the sincerity of that sentiment, and I am ready and desirous to stand the test; and do aver, that I am determined to die, or lead to victory; and that all my actions shall be directed to the prosperity of the common cause, uninfluenced by any inferior motive: and I further declare my utter aversion to all alarmists, union-breakers, and cowards, and my respect and obedience to the commands of superior officers.

So help me God.

*Done at the council chamber, Wexford, June 14th, 1798.*

By order of the council,

B. B. HARVEY, *president*,  
NICHOLAS GRAY, *secretary*.

BY the virtuous voice of the people, we whose names are here under written, do appoint our trusty and well-beloved brother, William Fielding Costello, to command our artillery, and commissary of our stores; and we trust this will be noticed by all whom it may concern. Given under our hands at camp at Limerick-hill, this thirteenth day of June, 1798.

EDWARD KYAN.  
JOHN HAY.

[A copy.]

17.

*County of Wexford,*  
*to wit.* } ELIZABETH EDWARDS, of John-street, in the town of  
Wexford, having been duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists,  
deposeth, and saith, That she was told by her neighbours who  
were Roman catholics, that all the protestants would be put to death on Sunday  
the tenth of June last; in consequence of which this deponent went to the  
chapel on Thursday the seventh (as deponent believes,) and was baptized by father  
Broe. Deponent further saith, that some time in the last week the said father  
Broe came to deponent and demanded payment for having christened her; and in  
four days after, this deponent paid him one shilling on that account.

*Sworn before me this 2d day of January, 1799,*  
JOHN H. LYSTER.

her  
ELIZABETH EDWARDS,  
mark.

ERIN



## 18.

## ERIN GO BRAGH!

*Proclamation of the people of the county of Wexford.*

WHEREAS it stands manifestly notorious, that James Boyd, Hawtrey White, Hunter Gowan, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob,\* late magistrates of this county, have committed the most horrid acts of cruelty, violence, and oppression, against our peaceable and well-affected countrymen:

Now we, the people, associated and united for the purpose of procuring our just rights, and being determined to protect the persons and properties of those of all religious persuasions who have not oppressed us, and are willing, with heart and hand, to join our glorious cause, as well as to shew our marked disapprobation and horror of the crimes of the above delinquents, do call on our countrymen at large, to use every exertion in their power to apprehend the bodies of the aforesaid James Boyd, Hawtrey White, Hunter Gowan, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, and to secure and convey them to the gaol of Wexford, to be brought before the tribunal of the people. Done at Wexford, this ninth day of June, 1798.

GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE.

## 19.

## ERIN GO BRAGH!

*To all Irishmen and soldiers, who wish to join their brethren in arms, assembled for the defence of their country, their rights and liberties, these few lines are addressed.*

WE, the honest patriots of our country, do most earnestly intreat and invite you to join your natural Irish standard. This is the time for Irishmen to shew their zeal for their country's good,† the good of their posterity, and the natural rights and liberties of Ireland. Repair then to the camps of liberty, where you will be generously received, and amply rewarded. We know your hearts are with us; and all you want is an opportunity to desert those tyrants who wish to keep you as the support of their oppressive and hellish schemes, to enslave our country. Done at Wexford by the unanimous voice of the people, fourteenth June, 1798.

GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE.

## 20.

*County of the city of Dublin,*  
*to wit.*

THE information of James Rowfom, of Managena, of the parish of Monomolin, &c. county of Wexford, farmer, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, maketh oath, and faith, That he made his escape from his own house to Gorey, in said county, on Whitfunday last, in order to save his life; and that after the battle of Tubberneering near Gorey aforesaid, in which colonel Walpole fell, he re-

[T]

terated

These gentlemen were conspicuous for their loyalty.

† It is very remarkable, that during the course of the conspiracy and rebellion, the Irish traitors constantly spoke of their zeal for the good of their country both orally and in print, by which they meant its separation from England.

retreated from Gorey aforesaid to the town of Wicklow, where he, this informant, remained till a day or two after the battle of Vinegar-hill. Informant saith, that he, and about twenty protestants, men, who fled from the vengeance of the popish rebels, returned to Gorey, about two days after said battle, thinking that the success of the king's troops therein had restored peace and tranquillity in the said county about Gorey aforesaid; that on the day of his arrival at Gorey, a number of rebels flying from Vinegar-hill arrived at Gorey, and put to flight a great number of protestants, and killed every one that fell into their hands of said protestants, to the amount of, he heard and believes, thirty or forty. Informant saith, that in his flight from Gorey thither, informant was taken prisoner by the rebels on Kilmurry-hill, within two miles of Gorey aforesaid, when their commander, who was well dressed and well mounted, told informant that he knew him to be an orangeman; that the said commander desired said rebel corps to advance, on which one of the said corps said, "I will shoot him;" but the said rebel commander said, "No, leave him to me." On which the said rebel having advanced and left informant in custody of said commander, informant saith, that the said commander desired informant to lie down that he might shoot him; and this informant thereon began to plead for his life, declaring, that he was no orangeman, but an industrious poor man, who gained his subsistence by his labour, on which the said rebel commander rode up against him violently, and threw him into a ditch; and having desired him to lie down a second time, he this informant complied, on which the said rebel commander shot him in the head and broke his jaw; the said rebel commander having thereon said, "I am sure he is dead," to two or three of the rebel soldiers who happened to remain with him. Informant saith, he is convinced in his mind, that the said rebel commander had no other reason for shooting him, than that he was a protestant. Informant saith, he was so much weakened by the loss of blood, that he lay on the spot where he was so wounded for the space of five hours. Informant saith, when he gathered a little strength, and thought that the rebels had departed, he retired to an adjacent field, and concealed himself in some ferns, hoping to make his escape in the night; that a party of rebels having come to the place where he had been shot, and seeing that he had made his escape, they went in quest of him, this informant, and having found him, they, the said rebels, exclaimed, "Let us shoot him;" that one of the said rebels then fired at him with a musket, and drove a bullet through his left arm; but the said rebel perceiving he had not killed him, called out to another rebel to shoot him; but the said rebel said in answer, that he had but one charge, and that he would not throw it away on informant, but they said we will pike him, which however they could not do, as they had no pikes. Informant saith, that one of the said rebels took a large stone and struck informant so violently in the head with it, that they left him speechless and senseless, and apparently dead. Informant saith, that in the night he made his escape over colonel Ram's demesne, without coat, shoes, or stockings\* to the house of Thomas Ennis, of Benogue, and remained there all night in a pig-stye; that in the morning the said Ennis gave him a blanket to cover him, and some milk and water to drink; that he remained there all day, and next night. Informant saith, that during all that time he received no other nourishment than milk and water administered to him with a spoon. Informant saith, that the said Ennis had him conveyed next day in a car to Gorey aforesaid; and that one of the military surgeons had him conveyed from thence in a car to Bray, in the county of Wicklow, where informant remained in a military hospital till the twenty-third day of August. Informant

\* The rebels stripped him.

Informant faith, his under jaw is completely shattered, that all his teeth are loose, and that he can receive no nourishment but with a spoon.\* Informant faith, his dwelling-house, furniture, out offices, and farming utensils have been burned or destroyed; and that his cows and horses have been carried off by the rebels.

JAMES ROWSOM, 60 years old.

Sworn before me this 25th day of August, 1798,

THOMAS FLEMING, lord mayor of the city of Dublin.

## 21.

*The deposition of James Pippard, sovereign of the town of Gorey, county of Wexford,*

WHO being examined, deposeth and faith, that on Wednesday and Thursday, the twentieth and twenty-first days of June last, 1798, a great number of protestants, both men and women, returned from Arklow to Gorey (on their hearing that the rebels had left the town of Gorey, and finding that his majesty's army was in pursuit of them) the rebels then made for Vinegar-hill; that on Friday, the twenty-second day of June, being the day after the engagement with his majesty's army, and the rebels at Vinegar-hill, near Enniscorthy, the rebels, to the amount of three hundred or upwards, armed with firelocks and pikes, retreated from the army, and came back to Gorey. On the protestants retreating to Arklow, the rebels pursued them, and killed to the number of thirty-six of the loyalists, by shooting and piking them in the most barbarous and cruel manner. Deponent was one of the number that retreated from Gorey, and narrowly escaped with his life. Deponent further faith, that the rebels kept a constant fire at the loyalists from Gorey, till they got almost to the village of Coolgreney near six miles.

JAMES PIPPARD.

Sworn before me, this thirty-first day of December, 1798,

HUNTER GOWAN.

## 22.

*Thomas Cleary's confession relative to the murder of his master.*

THOMAS CLEARY was executed the eighth of March, 1800, for the murder of his master, Edward Turner, esquire, on the bridge of Wexford. Just before his execution, he made the following confession, in presence of Joshua Nunn, esquire, high sheriff, the undersigned gentlemen, and many others: 'That he was guilty of the said murder. On his being asked, did he not think it a sin to kill his master? he replied, that he often heard the people say, it was not a sin to kill him; and that since the murder of his master, he received absolution from two priests, father Murphy of the parish of Kilrush,† in said county, and father Ryan, who had done duty for father Ned Redmond, of the parish of Ferns. He was also asked, did they order him to do any thing for committing so horrid a crime? He answered, they ordered him to fast three ‡ days in each week, for three months, as a penance.

JOSHUA NUNN, high sheriff.

JAMES BOYD.

CHRISTOPHER WILSON.

WILLIAM TURNER.

[T 2]

Declar

\* The author saw this man exactly in this state in the month of August, 1798.

† This was Edanus Murphy, who exhorted his flock to loyalty. See pages 321, 322 of the text.

‡ This was from meat only.



## 23.

*Doctor Caulfield's letter to Bryan Murphy.*

Reverend Bryan Murphy!

BEING well and truly informed that you have impiously and sacrilegiously dared to attempt to administer sacraments without having any faculties so to do, nay, that you have had the diabolical audacity to attempt to hear sacramental confessions, and to give the unfortunate penitents absolution, which was absolutely not in your power to give, thereby heaping coals on your own head, leaving the unhappy sinners in their sins, and, as was your practice, leading them to utter perdition, &c. &c. Wherefore in the necessary discharge of our pastoral and indispensable duty, and for the safety of the faithful committed to our charge, we now again repeat, and hereby declare you absolutely and to all intents and purposes deprived of all priestly faculties, and absolutely suspended from all priestly functions whatsoever, except the recital of the divine office in canonical hours, and saying one mass daily, and that privately in your own house only; and we hereby expressly and strictly forbid and interdict you to celebrate mass elsewhere; and we further order and peremptorily command you not to suffer or allow any congregations or assembly of people to come even to your own house, or to hear your mass there. Given in Ballinane, March nineteenth, 1800.

JAMES CAULFIELD.\*

*To reverend Bryan Murphy.*

MY LORD,

*Taghmon, March 27th, 1800.*

Pleas your lordship, after what you said to me yesterday, nothing should or could prevail on me to be again troublesome to your lordship, but just this, father Murphy understanding that there was no immediate allowance to say mass outside his own house, exclaimed, that he was then pointed out a sacrifice, and that he might thank me for it; I told your lordship yesterday that I was the cause of his taking on the stole, and of his doing the other offices he did, which your lordship said you never knew or allowed, &c. to be given him; and that it was the pope only that could dispense with him now, and this to be all through my means, heated and interdicted by your lordship, condemned and suspected by him, of purposely bringing him into a snare, is exceedingly terrifying to the mind; and the consequences that may as yet be apprehended to follow, alarms me most of all, the distraction of the people, his life, &c. All he wants is merely to get leave to say mass outside his own house, and where called on, by way of preventing all other mischiefs. The command of your lordship shall be kept by me, who am,

MY LORD,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

DENIS KELLY.

My lord, with all the desires of life and soul, I most earnestly beg the favour,—My lord, your lordship was pleased to remark that your lordship was never moved by any interest whatsoever temporal, to do any thing but your duty, which I believe no person doubted or ought to doubt—so God knows, and your lordship must in your soul know, that your lordship is answerable between father Murphy and me, for any sanction to my knowledge he has done, for I thought your silence on the occasion gave me your tacet consent.

*From*

\* It appears that the doctor had withdrawn the faculty or power of attorney which he had given Bryan Murphy to forgive sins.

*From Bryan Murphy to a protestant clergyman.*

Reverend sir, and worthy friend !

AS there are various reports and reasons assigned among the people for my present situation, and my being so treated by my bishop ; some saying, for such a cause, and others for different causes, &c. all of which are false, as you'll see from his lordship's letter, which he sent me without ever acquainting me off, till I received it in my house ; nor did he call or acquaint reverend Mr. Kelly, any more than me, but passed sentence without hearing him or me. Reverend sir, I did not administer any sacrament, from the first day I was restricted, till about seventeen months back, and that after Mr. Kelly told his lordship that he could not answer all the calls, and that he should send me to serve necessary calls, &c. at which his lordship seemed all pleasant, and said nothing. Reverend Mr. Kelly after that, sent me to answer occasional calls, and thus continued for the course of seventeen months, or thereabouts, without my hearing a word to the contrary. On my receiving the bishop's letter, Mr. Kelly went to him, but could do nothing ; and the next day he wrote to him, the copy of which you have inclosed ; but his lordship did not answer his letter. I wrote also, and did not receive any answer. What mostly concerns me, that my friends and wellwishers should think my present treatment from the bishop, should proceed from any bad practices, especially your reverence, John Heatly, esquire, and William Goff, esquire, &c. I am,

BRIKETS-TOWN,  
*April twenty-eighth, 1800.*

Reverend sir,  
Your sincere well-wisher,  
and very humble servant,

*To the reverend Mr. ———.*

BRYAN MURPHY.

*County of Wexford,* } ELIZABETH CRANE, of the county of Wexford, widow,  
*to wit.* } being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth and saith,  
————— } That on the twentieth day of June last, she was in her own house, in great anxiety, apprehending, from circumstances which had happened that morning, the life of her son-in-law, Middleton Robson, a loyalist, then a prisoner in the gaol of Wexford, to be in immediate and imminent danger ; that in the afternoon of said twentieth day, between the hours of two and four of the clock, as said deponent believeth, she saw the reverend doctor Caulfield, accompanied by the reverend Mr. Roche, a priest of said town, pass by her house towards a lane which communicates from the back street of said town to Gibson's-lane, which gave her great pleasure, as she supposed, they were going to intercede for the prisoners. That near the entrance of said lane they were met by a number of men, armed with pikes and other weapons, coming, as she believeth, from the gaol, who, as they came up to doctor Caulfield, knelt down, for the purpose, as deponent believeth, of receiving doctor Caulfield's blessing, which he gave, spreading his hands over their heads, as she had seen him do to others whom he blessed, and that the men afterwards passed on, as she supposed, to the bridge ; and that very shortly afterwards, two men, armed with pikes, entered her house, who told her, " they were slaughtering on the bridge ; that they would never draw bridle, till they would put them all on a level, and that by that time to-morrow, there would be neither buying or selling in Wexford : " and that immediately before, or during the time, doctor Caulfield was blessing, which was of a tedious

tedious length, nearly, as she thinks, an hour, said deponent heard a shot, by which she believes Matthewson was killed at the gaol.

## ELIZABETH CRANE.

*Sworn before me at Wexford, this sixteenth  
day of March, 1799,*

WILLIAM TOOLE.

## 24.

*Copy of the calendar of the protestant prisoners in Wexford, used in the bloody committee, which sat in the gaol, the twentieth of June, the original of which is lodged in Trinity college library, Dublin.*

Mark.	No.		Parish.	Mark.	No.		Parish.
Killed.	1	Aikin, Thomas		43	Byrne, Edward		
T—	2	Abbot, Christopher		44	Byrne, William		
V—	3	Allen, John	Wexford.	45	Bannon, Martin		
	4	Atkins, Henry			C		
	5	Atkins, George		V B—	46	Cox, capt. Allen	Coolcliff.
B—	6	Atkin, Samuel			47	Connor, John	
V A—	7	Atkin, John	do.	B—	48	Clarke, William	Wexford.
	8	Atkin, George	do.		49	Chapman, Thomas	
I H—	9	Atkin, Samuel	C. Ellis.	T—	50	Carthy, John	
H—	10	Atkin, Samuel	do.	T—	51	Codd, Loftus	do.
V H—	11	Atkin, Hercules	do.	T—	52	Clifford, Robert	do.
do.	12	Atkin, Christopher	do.	C—	53	Costigan, George	do.
do.	13	Atkin, James	Edermine.	B—	54	Crane, Thomas	do.
do.	14	Atkin, William	do.	C—	55	Clifford, John	do.
do.	15	Atkin, Robert	Wexford.		56	Clarke, Thomas	do.
	16	Atkin, William	Ardeolme.		57	Clarke, Thomas	do.
	17	Atkin, William	Edermine.		58	Clarke, William	do.
	18	Atkin, William	C. Ellis.		59	Cronin, Jared	
	19	Atkin, Francis	Wexford.		60	Clarke, John	
		B			61	Callaghan, John	
	20	Bayley, Henry	Wexford.		62	Callaghan, Owen	
	21	Birdthistle, Thomas			63	Cooke, Thomas	
B—	22	Burrell, Robert	Duncor.		64	Connors, Peter [discharged]	
B—	23	Burrell, Peter	do.		65	Crump, Nathaniel	Wexford.
V—	24	Boyd, James, jun.	Wexford.		66	Cooper, Henry	do.
V—	25	Brett, James	Enniscorthy.		67	Copeland, William	
C—	26	Bolton, Henry.			68	Clifford, Nicholas	Wexford.
B—	27	Byrne, John			69	Campbell, John	
	28	Basset, Edward			70	Costigan, William	Wexford.
	29	Browne, William			71	Cooper, John	
	30	Beaubear, William	Ardeolm.		72	Coombes, John	
	31	Burby, Joseph			73	Codd, John	
	32	Bland, capt.[discharged]	Wexfd.		74	Costello, Edward	Ballyhack.
	33	Byrne, Moses				D	
	34	Bower, doctor		B—	75	Daniel, William	Wexford.
	35	Baker, Philip			76	Doyle, Edward	
	36	Batterton, Thomas			77	Dowse, William	
	37	Barby, Henry			78	Doran, John	
	38	Burke, lieutenant			79	Dixon, John	
	39	Barry, ensign			80	Dixon, William	
	40	Barriester, Joseph			81	Dowzer, James	
	41	Batterton, William				E	
	42	Basset, John			82	Esmund, Richard	
							83 Ennis,

\* In this calendar, the word discharged, is opposite the name of Kellet, Crump, and Bland, though the two last were not liberated till the twenty-first of June, the day after the massacre; and as this entry must have been made before Atkins got the hook, it is probable that it was entered by the desire of Father Corrin on his arrival from Clonard, in consequence of the compact which he had made with the ladies there to preserve their husbands. See pages 486, 487 of the text.



Mark.	No.	Parish.
	83	Ennis, Abraham
B—	84	Edwards, John
	85	Edwards, Thomas Wexford.
	F	
	86	Freeman, Richard
F—	87	Frankland, Edward Wexford.
	88	Furlong, Michael Enniscorthy.
	89	Francis, William Wexford.
	90	Finn, Simon
	91	Fennell, Matthew
	92	Flood, Denis
	93	Frizel, William
	94	Foley, Patrick
	95	Frayne, Parfons
B—	96	Finn, Thomas Killimuck.
	G	
	97	Gibson, John
	98	Gainfort, Joseph
	99	Gainfort, Richard
B—	100	Gainfort, Thomas Wexford.
	101	Gore, John D. cormuck.
	102	Gill, Allen
	103	Gurley, William Wexford.
	104	Gibson, Richard
	105	Gurly, John Wexford.
B—	106	Gurly, Jonas do.
	107	Goodall, James do.
	108	Green, Benjamin Coolstuff.
	109	Gray, Moses
	110	Gordon, Samuel Wexford.
	111	Gafney, Michael B. gale.
	H	
B—	112	Hore, William Taghmon.
	113	Hogan, John Wexford.
	114	Haley, John
	115	Hyland, Wm. Henry Wexford.
B—	116	Harrison, William
	117	Hughes, James Wexford.
	118	Hughes, Michael Wexford.
B—	119	Hatchel, John Wexford.
	120	Hawkins Samuel
	121	Hamilton, James Wexford.
	122	Hogg, lieutenant
	123	Howlin, Abr. James Kilcorham.
B—	124	Hennedy (G. or Abr.) Wexford.
	I	
	125	Jeffares, Richard Wexford.
	126	Jeffares, Ivory Wexford.
F	127	Jones Benjamin
R	128	Julian, Richard Wexford.
	129	Jackfon, Charles Wexford.
	130	Jones, Ben.
	131	Jeffares, Christopher Wexford.
	132	Judd, Peter
	133	Jones, Sheppard
	134	Jones, James
	K	
	135	Keer, David
B—	136	Kennedy, William
V. hill.	137	Kavanagh, Thomas Enniscorthy.
	138	Knox, Oliver
	139	Kelly, John

Mark.	No.	Parish.
	140	King, Rd. Newton Enniscorthy.
	141	Kelly, Matthias
	142	Keazy, William
	143	Kellet, William Wexford.
	144	Kelly, William
	145	Kingsborough, lord
	146	Kendrick, Joseph
	147	Knight, John, L.
	L	
B—	148	Lett, Charles
T—	149	Lammas, Thomas Wexford.
	150	Lachey, Thomas do.
	151	Lewis, Nicholas K. limick.
	152	Lammas, Henry Wexford.
	153	Le Hunte, col. Geo. Ardcolm.
	M	
	154	Meadows, Arthur Wexford.
	155	Meadows, William do.
	156	Moore, Joseph do.
	157	Myden, John
	158	Morgan, William do.
	159	Matthews, James do.
	160	Matthews, George do.
	161	Matthews, Alexander do.
Gaol	162	Matthewson, Kennet do.
Balbrig	163	Murphy, Francis K. scoran.
Strand	164	Murphy, Joseph K. Muckridge.
	165	M'Henry, Maurice
	166	Moore, Matthew
	167	Moran, Bartholomew
	168	Molony, Thomas
	169	Maude, Samuel
	170	Mason, George
	171	M'Manus, captain
died	172	Morton, John
	173	M'Cann, Edward
	174	M'Kay, Robert
	175	M'Kay, John
	176	Milward, captain Henry
	177	Martin, Thomas B. Gale.
	178	M'Donald, John Wexford.
	N	
	179	Nunn, James Wexford.
	O	
	180	Orange, Samuel
	181	Owen, reverend Roger Camolin
	P	
	182	Pigot, Robert Wexford.
	183	Peace, Samuel
	184	Parfley, Robert
	185	Plummer, Francis
	186	Power, Patrick
	187	Parfley, Eben.
	Q	
	188	Quirke, Philip
	R	
	189	Rudd, Anthony Enniscorth.
	190	Rogers, Edward
T—	191	Reily, William Wexford.
B—	192	Radford, William
B—	193	Radford, John
B—	194	Radford, Nathaniel
F—	195	Reeves, Richard
	B—196 Radford	

Mark. No.	Parish.	Mark. No.	Parish.
B—196	Radford, John, jun.	V	
E—197	Robson, Middleton Wexford.	242	Vicarry, Benjamin, Wexford.
198	Rudd, Anthony	W	
199	Richards, Richard Wexford.	T—243	Wormington, Wm. Wexfd.
200	Redmond, Patrick	244	Wheelock, James
201	Richards, Thomas Wexford.	245	Wilson, William
202	Rigley, Thomas	246	Willis, Thomas
203	Rhyhart, Henry	247	White, John Wexford.
	S	B—248	Wistnot, William
204	Smithson, Joseph	B—249	Whitney, Richard Wexford.
205	Salisbury, James Wexford.	250	Willis, William Enniscor.
206	Stephens, Isaac Wexford.	251	Walters, Edward
207	Sullivan, Robert	252	Winter, Richard Wexford.
B—208	Sparrow, John	253	White, Anthony
A—209	Sudal, Loftus	254	Wilson, rev. Henry
F—210	Sabourin, Christopher Wexf.	255	Ward, Abraham
211	Seally, Thomas	256	Ward, Benjamin Wexford.
212	Sweetman, Nicholas	257	Woodmason, Noble
B—213	Sunderland, Benjamin	258	Willson, William
214	Smith, Joseph	259	Wade, J.
215	Strowd, William, Wexford.	260	Stephens, Isaac
216	Smith, Patrick	261	Burkett, Robert
217	Smithson, Jacob		
218	Shaw, James		
219	Sheppard, William		
220	Styles, Robert	Prisoners in the Market-house	48
221	Stedman, John	Gaol	148
222	Swannick, Francis Wexford.	Guard ship	22
223	Savage, major Mulran	Barracks	36
224	Swiney, Benj. Burton Ennisc.	Court house	3
225	Swiney, Joshua do.	Connick's	3
226	Steadman, William		
227	Shaw, Thomas	Total	260
	T		
B—228	Turner, Edward C. Ellis.	Prisoners piked on the bridge, }	
229	Taylor, Christopher Wexford.	twentieth of June }	97
230	Taylor, William do.		
B—231	Tally, George do.		
232	Taylor, Thomas	Marks in the calendar affixed to the	
233	Taylor, Andrew	names of prisoners.	
234	Troy, Thomas, Wexford.	B. Killed on bridge.	
235	Troy, William do.	V. I cannot explain.	
236	Thackaberry, James	T. To-morrow, supposed to mean the	
237	Taylor, George	deferring execution to the twenty-	
238	Thackaberry, Robert	first of June.	
239	Tunks, John	F. Not explained.	
240	Templeton, Alexander	A. (supposed) Accused.	
241	Templeton, Thomas	R. Rogue, or revenue officer.	
		C. Charged.	

## 25.

*Confession of faith found in the box of a priest at Gorey.*

WHEN we assemble, we all cross ourselves, saying, we acknowledge these our articles, in the presence of Christ's vicar, the Lord God the pope, and in the presence of the holy primates, bishops, monks, friars, and priests.

\* We acknowledge they can make vice virtue, and virtue vice, according to their pleasure. They all falling flat on their faces, beginning the articles in this manner, and

\* See cardinal Bellarmine's opinion on this, page 12 of the text.

and speaking to the Host, saying, Holy, glorious, and admirable host, we acknowledge it according to our great father the pope's mind; we must all fall down before the great effigy of our Lord God Almighty.

- 3 We all acknowledge the supremacy of the holy father, the Lord God the pope, and that he is Peter's lawful successor in the chair.
- 4 We acknowledge that holy Peter has the keys of Heaven, and will receive those that acknowledge his supremacy.
- 5 We are bound to believe no salvation out of our holy church.
- 6 We are bound to believe that the holy massacre was lawful, lawfully put into execution against protestants, and likewise to continue the same, provided with the safety of our lives.\*
- 7 We are bound to curse, ring the bells, and put out the candles four times a year on hereticks.
- 8 We are bound to believe a heretick can never be saved, unless he be a partaker of that holy sacrament, extreme unction.
- 9 We are bound to believe that those who elope from our holy religion, go into the power of the devil, whom hereticks have followed.
- 10 We are not to keep our oaths with hereticks, if they can be broken; for, says our holy father, they have followed damnation, and Luther and Calvin.
- 11 We are not to believe their oaths, for their principles are damnation.
- 12 We are bound to drive hereticks out of the land, with fire, sword, faggot, and confusion. As our holy father says, if their heresy prevails, we will become their slaves! Oh! dear father, keep us from that. (Here the holy water is shaken, and they say, Hail, Mary! three times.)
- 13 We are bound to absolve with money, or price, those that imbrue their hands in the blood of a heretick.
- 14 We are bound to believe that Christ's vicar, the Lord God the pope, can absolve all men, hereticks excepted, and those given to all clergymen under inspection to do the like.
- 15 We are bound to believe all the articles our holy church commands.
- 16 We are bound to believe the virgin Mary has more power in Heaven than any other angel.
- 17 We are bound to pray to the holy angels, that they may pray for us.
- 18 We are bound to believe in the holy cross, holy water, holy spittle, holy earth, holy bones, holy people, and beads, and that they are to be used on certain occasions.
- 19 We are bound to celebrate the holy mass in latin, having ourselves clothed in a holy vestment and shirt, and bearing the holy cross on our shoulders, signifying we are Christ.
- 20 We are bound to believe, every time mass is celebrating, there is an expiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead.
- 21 We are bound to believe there are four places of purgation, viz. Limbus infantum, Limbus patrum, Meadows of ease, and Purgatory.
- 22 We are bound to believe that Christ was three days in Limbus patrum, where the souls of holy fathers go, till they get a pass with them to holy Peter.
- 23 We are bound to believe, that the souls of children unbaptized, go to Limbus infantum, until original sin is well paid away, by the help of holy masses said for them.
- 24 We know the souls of christians go to purgatory, and remain there till we pray them out of it, that they may have power to walk the meadows of ease with safety,

[ U ]

\* This it is believed was composed soon after that of 1641, and alludes to it.



safety, till it pleases holy Peter to open the gates of glory for them, where no heretick shall ever enter.

25 We are bound to keep lent according to our clergies pleasure, and to maintain the work of supererogation.

26 We acknowledge the lake in the North to be holy, called Lough Dergh.

27 We are bound to pray to no other saint on that day, only to him to whom it is dedicated.

28 We must baptize bells, consecrate chapels, and no man to enter into the holy office of a priest, only he who is known to be a man.

29 We maintain seven sacraments essential to salvation, viz. baptism, eucharist, penance, extreme unction, holy order, confirmation, and matrimony.

30 We maintain that we can transubstantiate the bread and wine into the real body and blood of Christ.

31 We believe the hereticks eat their kind of sacrament to their eternal damnation.

32 We believe that Christ is every where, but particularly in our church.

33 We maintain that we cannot marry any heretick woman without being in danger of judgment.

34 We maintain, that hereticks know neither the will of the prophet nor of Christ.

35 We acknowledge, that the rosary of saint Bridget is to be said once a week; and lastly, that our holy church can never err.

*Secula seculorum.*

S.

Roche and Murphy said mass four times on the march from Gorey to Arklow.

## No. XXI. 1.

*Dublin Castle, 22d June, 1798.*

*Extract of a letter from lieutenant general Lake to lord viscount Castlereagh, dated Enniscorthy, 21st June, 1798.*

“ MY LORD,

“ I HAVE the honour to acquaint your lordship, for his excellency the lord lieutenant's information, that the rebel camp upon Vinegar-hill, was attacked this morning, at seven o'clock, and carried in about an hour and an half.

“ The relative importance of this very strong position with our operations against Wexford, made it necessary to combine our attacks so as to insure success. A column, under major-generals Johnson and Eustace was drawn from Ross, and began the attack upon the town of Enniscorthy, situate upon the right bank of the Slaney, close under Vinegar-hill upon the right, and rather in the rear of it.

“ Lieutenant general Dundas commanded the centre column, supported by a column upon the right under major generals sir James Duff and Loftus; a fourth column upon the left was commanded by the honourable major general Needham. To the determined spirit with which these columns were conducted, and the great gallantry of the troops, we are indebted for the short resistance of the rebels, who maintained their ground obstinately for the time above mentioned; but on perceiving the danger of being surrounded, they fled with great precipitation. Their loss is not yet ascertained, but it must be very considerable. The loss on our part is not great, the particulars of which I shall report as soon as possible. In the mean time, I am sorry to say, that lieutenant Sandys of the Longford regiment is killed; and

and that colonel King, of the Sligo, was wounded in gallantly leading his regiment. Lord Blayney, and colonel Vesey, of the county of Dublin regiment, are also wounded, but I am happy to add, that the wounds of these three officers are very slight.

"I cannot too highly express my obligations, particularly to lieutenant general Dundas, and the general officers, on this occasion, for the abilities and ardour so strongly manifested by them; and to the officers of every rank, and the private men, for a prompt, brave and effectual execution of their orders.

"To colonel Campbell, with his light battalion, I am much indebted for their very spirited attack; and great praise is due to the earl of Ancram and lord Roden, for their gallant charge with their regiments, at the moment the cavalry was wanted to complete the success of the day.

"It is with great gratitude I also beg leave to mention the able assistance I received from major generals Hewitt and Cradock, and from colonel Handfield, on this, as I do on all occasions; and should be extremely wanting to myself, as well as to lord Glentworth, lieutenant colonel Blyth, and lieutenant colonel Read, (who did me the honour to volunteer their service, and accompany me from Dublin,) were I to omit expressing the high sense I entertain of their active and useful aid to me this morning. I also beg leave to mention, in the same warm terms, my aid-de-camp, captain Nicholson.

"To the rapid and well-directed fire of the royal artillery, and the gallantry of their officers and men, for which they have ever been distinguished, I consider myself this day highly indebted; and I am happy in expressing my obligations to captain Bloomfield, commanding the British, and captain Crawford, commanding the Irish Royal Artillery, with the officers and men under their command."

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. LAKE.

"P. S. I have just learned that lieutenant colonel Cole is slightly wounded. Inclosed is a return of the ordnance taken on Vinegar-hill, in which are included three taken from us on the fourth of June."

*Return of ordnance taken from the rebels on Vinegar-hill, 21st June, 1798.*

- 3 Six-pounders, brass.
- 1 Three-pounder.
- 7 One-pounders.
- 1 5½ Inch howitzer.
- 1 4½ Inch howitzer.

—  
13 Total.

*Rounds of ammunition.*

- 17 Six-pounders.
- 30 One-pounders.
- 11 5½ Inch howitzers.

Note.—A cart, with a vast variety of balls of different diameters, had been thrown down the hill after the action, and immense quantities of lead and leaden balls delivered over to the Dunbarton fencibles.

(Signed)

ROBERT CRAWFORD, captain R. I. A.

Dublin

## 2.

*Dublin Castle, 23d June, 1798.*

*This day the following letter was received from lieutenant general Lake by lord Castlereagh :*

*Wexford, 22d June, 1798.*

MY LORD,

“ YESTERDAY afternoon I had the honour to dispatch a letter to your lordship from Enniscorthy, with the transactions of the day, for his excellency the lord lieutenant’s information; and the enclosed copy of a letter from brigadier general Moore, to major general Johnson, will account for my having entered this place without opposition. General Moore, with his usual enterprize and activity, pushed on to this town, and entered it so opportunely as to prevent it from being laid in ashes, and the massacre of the remaining prisoners, which the rebels declared their intention of carrying into execution the very next day; and there can be little doubt it would have taken place, for the day before they murdered above seventy prisoners, and threw their bodies over the bridge.

“ Inclosed is a copy of my answer to the proposals of the inhabitants of this town, transmitted in my letter of yesterday to your lordship; the evacuation of the town by the rebels renders it unnecessary. I have the pleasure to acquaint your lordship, that the subscriber of the insolent proposals, Mr. Keugh, and one of their principal leaders, Mr. Roche, with a few others, are in my hands, without negotiation. The rebels are reported to be in some force within five miles of this place, it is supposed, for the purpose of submission, to which the event of yesterday may strengthen their inclinations. I have reason to think there are a number so disposed, and that I shall be able to secure some more of their leaders; but should I be disappointed in my expectations, and find they collect in any force, I shall lose no time in attacking them.

I have, &c.

G. LAKE.”

*Lord viscount Castlereagh.*

“ From enquiry the numbers killed yesterday were very great indeed.”

*Camp above Wexford, 22d June, 1798.*

DEAR GENERAL,

“ AGREEABLE to your order, I took post on the evening of the nineteenth, near Foulkes’s-mill, in the park of Mr. Sutton. Next day I sent a strong detachment under lieutenant colonel Wilkinfon, to patrol towards Tintern and Clonmines, with a view to scour the country, and communicate with the troops you directed to join me from Duncannon. The lieutenant colonel found the country deserted, and got no tidings of the troops. I waited for them until three o’clock in the afternoon, when despairing of their arrival, I began my march to Taghmon. We had not marched above half a mile, when a considerable body of the rebels was perceived marching towards us. I sent my advanced guard, consisting of the two rifle companies of the 60th, to skirmish with them, whilst a howitzer, and a six-pounder, were advanced to a cross road above Goff’s-bridge, and some companies of light infantry formed on each side of them under lieutenant colonel Wilkinfon. The rebels



rebels attempted to attack these, but were instantly repulsed, and driven beyond the bridge. A large body were perceived at the same time moving towards my left. Major Aylmer, and afterwards major Daniel, with five companies of light infantry, and a six-pounder, were detached against them. The 60th regiment, finding no further opposition in front, had, of themselves, inclined to their left to engage the body which was attempting to turn us. The action here was for a short time pretty sharp. The rebels were in great numbers, and armed with both muskets and pikes. They were, however, forced to give way, and driven, though they repeatedly attempted to form, behind the ditches. They at last dispersed, flying towards Enniscorthy and Wexford. Their killed could not be ascertained, as they lay scattered in the fields over a considerable extent; but they seemed to be numerous. I inclose a list of ours. The troops behaved with great spirit. The artillery, and Hompesck's cavalry, were active, and seemed only to regret that the country did not admit of their rendering more effectual service. Major Daniel is the only officer whose wound is bad; it is through the knee, but not dangerous.

"The business, which began between three and four, was not over till near eight; it was then too late to proceed to Taghmon. I took post for the night on the ground where the action had commenced. As the rebels gave way, I was informed of the approach of the second and twenty-ninth regiments under lord Dalhousie. In the morning of the twenty-first we were proceeding to Taghmon, when I was met by an officer of the North Cork from Wexford, with the inclosed letters. I gave, of course, no answer to the proposal made by the inhabitants of Wexford, but I thought it my duty immediately to proceed here, and to take post above the town, by which means I have, perhaps, saved the town itself from fire, as well as the lives of many loyal subjects who were prisoners in the hands of the rebels. The rebels fled upon my approach, over the bridge of Wexford, and towards the barony of Forth. I shall wait here your further orders. Lord Kingsborough has informed me of different engagements he had entered into with respect to the inhabitants; I have declined entering into the subject, but have referred his lordship to you or general Lake.

"I received your pencilled note during the action of the twentieth; it was impossible for me then to detach the troops you asked for, but I hear you have perfectly succeeded at Enniscorthy with those you had. Mr. Roche, who commands the rebels, is encamped, I hear, about five miles off; he sent lord Kingsborough to surrender upon terms. Your presence speedily is upon every account extremely necessary.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

JOHN MOORE."

DURING the action of Foulkes's-mill, many of the rebel leaders, among whom father Roche, doctor Caulfield's chaplain, was very conspicuous, were extremely active in keeping the rebel soldiers to their quarters, and in preventing them from flying. They horfewhipped some of them, and even fired pistols at others; in the performance of this service, Roche attempted to horfewhip a protestant of the name of Barrington, who was compelled to join them; I have been assured by a person who served in the rebel army in that action, that the object of father Philip Roche the general, was to attack Ross when general Johnson left it; that he sent one party to Horetown to watch the motions, and engage the attention of general Moore, while the main body proceeded by Cullinstown-bridge, to the attack

tack of that town. The former, suddenly, and unexpectedly came on general Moore, and had a skirmish with him; which the main body hearing, went to their assistance, which brought on a general action. Roche intended to have kept one division of his army in the woods of Horetown; the other in those of Rossgarland; and to have attacked general Moore next morning; but the arrival of the Queen's and the 29th regiment, to general Moore, deterred him from that attempt. It was much to be lamented, that a gallant officer, major Daniel of the 41st regiment then quartered at Lismore, lost his life by this action. He volunteered, and solicited to be employed against the Wexford rebels; and having received a bad wound in the knee, he died of it a few weeks after in Dublin. He had displayed very great valour both in the East and West Indies.

## 3.

*A description of the rebel camp on the mountain of Forth, on the thirtieth of May.*

PREVIOUS to the evacuation of Wexford, its protestant inhabitants dreading that the sudden and furious assault of the rebel army stationed on the mountain of Forth, within three miles of it, would be attended with the complete destruction of their lives and property, prevailed upon Mr. Loftus Richards and his brother to go to them for the purpose of proposing certain pacific terms; and I give the reader his description of their camp. "On entering, they were surrounded by many thousand vagabonds, of whom they enquired, to whom they should address themselves as their leaders; and they answered, 'To father John Murphy, of Boulavogue, or lord Edward Fitzgerald,' as they usually styled him. They soon after met this reverend gentleman, on horseback, and on communicating to him the object of their mission, he said, 'He did not know what terms they could expect from the treatment which he had received; for that, by burning his house and property, and obliging him to take shelter in the ditches, he was under the necessity of raising the whole country.\* From his savage aspect, they had very great reason to be alarmed for their safety: they therefore advanced from a crowd, who were debating on putting them to death; and sent for Mr. Edward Fitzgerald of Newpark, another rebel chieftain, who came to them, and treated them with more civility and humanity; and who dispersed the rabble, telling them at the same time, that they should have nothing to do with them. They instantly obeyed. He then led them to a miserable hut at the top of the rocks, which seemed to have been appropriated to the double purpose of an hospital and a place of shelter for their leaders; but in the thatch of which there were many holes. Soon after their arrival they were obliged to deliver up their arms and accoutrements. Mr. Robert Carthy, who seemed from the authority which he exercised, to be chief in command, approached, and asked them, 'What terms they could expect, when at the moment they were entering into a treaty for surrendering the town, there was an army marching against them from towards Taghmon? and see, said he, pointing to a mob of assassins, 'where I have my men ready drawn out to attack them.' And they made a most extraordinary appearance, being armed with pikes, scythes, hay-knives, scrapers, currying-knives, and old rusty bayonets fixed on poles: but a good number of them had muskets. They expostulated with Carthy, and told him they had good authority for saying, that the thirteenth regiment, which had advanced as far as Taghmon, had retreated, on hearing of the defeat of a detachment of the Meath regiment; but, to satisfy them, they proposed that Fitzgerald, his brother and himself, should take horses, and.

† See the affidavits of Rossiter and Crawley in this Appendix, pages 85, 86.

and proceed to meet the regiment, if coming, and to tell colonel Bradshaw, who commanded it, of the circumstances as they then stood. They advanced within a mile of Taghmon, where they met a large foraging party proceeding to the rebel camp, with from six to eight car loads of provisions, and who declared that the thirteenth had retreated. They then returned speedily to the rebel camp, and made their report; but Carthy came forward again, and said, 'Can these men be sincere? the whole country towards the barony of Forth is in flames!' alluding to the village of Maglafs, which our retreating army had set fire to, as they had been treacherously fired on by a party of rebels, who lay in ambush there for them. Mr. L. Richards requested, if they had any doubts of their sincerity, that he would remain as an hostage with them, while his brother and Mr. Fitzgerald went to Wexford, to which they assented. He then remained in the hut, with a guard at the door, and while there he perceived, through a hole in the wall, about a foot square, a great number of men armed with the desperate weapons which he before described, incessantly marching, except that now and then, they knelt down to pray; and at the end of each prayer, bent their bodies towards the earth, and thrust the fore finger of the right hand into their mouth, as far as the extremity of the knuckle. When he had remained about three hours in that unpleasant situation, Mr. John Hay came to him, and said, "That the people had agreed, that he had betrayed Fitzgerald, "and therefore, that he must be put to death." Mr. Richards insisted on the contrary. Mr. Hay went off, returned in about half an hour, and declared, it was universally agreed, "That Fitzgerald had either sold them, or that he had betrayed him." And he swore vehemently, that the forces would be marched immediately towards Wexford, which, Mr. Richards said, "would be the best thing to prove his sincerity." In about five minutes after, the whole body of the rebels proceeded towards Wexford; and as they marched, continued to fire muskets, and give the most dreadful yells. They left two sentinels to guard Mr. Richards; who, in the mean time, examined the wounds of six unfortunate wretches, who lay upon straw in the hut, and who, though badly wounded, did not receive any nourishment or medical assistance.

The banditti who marched towards Wexford, could not be less than fifteen thousand men. Mr. Fitzgerald sent for Mr. Richards, and for a drummer of the Meath militia, that had been cut off that morning. They set off with their conductor, and when they had arrived within a quarter of a mile of Wexford, they perceived the rebels flying into the country, in every direction, and the road strewn with their coats, wigs, hats, pikes, muskets, and other weapons; and men, women, and children, in the greatest consternation. On enquiry, he found that their dismay, and their flight, were occasioned by the report of a gun, which had been fired at Mr. Sparrow, of Enniscorthy, a yeoman of distinguished loyalty, by a person in the van of their army; from which, the rear having been panick struck, fled in the utmost confusion; conceiving that our army had returned and were firing on them.\* Mr. Richards, on entering the town, saw the dead body of Mr. Sparrow lying in the street, and the rebels engaged in destroying the house of a watch-maker, whom they branded with the appellation of "orange man." A gentleman who had procured the pardon of one of the unfortunate wretches who attended this camp, assured him, that at one time he was almost famished; that at another, he was overcome with repletion. That at times, the hunger of the rebel soldiers was so great, that they used to cut off large pieces of flesh from the body of a bullock, before it was killed, then throw it on a fire, with the hair and skin on, and consume it before it was half roasted.

*A L*

\* See an account of this in page 444 of the text.



## 4.

*A list of persons executed in the town of Wexford, for the crimes of rebellion, murder, &c from the retaking of the town by the royal army, June the twenty-first, 1798, to the eighteenth of December, 1800.*

No.

- 1 John Hay
- 2 Philip Roche, priest
- 3 Matthew Keugh
- 4 John Herron
- 5 Nicholas Cousins
- 6 Mark Nugent
- 7 Bartholomew Shea
- 8 Martin Fenlon
- 9 Edward Frayne
- 10 Michael Magee
- 11 B. Bagenal Harvey
- 12 Patt. Prendergast
- 13 Cornelius Grogan
- 14 John Colclough
- 15 John Roussom
- 16 John Murphy
- 17 John Whitty
- 18 James Kelly
- 19 Patrick Harpur
- 20 Hugh M'Guire
- 21 Robert Murphy
- 22 Esmond Kyan
- 23 Matthew Ryan
- 24 Peter Byrne
- 25 Miles Whelan
- 26 James D'Arcy
- 27 Matthew Green, jun.
- 28 Matthew Mahoney
- 29 Hugh Hughes
- 30 Patrick Doran
- 31 Hugh Rooney
- 32 Stephen Furlong
- 33 Denis Murphy
- 34 Redmond Mitchell
- 35 Michael Donnelly

No.

- 36 Bartholomew Murphy\*
- 37 William Connors
- 38 Denis Kehoc
- 39 Daniel Mooney
- 40 Phelim Fardy
- 41 James Beaghan
- 42 Arthur Murphy
- 43 James Burkett
- 44 Francis Cuthbert
- 45 William Fenlon
- 46 Patrick Elliott
- 47 Matthew Furlong
- 48 Patrick Furlong
- 49 Michael Dudley
- 50 Daniel Sullivan
- 51 John Fitzhenry
- 52 Michael Patrick
- 53 Maurice Murphy
- 54 James Sculley
- 55 Michael Kelly†
- 56 Nicholas Walfsh
- 57 Nicholas Parle
- 58 Thomas Parle
- 59 James Byrne
- 60 Andrew Farrell
- 61 John Dunn
- 62 Gerald Lacy
- 63 Mogue Foley
- 64 Hugh Boulger
- 65 Patrick Kehoc
- 66 Edward Stacey

No. 66 was executed for a recent murder; he was not a rebel.

*The*

\* Alias Cormuck.

† So sure were the rebels that the confiscation of all protestant property would take place, that Michael Kelly, commonly called general Kelly, made a will, by which he left captain Blacker's estate to a relation in case he should be killed in the rebellion. The will and father Roche's vestments were found together on Lacken hill, when general Johnson drove the rebels from it.

*The reader may form some idea of the clemency of government, and of the general officers, from the following proclamation published a few days after the rebels had perpetrated such barbarities.*

*Proclamation by lieutenant general Lake, commander in chief of his majesty's forces in Ireland.*

TO prevent the further effusion of blood, the fatal effects of depopulation, and the total destruction of property in this once-happy county, the general wishes to hold out to the last moment in his power, the means of forgiveness, and of returning happiness, to the unfortunate multitude, who, from ignorance, and the persuasion of interested, wicked, and designing men, have been seduced from their allegiance, to rise in arms and rebellion against their sovereign, and the laws of their country, and to commit acts of murder, cruelty, and depredation, that would disgrace the most savage nation. From this horrid state, and from the impending ruin of the county and its inhabitants, the general is most anxiously desirous of rescuing them; and hereby promises to all deluded persons who have yielded to the threats or persuasion of the infamous promoters of rebellion, that if they will immediately abandon their wicked course, and return as peaceable and good subjects to their respective homes and occupations, their persons and property shall remain unmolested, and in perfect security from injury. But, as a proof of their sincere repentance, and desire to return to their allegiance, they must, in the first instance, and in the course of *three days*, from the date hereof, (making allowance for the most distant parts of the county) deliver up their arms and ammunition, as directed in the notice of the twenty-third instant, and hereunto subjoined,\* and also the persons who have been most active in instigating or compelling them to engage in the rebellion; or if this is not in their power, they must give information where they are most likely to be found.

Should the terms here offered not be attended to, it will become the general's indispensable duty totally to destroy every town, cottage, and farm-house, that shall be found unoccupied by the masters of them, and to put to the sword every person who shall be found in arms, or having arms or ammunition in their possession.

A serious consideration of this proclamation is recommended to all persons who have been compelled to join the rebels, and who sincerely repent their past conduct; and they are particularly required to use their utmost exertions in bringing the deluded people to a sense of the ruinous situation into which they have brought the country, and of the only means by which they can rescue themselves and their property from the just vengeance that must be the inevitable consequence of their not attending to the terms of reconciliation now offered, and the last that will be made to them.

*Wexford, June 27th, 1798.*

[ X ]

*A list*

\* On their delivering their leaders into the hands of the commanding officers of his majesty's forces, nearest to their respective situations.

## 5.

*A list of leaders among the rebels found by general Lake in governor Keogh's house.*

Colonel Edward Roche, of Garrylough,	}	Co. Wexford.
Esmond Kyan, major of brigade,		
Colonel Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark,		
Colonel John Perry, of Inch,		
Captain Nicholas Dixon, of Castle-bridge,		
Captain Martin Myrna, of Limerick,		
Captain Nicholas Murphy, of Moneyfeed,		
Captain William Carton, of Ballyclough,		
Captain Rossiter, of Saunders-court,		
Father Nicholas Stafford, of River-chapel,		
Captain Denis Doyle, } of Gorey,		
Captain James Doyle, }		
Lieutenant John Tiffin, of Coolatore,		
Captain Martin Quin, of Clough.		
Captain Edward Synnot, of Kilrush,	}	Co. Wicklow.
Captain Philip Murphy, of Peppard's Castle-gate.		
Captain Patrick Redmond, of Coolgreney,		
Captain William Byrne, of Ballymanus,		
Captain Holt,		
Captain Garret Byrne, of Ballymanus,	}	Co. Kildare.
Captain Kelly,		
Captain Reynolds.		

## 6.

*Affidavit of the burning of the bishop's palace, and of Mr. Abel Ram's house in 1641.*

ABEL RAM, of Ramsfort, in the parish of Kilmeckeloge, in the barony of Gorey, in the county of Wexford, esquire, a British protestant, being duly sworn, depose, That on or about the twenty-first of November last, about the hour of twelve of the clock in the day time, he this deponent, was robbed, and lost,

	£.
Imprimis in corn and hay, - - -	200
Item in cattle, - - -	130
Item household goods, - - -	250
Item in bonds and mortgages, - - -	500

The whole being 1080

Besides which he was dispossessed of freehold lands, being of the value of 1200l. per annum.

By Ancias Kavenagh, of Mullanegraugh, gentleman,  
Theobald Mackvadagh, gentleman, of Ballegarrett,  
Morrison Garratt, of Ballyneccolaugh, gentleman,  
Donoghoe Kavanagh, of Ballymenan, gentleman,

Owen



Owen Mac Turlaugh, of Balleloghan, gentleman,  
Adam Wafer, of the Aike, gentleman,  
Alexander Redmond, of the Ruhin, gentleman,  
Donagh Mac Shaneballagh, the priest,  
John Fitz-James, of Newburrow, gentleman,  
Turlagh Darcy, of Glanderan, gentleman,  
Shane Sarragh, of Carrybeg, gentleman,  
Griffin Kavanagh, of Ballowin, gentleman,  
Nicholas Kavanagh, of Coles-hill, gentleman,  
Turlagh Mac Enogh, of Mallanegraug, gentleman,  
All of the county of Wexford.

ABEL RAM.

*Jurat coram nobis, 12th January, 1641.*

HENRY BRURTON.

WILLIAM HITCHCOCK.

*The names of more men who were seen by the deponent among other rebels at Limerick.*

William Doyle, of Fort-chester, gentleman,  
Morrison Vadagh, of Ballantlea, gentleman,  
Donnell Roe Mc. Owen, of Ballelogh, gentleman.

ABEL RAM.

*Dated the 12th of January, 1641.*

*Jurat coram nobis 12th of January, 1641.*

HENRY BRURTON.

WILLIAM HITCHCOCK.

JOHN CLIFFE, late of Courtown, in the county of Wexford, gentleman, sworn the twenty-seventh of June, 1642, before John Watfon, and John Sterne, esquires, saith, he was told for certain truth at Arklow, while he was prisoner there, by divers persons of undoubted credit, that on the fifth day of March last, divers priests and friars met at Newburrow, alias Gorey, to burn the library of bishop Ram, late bishop of Ferns and Laughlin; and while the books were burning, a swarm of bees came in at the windows of the room where they were, and stung and frightened the priests and friars out of the room.

JOHN CLIFFE.

7.

*County of Sligo,*  
*to wit.*

} WILLIAM STINSON, of Ballekillcash, in the parish of Killmeckshalgan in said county, gentleman, came before me this day, and made oath on the Holy Evangelists, That he was taken prisoner at his own house, on Saturday the eighth day of September last, about the hour of four o'clock in the afternoon, by two men of the name of Rogan and Gillaspay, as deponent was informed, both armed with a gun and sword, and that they conveyed him to Ballina, in said county, and confined him in the house of the right honourable Henry King; that during his confinement, a popish priest of the name of Cowley, came into the room where this deponent was confined, and said, "Orange, lie down," and "Croppies, rise up;" saying also, to the prisoners, who were confined there, and who were of the protestant religion, "You are a parcel of

[X 2]

hereticks,

hereticks, you have no more religion than pigs; you will be put to death with the greatest torture before ten o'clock to-morrow;" and that the said priest at the same time struck a Mr. Robert Atkinson, of Ballybeg, as a heretick; and said at the same time, that if he had Robert Atkinson, of Easky, he would skin him alive.

WILLIAM STINSON.

*Sworn before me this 2d day of June, 1799,*

ROBERT HILLAS.

*County of Sligo, }  
to wit. }* THE information of John Armstrong, of Ballymooney, and parish of Easky, in said county. Deponent came before me this day, and made oath on the Holy Evangelists, That he was taken prisoner on Thursday or Friday, the seventh or eighth of September last, near Easky aforesaid, by a number of armed rebels who conveyed him to the house of the right honourable colonel King, at Ballina in said county; that during his confinement, father Cowley, a popish priest, came into the room where this deponent was, with many other protestants who were confined there, about the hour of twelve o'clock at night; and that he asked if the parcel of orange hereticks were there, and said, "Lie down, orange," and "Rise up, croppy," or words to that effect; and that the said priest stamping on the ground in a violent angry manner, said, "You parcel of hereticks, have no more religion than a parcel of pigs; I do not know whether you will be put to death before ten o'clock to-morrow, by being burned with barrels of tar, or by pikes, or by balls; adding "that the latter would not get room on your bodies;" and that deponent saw the said priest strike Robert Atkinson of Ballybeg in said parish, as a heretick; and that the said priest said, if he had Robert Atkinson of Easky in his possession, he would skin him alive.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

*Sworn before me this 1st day of June, 1799,*

ROBERT HILLAS.

*County of Sligo, }  
to wit. }* ROBERT ATKINSON, of Ballybeg, in the parish of Easky, in said county, gentleman, came before me this day, and maketh oath on the Holy Evangelists, That after his house was destroyed by the rebels, he lay in a neighbouring cabin, in order to bring off his family next day, but was taken prisoner about sun-rise on Saturday the eighth of September last, as he best recollects, by a body of armed rebels, to the number of ten or twelve, headed by two captains, namely, Thady Murray and Francis Finigan, who brought him directly to Ballina on foot, and would not let him take a horse, and confined him in the house of colonel King, in Ballina, where he remained that night; that priest Cowley came before sun-rise next morning into the room where he was confined; when he came into the room he called for the guard, the guard answered, and he desired the guard to take very good care of these prisoners; that Mr. Atkinson, thinking he was a parish priest, and that he might have some influence on him; but instead of shaking hands with him, he struck him with a stick across the head, and desired them all to be prepared, and that he would have them all burned in four hours after.

ROBERT ATKINSON.

*Sworn before me this 3d day of June, 1799,*

ROBERT HILLAS.

*In*

## 8.

*In the beginning of September, and soon after the French landed, the following denunciation was posted up on the church of Killyshee, in the county of Westmeath, by the rebels :*

TAKE Notice, heretick usurpers, that the brave slaves of this island will no longer lie in bondage ; the die is cast, our deliverers are come, and the royal brute who held the iron rod of despotick tyranny is expiring ; nor shall *one* govern. Our holy old religion shall be re-established in *this house*, and the earth shall no longer be burthened with *bloody hereticks*, who under the pretence of rebellion, (which they themselves have raised) mean to massacre us.

The Fleur de lis and harp we will display,  
While tyrant hereticks shall mould to clay.

REVENGE ! REVENGE ! REVENGE !

## 9.

*Extract of a letter from a Romish priest, written to an eminent attorney in Dublin, who has the original.*

SIR,

YOU no doubt must be surpris'd to find yourself address'd by one who has not the honour of your acquaintance ; however, if you will arm yourself with patience, to hear a long story, I will endeavour to introduce myself to you. Sir, I am a Romish priest. Impos'd upon by the example of my bishop, I said mass at the rebel camp ; my behaviour during the time was such, that I am neither sorry for, nor ashamed of it. I saved from twenty to thirty lives, who will make affidavit of it in any court ; and this I look upon to be more meritorious, (at least in the sight of God,) than running away like many others, who now make such a boast of their loyalty. As a proof of the publick good will towards me, my chapel has never been insulted, though situated in the most publick place in the county. On the return of the king's government, my first concern was to obtain his majesty's pardon, for that degree of rebellion of which I was guilty, which (long may he live !) I obtained without any difficulty ; but guess, sir, my astonishment at receiving a letter from my bishop, silencing me from my clerical function in this diocese, when his own conduct was what chiefly led me astray, (if I except the degree of terror the rebels put me into after the government was upset all round me,) for during the ferment, which preceded the explosion, he never instructed me how to act. Instead of excommunicating them for their horrid rebellion, he gave them his benediction in the chapel-yard, the day they took

two days before they called on me to follow them. *Instead of excommunicating the barbarous murderers at* *he gave all his priests power to give absolution for murder ; a power which he ever till then reserved to himself.* Even the last battle in this county was fought by his direction, and the priest who served as his aid-de-camp on the occasion, he kept in his house till last spring, when he was obliged to smuggle him out of the county, otherwise he would have fallen a victim to outraged justice ; and indeed it is of but little avail to me, that the king should grant me both my life and liberty, if he suffers this gentleman to starve

me.



me. I have been at great expence to qualify myself, to live by the gospel, and am now too old to embark in any other line, to procure myself bread. Hence I conceive, (and am advised thereto,) that the laws of my country will procure me redress; nor do I think it a weak argument in proof of my loyalty, that I am the first priest who has appealed to the laws of my own country, in preference to a foreign jurisdiction. My losses on his account to the present day, I state at one hundred and six guineas. I therefore, sir, beseech you, to take my case in hands, and if you find me law, I will find you money.

August 30th, 1799.

SIR,

Your very humble and obedient servant.

### THE CATECHISM OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN,

*Published and circulated since the rebellion was put down, for the purpose of keeping the flame of it alive.*

I BELIEVE in the IRISH UNION, in the supreme majesty of the people, in the equality of man, in the lawfulness of insurrection, and of resistance to oppression. I believe in a revolution founded on the rights of man, in the natural and imprescriptible right of *all* the Irish citizens to all the land. I believe the soil, or any part of it, cannot be transferred without the consent of the people, or their representatives, convened and authorised, by the votes of every man having arrived at the age of twenty-one years. I believe the land, or any of it, cannot become the property of any man, but by purchase, or as rewards for forwarding and preserving the public liberty. I believe our present connexion with England must be speedily dissolved. I believe that old age, pregnant women, and labour should be honoured. I believe that TREASON is the crime of betraying the people. I believe religious distinctions are only protected by tyrants. I believe applying the lands of the church to relieve old age, to give education and protection to infancy, will be more acceptable to an united people, than maintaining lazy hypocrites and ravenous tythe-gatherers.

In this faith I mean to live, or bravely die.

Q. What are you?

A. An Irishman.

Q. As an Irishman, what do you hope for?

A. The emancipation of my country, and equality of rights, a fair division of the land, an abolition of religious establishments, and a representative government.

Q. What benefit do you propose to your country, by what you call emancipation?

A. Deliverance from the odious influence of England, and that domestick tyranny it generated, which is calculated to corrupt our morals, impoverish our people, and retard our industry?

Q. How do you conceive this?

A. By the innumerable injuries we experience from England—she shuts us out from any mercantile connexion with the world, while she tells us we are an independent

pendent people; she fosters establishments in our island, contrived to make her agents in the land her friends and our oppressors.

Q. How are Irish morals injured by England?

A. By monopolizing the trade of the world, and confining us to deal only with her.

Q. Does that affect your morals?

A. Yes, her contrivance leaves us at her mercy: she sells to us at her own prices, she deprives us of the choice of other markets, either to buy or sell, by such means she has the command of all our produce; we buy dear and sell cheap; consequently we are poor, and poverty begets crimes, as Job says, "Lord, make me not poor, lest I should steal."

Q. What other reasons have you against English connections, and what other proofs have you of its influence on your morals?

A. England has organized a kind of legislators here, devoted to her interests, and holding their power and influence at her will.

Q. Explain yourself.

A. Those law-makers are land-holders, all of one trade, which in itself is criminal, as men making laws, being of one profession, will always be unanimous in promoting the welfare of a particular object. A legislative assembly of tanners would make leather dear, of weavers would encrease the price of cloth, of school-masters would monopolize instruction. Our law-makers contrive to make spirituous liquors in more general use than bread, they are constantly canting on the drunkenness of the people, and take no pains to discourage distillation, as it raises the value of their lands, under the pretext of promoting the revenue. They encourage grazing and the exportation of cattle; they sell the draught and accuse us of drunkenness; they export our raw materials, they say we are idlers, and mock our poverty; they import tobacco for our use, and export our beef and butter; thus the necessaries of life are put out of our reach, to promote their own ends, and a poisonous plant given us for the same purposes.

Q. What advantage can our poverty be to our law-makers?

A. By being poor we must be on the alert, to procure the necessaries of life, which makes true the old maxim, they keep us poor and busy. Our time will be spent studying to avoid want, instead of enquiring the cause of it, for enquiry is dangerous to tyranny?

Q. What benefit in a general sense, would emancipation be?

A. Ireland delivered from England, would give us immense resources, innumerable means of employing our people, would extend our trade and agriculture, we could have the sugars of the West Indies, seventy per cent. cheaper, from the Danes, the Dutch, or the French, than we can get them from the retail market of England. The teas, and produce of the Indies, we could also have, in the same advantageous manner, from the same nations, or from the Americans, or by a direct importation, other branches of trade and other sources of riches and employments would unfold themselves to independent Ireland, now impossible to enumerate?

Q. What is meant by equality?

A. Men being born equal, is evident to every understanding. If the Creator intended any superior rank among men, it is that of superior abilities or superior virtue; if he intended any other nobility than the noble of nature, we should see noble men, not the same impotent, ignorant, vicious, and untaught creatures, so common among the artificial orders. We should have them born without wanting any of those acquirements.



ments that appear so necessary to every rank, which is the result of tedious instruction, and persevering industry, their childhood would be distinguished by a knowledge of every talent that is known or valued; they would come into the world finished statesmen, orators, mathematicians, generals, dancing-masters, hair-dressers, tailors, &c. nay, they would come from the womb covered with embroidery, ribbons, stars and coronets.

2. Not appearing in infancy to have any visible or mental acquirements, more than other mortals, you think is an argument to defend the opinions of those who are advocates for equality?

A. Undoubtedly. Many persons in Ireland may remember men who are ranked as nobility, to be raised by accidental circumstances from the loins of footmen, low tradesmen, and infamous gamblers; the whole of them may be said, within the last century, to be the descendants of English ruffians, adventurers, whose crimes or obscurity denied them a livelihood in their own country, but were the cruel agents of foreign force or foreign seduction. The origin of nobles in every country is the same, but time and revolutions have concealed their hateful origin.

2. What inconvenience do Irishmen find by the privileged orders?

A. We have manifold complaints against the unnatural institution; they are an association in alliance with the common enemy. They consider the people as an inferior and degraded mass, only made for their amusement or convenience, to dig, plow, or enlist whenever the tyrant's amusement or ambition, is the mode. They influence the whole race of land-holders, who are their creatures or admirers, whose conduct, honour, and religion is regulated by an uniform compliance, that will promise a hope of arriving at the rank and emoluments that are at the disposal of the plunderers of the people.

2. Do you mean an equality of property as a part of your system?

A. By no means; 'tis too absurd to imagine; I mean only an equality of rights, that is, that every man is eligible to publick employment, whose honesty and abilities, are approved of by his countrymen; that no man should be deprived of his liberty or property by any others, of supposed superiority of rank; that every man, however rich, however connected, should be as amenable to the laws, and as subject to punishment as the meanest; that labour, honesty, and publick virtue should be protected, and should be the tests of superiority.

2. What good could a fair division of the land be to Ireland?

A. As the land and its produce was intended for the use of man, it is unfair for fifty or an hundred men, to possess what is for the subsistence of near five millions: it exposes the great body of the people to every want and every misery. It is a blasphemy to say the present landholders in Ireland, are to be the "lords of the soil." The Almighty intended all mankind to lord the soil. As man cannot in the present improved manners of life, do without shoes, clothes, or food, which are produced from the grass and corn, surely it is unfair that one or one hundred, should hold in their hands those necessaries which none ought to want; it is not possible that God can be pleased to see a whole nation depending on the caprice and pride of a small faction, who can deny the common property in the land to his people, or at least tell them, how much they shall eat, and what kind; and how much they shall wear, and what kind. As we every day experience from the hands of those cruel usurpers, who have formed themselves into a corporation of law-makers, and are constantly exporting our provisions, or curtailing its growth, on the horrid policy of preserving subordination, by degrading our characters, and forcing on us every servile occupation to earn a scanty livelihood in a country capable of the greatest plenty.

2. How



Q. How would you alter the property in land, and preserve the country from anarchy?

A. By dividing the ancient estates among the descendants of those Irish families, who were pillaged by English invaders,\* giving to every person without exception, a competent share to enable him or her to get a comfortable livelihood; this provision not to extend to any person who impeded the deliverance of the country by cowardice or treachery. The remainder to be sold by public sale, and the money applied to paying off the debts contracted by the former confederacy, and for rewarding the citizens who fought for their country, and providing for their wives and mothers, and giving education to their children and infant relations.

Q. What is your view by wishing to abolish religious establishments?

A. To eradicate every reason of jealousy and distrust, to ease the nation of a useless and weighty body, formed of hypocrites and cheats.

Q. How would this provide against jealousy and distrust?

A. As every man has a right to make use of any form of worship he thinks most acceptable to his Creator, it is unfair to tax him for the maintenance of an order he does not acknowledge, and cannot approve of. It is unjust to take his property, his corn, his cattle, his hay and potatoes, to maintain a man he can do without, or perhaps abhors. The system of tythes forces a man's property from his family, to apply it to the use of a disorderly idler, or useless fool, protected by power, often uniting every vice that disfigures society, under the specious cloak of religion. By leaving every minister of religion on the bounty of his hearers, you generally find the people choose men of education and morals, as objects of their esteem. If there were no other advantages than that of adding the church lands to the national stock, and relieving the people from tythes, it would be of sufficient utility to abolish church establishments.

Q. Let me hear your reasons for a representative government?

A. By giving a power of voting to every man who has not forfeited his right by any crime, you create such an immense number of electors, that no candidate can ever purchase their suffrage.

Q. Would that be sufficient to promote your plan?

A. No, I mention it as the first towards true representation; besides the justice of universal suffrage, it has that beauty which must make every man its advocate.

Q. How would the poor see the advantage of it?

A. As every man, in a free state, votes to secure his liberty and property; the poor man has but his labour, yet it is to him a property, he should have representatives, who would be careful of the value of labour, and watch with a vigilant eye, the different and combining circumstances occurring in legislative assemblies, lest the labour, or employments of the artizan or husbandman should be made uncertain, or unfashionable.

Q. Should there be any qualification for a representative?

A. None but honesty, and abilities, as every man should be eligible.

Q. Might not a representative betray the trust reposed in him, and be an accomplice in the destruction of his country?

A. By limiting the existence of representative assemblies, to one or two years, the people have a frequent check on the conduct of their representatives, and should any displease by ignorant, or treacherous conduct, he could be replaced; by that

[ \* Y ]

means

\* This idea makes popery worse and more dangerous to the state in Ireland than in any other country in Europe.

means corruption or tyranny could be prevented, as near as human wisdom can devise.

Q. Were we to regain our freedom, would not the power of England be dangerous to our existence as a free state?

A. By no means. As power principally consists in population, her population cannot be so formidable, as to hazard our safety.

Q. Why she has a more numerous people?

A. She has, in the island of Great Britain about seven millions, we have near five, she could not send her seven millions on an invasion; though we could fight our whole population against the redundancy of hers, as we could be on the defensive.

Q. But she has a navy?

A. Her navy could make little impression on Ireland; a navy may cover a debarkation of troops, and support them while within the reach of the ships guns; but after that, any number of troops, however well appointed, though all the navies of Europe were employed in conveying them, would be a very insufficient force, to conquer the united people of Ireland, fighting for a valuable country, and a more valuable independence.

Q. Would not the navy of England destroy our trade?

A. We have no trade, nor have we foreign possessions, so we have nothing to apprehend on that account.

Q. Would not blocking up our ports be some inconvenience?

A. None, as our miserable and confined commerce is calculated rather to injure the poor, the suppressing of it would be beneficial in a state of hostility; our exports are necessities of life, taken from them who labour; and our imports luxuries to pamper the idle. Were the corn, cattle and butter kept at home, and wines, teas, sugar and tobacco, kept away, we need not be much alarmed at the naval consequence of England.

Q. How shall we arrive at the blessings so certain from independence?

A. By a union of *all* the people.

Q. Do you mean the privileged orders in this union?

A. No; were we to wait their concurrence, our delivery would be as distant as the general death of nature.

Q. Who do you mean should compose this favourite object?

A. Every man that is oppressed, every man that labours, every honest man of every religion, every man who loves, and whose love of his country raises the human mind above other trifling distinctions, and loses the petty notions of sects, in name of Irishman.

ESTO PERPETUA.

ADDITIONAL

# ADDITIONAL APPENDIX.

No. XXI. 10.

*The descent made by James Napper Tandy, at Rutland in the county of Donegal.*

*Rutland, six o'clock P. M. Sunday,  
Sept. 16th, 1798.*

SIR,

ABOUT twelve o'clock a French brig came into this harbour, and immediately landed a number of men and officers, *Napper Tandy* at their head; they immediately enquired for the post-office, and came and posted a centinel on the door to prevent my sending off immediately; they demanded (*though very politely*) some victuals, with which they were furnished; I had a good deal of conversation with Tandy; when they found that their friends here had surrendered and were made prisoners of war, they seemed a good deal confounded, and after taking a slight repast re-embarked.

Tandy informed me that they came on a mere experiment, to try the pulse of the people, about which he particularly enquired; I reported this neighbourhood as far as I knew to be weaned from French principles, &c. at which he seemed surprised; he says the French will never make peace with England, until Ireland is made free and independent.

They behaved very politely and paid for all they took.

The brig they came in is called the *Anacreon*, about twelve days from Brest; they saw several English cruizers, but out-failed them all.

I have sent expresses to Ballyshannon and Letterkenny.—They intend returning to France directly; they came north about by Scotland. Enclosed is a paper, A. several of which I understand they have distributed; also a certificate, B. signed by the officers, exonerating me from censure for admitting them into my house.

We have not any kind of armed military force nearer us than Letterkenny, about twenty-five miles.

I am, Sir,

Your very obedient Servant,

FRANCIS FOSTER, Dep. P. M. Rutland.

*John Lees, Esq;*

[ Y ]

*Rutland,*



*Rutland, Sept. 17th, Monday, eight o'clock  
in the Morning.*

SIR,

I yesterday (by post) informed you of a French brig coming into our harbour and landing three boats full of men; there were a number of officers, among whom was the redoubted J. N. Tandy, a brigadier and commander of the expedition. Tandy being an old acquaintance was communicative; he says positively that France will not make peace with Great Britain upon any other terms than Irish Independence; he appeared dejected on hearing of the fate of the late French descent, and of the discoveries made by Bond, McNevin, Emmet, &c. but said that they will certainly attempt to land twenty thousand men, and perish all or succeed; he was astonished when I told him that very few had joined the French; they took every pains to convince the people that they were their best friends, and such stuff; they took a cow and two swine for which they paid, and this morning, after firing a gun, went to sea, towards the N. East. I have dispatched an express (a second one) to the collector of Letterkenny and am in hopes that some of the Lough Swilly fleet will intercept them. They met several cruizers between England and France, but outtailed them all; they came north about. They were full of arms, the officers of the port were detained aboard them from morning (yesterday) until ten o'clock at night; they report them full of arms, a park of artillery, accoutrements for cavalry, clothing, &c. &c. They expected that the whole country was up, and that they had nothing to do but join their friends; the natives here all fled to the mountains, and seem not at all inclined to join them; we have not a military man nearer than Ballyshannon forty miles, or Letterkenny twenty-five, although there is an excellent new barrack here ready to receive one hundred men; they had a great number of Irish on board, their force about two hundred and fifty men; and are perfectly acquainted with the coast. Their drift is evidently to encourage disaffection. I was a prisoner in my own house four or five hours until the post came in; they had centinels on every point of the island, to prevent intelligence being immediately dispatched; I am just informed by one of the officers, that they were determined to land their arms here, but upon a consultation, after they found their countrymen had been defeated, they altered their plan.

I have the honour to be  
Your very obedient servant,  
FRANCIS FOSTER, P. M. Rutland.

On their leaving my house, the general (Rey) took a gold ring from his finger, and presented it to Mrs. Foster, as a token of fraternity; thus they cajole and insidiously endeavour to gain the weak and the ignorant, to the total dissolution of subordination and obedience to authority, without which society cannot exist.

*John Lees, Esq;*

*Papers*

A.

*Papers distributed among the inhabitants of Rutland by Napper Tandy on his landing there.*

LIBERTY OR DEATH.

*Northern Army of Avengers. Head Quarters the  
first Year of Irish Liberty.*

UNITED IRISHMEN,

The soldiers of the great nation have landed on your coast, well supplied with arms and ammunition of all kinds, with artillery worked by those who have spread terror among the ranks of the best troops in Europe, headed by French officers; they come to break your fetters, and restore you to the blessings of liberty.

James Napper Tandy is at their head; he has sworn to lead them on to victory or die. Brave Irishmen, the friends of liberty have left their native soil to assist you in re-conquering your rights; they will brave all dangers, and glory at the sublime idea of cementing your happiness with their blood.

French blood shall not flow in vain—To arms! freemen, to arms! The trumpet calls, let not your friends be butchered unassisted; if they are doomed to fall in this most glorious struggle, let their death be useful to your cause, and their bodies serve as footsteps to the temple of Irish liberty.

GENERAL REY,

In the name of the French officers and soldiers now  
on the coast of Ireland.

LIBERTY OR DEATH.

*Northern Army of Avengers. Head Quarters the  
first Year of Irish Liberty.*

General J. N. Tandy to his Countrymen.

UNITED IRISHMEN,

What do I hear? the British government have dared to speak of concessions! would you accept of them?

Can you think of entering into a treaty with a British minister? a minister too, who has left you at the mercy of an English soldiery, who laid your cities waste and massacred inhumanly your best citizens; a minister, the bane of society, and the scourge of mankind; behold, Irishmen, he holds in his hand the olive of peace; beware, his other hand lies concealed armed with a poignard. No, Irishmen, no, you shall not be the dupes of his base intrigues; unable to subdue your courage, he attempts to seduce you, let his efforts be vain.

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Horrid

Horrid crimes have been perpetrated in your country; your friends have fallen a sacrifice to their devotion for your cause; their shadows are around you and call aloud for vengeance; it is your duty to avenge their death; it is your duty to strike on their blood-cemented thrones the murderers of your friends. Listen to no propofals, Irishmen, wage a war of extermination against your oppressors, the war of liberty against tyranny, and liberty shall triumph.

J. N. TANDY.

B.

*Rutland Island, 30th Fructidor.*

HAVING landed from on board the *Anacreon* (a republican vessel from the coast of France) on Rutland island, and being in want (for the time) of accommodations, we were under the necessity of putting the citizen Foster, postmaster of that town or island, under requisition, and prevented him from sending off his packet; we at the same time discharged every obligation, and paid for whatever we took from said place.

AMEIL, *colonel,*  
*aid de camp du g<sup>l</sup>. Desjardin.*

TANDY, *general of brigade and*  
*commander of the expedition.*

C. LUXEMBURG,  
*capt. d'artillerie.*

REY.

LE DUC, *capitaine.*

BLACKWELL, *adjutant general.*

JOSEPH, *capt. et aid de camp.*

J. N. Tandy was arrested at Hamburgh, with two more Irish rebels, and conveyed to Ireland, where he was indicted for high treason, at the Spring assizes of 1801, held for the county of Donegal, at Lifford, and, having pleaded guilty, he obtained the royal mercy, on condition of transporting himself.

II.

*A pastoral letter to the catholic clergy of the united diocesses of Waterford and Lismore, by the right reverend Thomas Hufsey, D. D.*

This inflammatory production, entitled a pastoral letter, was published at the spring assizes of Waterford in the year 1797, when the baneful doctrines of the united Irishmen were spreading fast in that county. A few days after its publication, doctor Hufsey made a visitation through his diocese, and immediately after the popish multitude began to commit robbery and assassination, which appears in Appendix, XI.

*Dearly beloved brethren in Christ,*

IN these critical and awful times, when opinions seem spreading over this island of a novel and dangerous tendency—when the remnants of old oppression, and new principles, which tend to anarchy, are struggling for victory, and which in the collision may produce the ruin of religion; when a moral earthquake shakes all Europe, I felt no small affliction and alarm, upon receiving the superior command of the head  
of



of the church,\* to preside over the catholics of these united diocesses, upon the death of your most venerable and ever to be regretted prelate, your late bishop.

In the midst of these fears and alarms, it was a great consolation to me, to be assured of the piety, zeal, and loyalty of the clergy under my spiritual care; and that their exertions were constantly employed to keep the laity within the bounds of religion, morality, and decorum.† That no part of Ireland was more exempt from turbulence, and insubordination to the laws, than this district; and that the memory of the legal injustices and cruelties formerly practised in this country, by men who made religious distinctions a stalking horse for political purposes, is completely and happily effaced, I hope, for ever.

It is upon you, very reverend, and dearly beloved brethren, that, under God, my reliance is, that the catholic faith will produce its happy effects, in mending and improving the morals of the flock which I commit to your care respectively. Let me beseech you, to attach yourselves to them, by frequently instructing and exhorting them, especially as often as you approach the sacred altar; and certainly you cannot fail to attach them to you by such a pious, exemplary, and zealous conduct. Do not permit yourselves to be made the instruments of the rich of this world, who will try, by adulation, and possibly by other means, to make instruments of you, over the poor, for their own temporal purposes, and perhaps to render your sacred ministry odious to them. The poor were always your friends—they inflexibly adhered to you, and to their religion, even in the worst of times. They shared their scanty meal with you, and with your predecessors; and thereby preserved a succession of spiritual pastors throughout the kingdom. If they had acted otherwise, conformed to the errors of the nation,‡ and imitated the conduct of the rich, who not only shut their doors against you, but not unfrequently hunted you like wild beasts,|| I should not be able to address the present respectable body of clergy, under my spiritual authority. Such a consideration cannot fail to enliven your zeal, and, with affectionate attachment towards them, to impel you to instruct them in their duties, to restrain their errors, and to correct their vices—*Argue obsecra increpa, in omni patientia, & doctrina.*—Upon all proper occasions, *speak to them the words of eternal life*, without fear, or deference, towards the enemies of our holy faith. The pastor, who doth not act in this manner towards his flock, hath lost the grace of his vocation, or perhaps he never received it from God. He is the mercenary shepherd, described in the scripture, who, upon seeing the wolf, runs away, and abandons his flock, an easy prey to him.

At the same time that I charge you to avoid all political interferences, as unworthy the ministers of him, *whose kingdom is not of this world*,§ I call upon you to stand firm against all attempts, which may be made, under various pretexts, to withdraw any of your flock from the belief and practice of the catholick religion. Remonstrate with any parent, who will be so criminal as to expose his offspring to those places of education,

\* Ireland is the only country in Europe in which the pope claims and exercises the exclusive investiture of bishopricks.

† The doctor could not but have known at that time, that the popish clergy had engaged in the service of the united Irishmen, and that they were secretly promoting those outrages, which broke out soon after in every part of Munster.

‡ How insolent! to call the national religion the errors of the nation; which in any other country would be considered and punished as a crime.

|| A most infamous falsehood, fabricated to excite the sanatical hatred of the priests and their flock against the protestant state, and the members of the established church,, whom he afterwards stigmatizes as *the enemies of his holy faith*.

§ By this he means our Saviour, to whom the pope is supposed to be successor; but the reader will perceive how widely different he is in his arrogant and ambitious claim of temporal power in page 17 of the text.

tion, where his religious faith or morals are likely to be perverted.\* If he will not attend to your remonstrances, refuse him the participation of Christ's body: if he still should continue obstinate, denounce him to the church, in order that, according to Christ's commandment, *he be considered as a heathen and a publican.*

If, in any of your districts, the catholic military frequent protestant places of worship, it is your duty to expostulate with them, and to teach them how contrary to the principles of the catholick faith it is, exteriorly to profess one faith, and interiorly to believe another. That such hypocrisy, even in the eyes of the world, is mean and pusillanimous, as well as odious and abominable in the sight of God. That the military garb they wear implies a manly candour, that abhors such duplicity. That this manly candour is peculiarly the character of an Irish soldier, who ought not to be ashamed of openly professing the catholick religion—the religion of *Irishmen.* Instruct them, that in all matters regarding the service of the king, their officers are competent to command them, and that they are bound to obey: but in matters regarding the service of the king of kings, their officers have no authority over them. Their personal religion is their own natural, uncontrollable, imprescriptible right, subject to the spiritual authority of the catholick church, and in which the laws of the land cannot enjoy a coercive authority. In all temporal matters, they are subject to their temporal rulers. In all spiritual matters, they are subject to their spiritual rulers. These two authorities, like parallel lines in mathematicks, can never touch each other. By the smallest declination, they lose even their names. Guard them from being deluded by the hacknied phrase of “Liberality of sentiment.” Surely liberality of sentiment does not consist in holding all creeds, and all forms of worship, to be equal! He who thus expresses himself, is a latitudinarian, who despises all creeds—all forms of worship! The man of true liberality, is he, who conscientiously believes, and scrupulously follows, that creed and form of worship, which is conformable to his conscience, yet lives in charity—in concord—in amity with all others, of every religious persuasion. The man of true liberality, is he, who employs his conscience as the helm with which he steers in his religious voyage, leaving others to steer theirs by a similar guide. The man of true liberality, is he, with whom a difference in religious opinions, makes no difference in social life,—living in equal harmony with all, and frequently bestowing more kindness, and more bounty, upon those who differ from him in religious opinions when they want it more, than upon those of his own communion. The man of true liberality, is he, who, when raised above the rest, to govern a great people, scorns to attend to the paltry distinctions of sect or party—spurns from his presence those interested advisers of a dangerous faction, who would dishonour him, and abuse the sacred name of majesty, to enrich themselves; but, like a true patriot, raises to power and influence, those whom, in his conscience, he thinks of most ability and integrity, to serve king and country. To sum up the whole, the truly liberal man, is he, who makes his religion the guide for his own personal and private conduct, and not a rule to guide—to govern—or to compel others to act against their conscience, and their religion.

The many compulsory means lately employed (and several instances of them within this very diocese, not many days since), to drive the catholick military to protestant places of worship,† alarmed the *true* friends to the king and his service, and every well-

\* Previous to the publication of this, many popish children attended the free school at Waterford, but as soon as it appeared, they were withdrawn, and it occasioned a coolness and disunion between the protestants and papists of Waterford, between whom a friendly and social intercourse had unremittingly subsisted. Such is the liberality of father Hufsey!

† This was a gross falsehood, calculated to inflame the popish military against their officers. The officer commanding at Waterford wrote a note to doctor Hufsey, to give one instance of the kind, but he never answered it; and the transaction was published in the public prints.



well-wisher to the peace and quiet of the country. Such unwarrantable steps could not make profelytes of the catholick military—it might in time, make them indifferent to all forms of worship, and thereby jacobinize them upon the French scale, and perhaps, in the hour of danger, induce them to forget their duty, and their loyalty, in order to be revenged of their persecutors.\*

Oh, how different are the principles of a catholick foldier, educated in the belief, and living in the full exercise of his religion †. He clearly convinces his countrymen, that military valour is not inconsistent with religious piety; but that, on the contrary, they are natural allies. That, when called to protect and defend his country, he is fearless, and intrepid, in the midst of danger: His bosom glowing with this consideration, that his death upon his post promotes him to a superior post in eternity. The unbeliever, who sees nothing beyond the grave, more naturally shrinks from the danger of his dissolution; or, if he seems to assume courage, it is either the brutal insensibility of his temper, or an artificial mask, which he puts on, to screen him from the contempt which is sure to follow cowardice. But the courage and intrepidity of a true catholick, in the discharge of his duty, is a calm, heroic intrepidity, which sees the danger in his road, but sees immortality beyond it. He marches courageously on, sure that if he falls, it is to rise again beyond the grave. But when the unbeliever sees the danger, he sees nothing beyond it; and thinks, that if he falls, that moment puts a final, and fatal period, to all his schemes of ambition—of fortune—and pleasure, and that he *sinks into eternal night*—never—never to rise again. Surely such an impious idea is capable of transmuting even a naturally brave man into a cowardly slave. Let me say all, in one sentence. Those sentiments of intrepidity—of fidelity—of honour, which high birth, and polished education, impress upon those of an elevated sphere in life, cannot be superior to the sentiments of fidelity, of courage, and of honour, which the catholick religion, *if sincerely believed, and piously practised*, would inspire into the lowest in the ranks; and who, if his duty calls him, would shew a courage and intrepidity equal to Alexander and Cæsar; and as unfulfilled loyalty and integrity as those statesmen and generals who regulate kingdoms, or who defend them.

In all your proceedings, very reverend and dearly beloved brethren, avoid intermixing the politicks of the world, with the sublime and heavenly maxims of the catholick religion—they have not the smallest connection with each other. The one is spiritual—the other is temporal: the one regards the transitory affairs of this world—the other the eternal affairs of the world to come. As the catholick faith is a religion preached to all nations, and to all people, so it is suitable to all climes, and all forms of government—monarchies or republics—aristocracies or democracies. Despotic or popular governments are not the concerns of the catholick faith.‡ It may well suit a small sect to regulate its creed and form of worship, according to the shape and form of government of the limited boundaries where that sect arose, exists, and dies away.¶ Not so the religion, which the prophet foretold should extend from the rising to the setting sun, which has been propagated and promulged from

\* In developing the mysteries of the conspiracy, it appeared that such of the popish militia and yeomanry as had been seduced, were to have murdered their officers in action.

† One would suppose that he had in contemplation those pious heroes of the crusade, which took place afterwards in the year 1798, and who shewed that they were educated in the true belief, and lived in the full exercise of their religion, by their achievements at Vinegar-hill, Scullabogue, Gorey, and Wexford bridge.

‡ He and doctor Troy endeavoured to evince in their pastoral letters, that the popish religion was well suited to republick, the establishment of which was the main object of the united Irishmen.

¶ Here he throws a stigma on the established religion, and predicts its downfall, at the same time that here presents the popish superstition as universal, and rising on its downfall.



from Peru to China, from the East to the West Indies, from Pole to Pole—teaching the same doctrine—administering the same sacraments, and offering up the adorable sacrifice of the redeemer, wherever man is found, and God adored. It is therefore called the *catholick*, or universal religion. It may well suit the laity of your respective districts, to pursue their temporal concerns, and their temporal politicks, by such ways as appear to them fair, peaceable, and loyal; and their past conduct is a proof that they are incapable of pursuing them by any other means. If their conduct has always been loyal and peaceable, even in the worst of times—if, even when religious penalties made them total strangers in their native land—if, when the ruling party, with insolence in their looks, and oppression in their hands, ground them down—when some of the most powerful men in the nation declared in the senate, that they hoped to see the day when no catholic would dare speak to a protestant with his hat \* on—when, even the course of justice was perverted, and the channels of it dried up, according to the prejudices and party views of the judges who sat on the bench, and were paid for the impartial administration of it, by taxes levied upon the oppressed sufferers—yet, even in these provoking times, if the body of catholics remained inflexibly attached to their religion, and to their king, what have you to dread from their proceedings, when not only the judges are equitable and humane, but also a great part of these impolitick religious penalties are removed, and the rest of them in such a state of progress to be totally removed? That however a JUNTO, for their own interested, or other sinister views, may raise mobs to try to throw obstacles against the total repeal of them, yet all their efforts must be useless—the vast rock is already detached from the mountain's brow, and whoever opposes its descent and removal, must be crushed by his own rash endeavours.† The popery laws are upon the eve of being extinguished for ever; and may no wicked hand ever again attempt to divide this land, by making religious distinctions a mask, to divide—to disturb—to oppress it.‡

Make your flock sensible to the honour of being accounted a member of the catholic communion—that they are not members of a small sect, limited to that country where the sect itself was formed. They are members of a great church, which has lasted more than 1700 years—which flourished in every part of the habitable world.—*In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, & in fines orbis terræ verba eorum*—and that Christ has promised that it will flourish until time shall be no more. *Usque ad consummationem sæculi—portæ inferi non prevalebunt adversus eam*. That consequently, they should not be ashamed to belong to a religion, which so many kings and princes—so many of the most polished and learned nations of the world, glory in professing.

Remind them, that two centuries of persecution have tried, in vain, to pervert them: That the annals of the church—the history of mankind, does not afford another example like theirs of perseverance in their religious principles. That we find in the history of every other nation, or people, that a much shorter time was sufficient, by penal restrictions of religion, to gain over the people to the religion of the state; but that two centuries of persecuting laws—immense sums of money given by parliament to gain over profelytes, and levied upon those very people, whose creeds they

\* This is a most infamous falsehood, fabricated to inflame the popish multitude.

† According to this prediction, if the king, or any member of the lords, or commons, or even the whole of them, should oppose the repeal of the few restrictive laws which remained, they would be murdered by the banditti, who were at that time committing robbery and assassination.

‡ Here he pretends to inculcate christian charity and liberality, though the whole of his letter breathes a fanatical spirit of intolerance.

they thereby endeavoured to purchase, left still the great body of the nation faithful to that spark which St. Patrick lighted at the great altar of the catholick church, and spread over this island; and that nine-tenths of the nation at large, and ninety-nine hundredths of this diocese, are still faithful and steady catholicks,\* notwithstanding what they and their ancestors suffered for their fidelity; and for which they are as unrivalled in the history of the church—as insulated an exception to the prevaricating versatility of man, as the geographical situation of the island itself is to the rest of the world.

That portion of the catholicks of Ireland, which God has committed to my spiritual care, I call upon you, very reverend and dearly beloved brethren, as my coadjutors and assistants, to aid me, by word, and by example, to instruct, and to feed, with the *word of salvation*, and *with the bread of angels*. It is a laborious, but it is also a meritorious, and an honourable employment. It forms the strongest bulwark to the state, by being the best supplement to the laws; which, *without morals, are vain*. A faithful discharge of these duties will form our crown, and our glory, when, at the last day, the supreme pastor will come to judge us, and to judge the world.†

## 12.

*Copy of a paper found in the writing-box of lord Edward Fitzgerald, on the 12th of March, by the officer who went that day to arrest him under a charge of treason.*

IF ever any unfortunate cause should put our city, with the other parts of the country, into the possession of a cruel and tyrannical enemy, whose government, by repeated oppressions, might drive us into the last stage of desperate resistance, our conduct then should be regulated in a manner best calculated for obtaining victory.

*The following thoughts are humbly offered for the inspection of every real Irishman:*

It is supposed that the enemy have a well appointed and disciplined standing army.—

In such a case, every man ought to consider how that army could be attacked or repelled, and what advantage their discipline and numbers might give them in a populous city, acting in concert with the adjoining counties.

It is well known that an officer of any skill in his profession, would be very cautious of bringing the best disciplined troops into a large city in a state of insurrection, for the following reasons:

[Z]

His

\* This is notoriously false, as the Roman catholicks to the protestants are not three to one.

† During the assizes, the doctor preached two sermons in Waterford of a most inflammatory tendency; and some time before, he said, in a sermon preached in a chapel in Dublin, You may talk of liberality as much as you will; but you may be sure of this, that no person can be saved out of your church.

His troops, by the breadth of the streets, are obliged to have a very narrow front; and however numerous, only three men deep can be brought into action, which, in the widest of our streets, cannot be more than sixty men, as a space must be left on each side or flank for the men who discharge to retreat to the rear, that their places may be occupied by the next in succession, who are loaded, so though there are a thousand men in a street, not more than sixty can act at one time; and should they be attacked by an irregular body armed with pikes, or such bold weapons, if the sixty men in front were defeated, the whole body, however numerous, are unable to assist, and immediately become a small mob in uniform, from the inferiority of number in comparison to the people, and easily disposed of.

Another inconvenience might destroy the order of this army. Perhaps at the same moment, they may be dreadfully galled from the house tops, by showers of bricks, coping stones, &c. which may be at hand, without imitating the women of Paris, who carried the stones of the unpaved streets to the windows and tops of the houses in their aprons.

Another disadvantage on the part of the soldiers would be, as they are regulated by the word of command, or stroke of the drum, they must be left to their individual discretion, as such communications must be drowned in the noise and clamour of a popular tumult.

In the next place, that part of the populace, who could not get into the engagement, would be employed in unpaving the streets, so as to impede the movements of horse or artillery; and in the avenues where the army were likely to pass, numbers would be engaged in forming barriers of hogheads, carts, cars, counters, doors, &c. the forcing of which barriers by the army would be disputed, while like ones were forming at every twenty or thirty yards, or any convenient distances situation might require: Should such precautions be well observed, the progress of an army through one street, or over one bridge, would be very tedious, and attended with great loss, if it would not be destroyed; at the same time the neighbouring counties might rise in a mass, and dispose of the troops scattered in their vicinity, and prevent a junction or a passage of any army intended for the city; they would tear up the roads and barricade every convenient distance with trees, timber, implements of husbandry, &c.; at the same time lining the hedges, walls, ditches and houses, with men armed with muskets, who would keep up a well directed fire.

However well exercised standing armies are supposed to be, by frequent reviews, and sham battles, they are never prepared for broken roads, or enclosed fields, in a country like ours, covered with innumerable and continued intersections of ditches and hedges, every one of which are an advantage to an irregular body, and may with advantage be disputed against an army, as so many fortifications and entrenchments.

The people in the city would have an advantage, by being armed with pikes or such weapons; the first attack, if possible, should be made by men whose pikes were nine or ten feet long, by that means they could act in ranks deeper than the soldiery, whose arms are much shorter; then the deep files of the pikemen, by being weightier, must easily break the thin order of the army.

The charge of the pikemen should be made in a smart trot, on the flank or extremity of every rank; there should be intrepid men placed to keep the fronts even, that



that at closing every point should tell together; they should have at the same time, two or three like bodies at convenient distances in the rear, who would be brought up, if wanting, to support the front, which would give confidence to their brothers in action, as it would tend to discourage the enemy; at the same time, there should be in the rear of each division some men of spirit, to keep the ranks as close as possible.

The apparent strength of the army should not intimidate, as closing on it makes its powder and ball useless; all its superiority is in fighting at a distance; all its skill ceases, and all its action must be suspended, when it once is within reach of the pike.

The reason of printing and writing this, is to remind the people of discussing military subjects.

# O B S E R V A T I O N S

## O N

### W H I P P I N G   A N D   F R E E   Q U A R T E R .

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MANY severe animadversions have been made on a practice which took place in Ireland, a short time previous to, and during the rebellion, of whipping persons notoriously disaffected, for the purpose of extorting evidence from them. Whoever considers it abstractedly must of course condemn it, as obviously repugnant to the letter of the law, the benign principles of our constitution, and those of justice and humanity; but I am convinced, that such persons as dispassionately consider the existing circumstances, and the pressure of the occasion under which it was adopted, will readily admit them to be, if not an excuse, at least an ample extenuation of that practice.

In many cases it happened, that the popish inhabitants of a barony, or a parish, besought the magistrates to administer oaths of allegiance to them, for no other purpose but to varnish over their treasonable designs; and having complied, these traitors swore at the same time, that they were totally ignorant of any treasonable conspiracy, or of any concealed arms; though, horrid to relate! the magistrates were possessed of the fullest information, that they were supplied with arms, had formed treasonable combinations cemented by oaths, and were soon to rise in the night, to massacre all the loyal subjects, and to plunder their property; and in short, that such scenes of desolation, as happened on the breaking out of the rebellion, were to take place. The loyal subjects were exhausted by watching, and petrified with horror, expecting every night to be murdered in their beds. Such was the woeful state of many parts of Ireland in the months of April and May 1798!

To disarm the disaffected was impossible, because their arms were concealed, and to discover all the traitors was equally so, because they were bound by oaths of secrecy, and the strongest sanctions of their religion, not to impeach their fellow traitors. But suppose the fullest information could have been obtained of the guilt of every individual, it would have been impracticable to arrest and commit the multitude. Some men of discernment and fortitude perceived, that some new expedient must be adopted to prevent the subversion of government and the destruction of society; and whipping was resorted to. I would beg leave to ask those gentlemen in England, who have inveighed so bitterly against this practice, what they would have done in such an alarming situation, when destruction must have been the certain result of deliberation? The massacre of many thousands of the most valuable members of society, and the loss of half a million of property were prevented in the county of Tipperary by it. The case of the parish of Castle Otway\* in that county, will shew the necessity and the efficacy of this measure.

Cooke

\* Appendix XI. page 49.

Cooke Otway, esquire, of Castle Otway, a gentleman noted for his loyalty, was the most active person in the county of Tipperary, next to colonel Fitzgerald, in putting down rebellion, for which he was afterwards persecuted. He raised a yeoman corps, but was obliged to disband the popish members, as they had taken the united Irishmen's oath. The preservation of the metropolis from carnage, plunder, and conflagration, may in a great measure be imputed to it, as traitors, on being whipped, revealed the most important secrets, and confessed where great quantities of arms were concealed.

The county of Wexford might have been saved, if it had been resorted to there.

Had captain Beevor, instead of being deceived and imposed on by the traitors of Ballymore Eustace, whipped one or two, he would have saved many valuable lives, and prevented the destruction of much property.

Why adhere to the forms of the constitution against traitors who meditated its subversion, and universal carnage and plunder; and who added the crime of perjury to that of treason, in order to varnish over their nefarious designs; and violated every law human and divine for their accomplishment?

Cicero did not wait for the sanction, or the ordinary process of law, to put the Catiline conspirators to death, because he knew that deliberation must have produced ruin.

He says, *pro Milone, sec. 4.* Can it be unjust to kill a traitor or a robber? *Infidiotori vero et latroni quæ potest afferri injusta nex?* But this never produced death; preservation was its only object; and, after a few scourges, the delinquent seldom or ever failed to make a full discovery.

That man who would balance between the slight infraction of the constitution in inflicting a few stripes on the body of a perjured traitor, and the loss of many valuable lives and much property, must renounce all pretensions to wisdom and patriotism. *Salus populi suprema lex.*

Cicero tells us, *de finibus bonorum & malorum, lib. 3. 19.* That as the laws were made for the advantage of all, the good of an individual should be postponed for that of the community at large.

When a mutiny takes place in a ship, it would be regarded as criminal in the officers of it not to put to death, instantly, the leaders of the mutiny; and what difference is there between the rebellious inhabitants of a parish and the mutinous crew of a ship?

In the former, whipping only is the preventive; in the latter, homicide.

Insurrection, if begun, in one instance, like the letting in of water, could not have been prevented by human wisdom and industry; and, from its contagious effects, it might have produced general destruction: In the other, it would have been confined only to the loss of the ship, and of a few individuals.

As to the violation of the forms of the law by this practice, it should be recollected that the law of nature, which suggested the necessity of it, supersedes all positive institutions, as it is imprinted on the heart of man for the preservation of his creatures, as it speaks strongly and instinctively, and as its end will be baffled by the slowness of deliberation.\*

When the sword of civil war is drawn, the laws are silent. *Inter arma silent leges,* says Cicero, *pro Milone*; and the defenders, who were succeeded and joined by the  
united

\* Cicero says of it: *Est enim hæc, non scripta, sed nata lex: quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipsa arripimus, hausimus, expressimus, ad quam non docti sed facti, non instituti sed imbuti sumus.*



united Irishmen, were exterminating the loyal subjects by fire and sword for six years before.

As to the violation of humanity, it should be recollected that nothing could exceed the cruelty of this banditti; that their object was the extirpation of the loyalists; that of the whippers, the preservation of the community at large.

This practice was never sanctioned by government, as they, on the contrary, used their utmost exertions to prevent it; and the evidence extorted from the person whipped never was used to convict any person, and was employed for no other purpose but to discover concealed arms, and to defeat the deleterious schemes of the traitors.

I shall now say a few words on free quarter, which was confined merely to the province of Leinster.

When government were possessed of the fullest evidence, that the inhabitants of a village or a town who had taken the usual oaths, to lull and deceive the magistrates, were possessed of concealed arms, and meditated an insurrection and massacre, they sent amongst them a certain number of troops, whom they were obliged to maintain by contributions, levied on themselves. This took place a few days before the rebellion broke out.

It has been universally allowed, that the military severities practised in the county of Kildare occasioned a premature explosion of the plot, which the directory intended to have deferred, till the French effected a landing; and one of them, Mr. Emmet, declared, in his evidence upon oath, before the secret committee of the lords, that, but for the salutary effects of those military severities, there would have been a very general and formidable insurrection in every part of the country.\*

\* Appendix No. VI. of the secret committee of the lords.

## O B S E R V A T I O N S

O N

## THE IMPROVEMENT OF IRELAND,

*By extending the Benefits of the Reformation therein, and a concise History thereof from the Reign of Edward VI: to the present Period.*

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EVERY person, endued with moral sentiment and real patriotism, must lament at seeing the kingdom of Ireland the prey of anarchy and the sport of fanaticism, from the reign of queen Elizabeth, to the present period; and on perusing these pages, he must perceive that its inhabitants cannot be susceptible of any material improvement in morals and in industry, until the blessings of the reformation are more extensively diffused among them than it is at present. I shall refer the reader to the page of history for the truth of what I assert; and an impartial review of the events of the last twenty years will alone be sufficient to give him the fullest conviction of this.

During that space every expedient, which a humane and generous policy could dictate, has been tried to soothe and allay the discontent of the Roman catholics; but in vain; for every attempt to conciliate has only operated as provocation; concession has encouraged clamour, aggression and outrage; and a dreadful conspiracy, formed and matured in the very bosom of indulgence, for the destruction of the empire, at last exploded in a most destructive rebellion.

The rebellions in the 16th and 17th centuries arose from pure fanaticism, and before any material restrictions were imposed on the Roman catholics\*; the last in the year 1798, when the whole of them with very few exceptions had been repealed. The gross ignorance of the leading men in both houses of the imperial parliament on this point, and their perseverance in error, should awaken the suspicion, rouse the vigilance, and alarm the fears of every member of the established church in the empire. It is not what is erroneously and ridiculously called emancipation that the mass of the Irish Roman catholics want: It is the extirpation or expulsion of the protestants, the exclusive occupation of the island for themselves, and its separation  
from

\* See in page 28, lord chief justice Lowther's enumeration of the privileges enjoyed by them in 1641.

from England, which they have aimed at from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign to the late rebellion; and which the rebels unequivocally announced, whenever they spoke their real sentiments without fear or restraint. In the year 1793, when the best of kings and his cabinet were grossly deceived and advised to recommend a measure, which produced the late rebellion, and shook the pillars of his throne, the earl of Clare, when it was discussed in the house of lords, declared, that if the Irish Roman catholics were indulged in their wild and extravagant notions of emancipation and reform of parliament, England would have to win Ireland again with the sword; and the dreadful event which occurred in the year 1798 proved that he spoke prophetic truth.

I now repeat, what I said before, that the state of Ireland should alarm every loyal member of the protestant empire.

The Irish Roman catholics can at any time raise such a sum of money on their body, as would tempt the virtue and shake the integrity of three or four individuals; and it is well known how much even one man in a certain situation can influence the main events of a great empire.

*Quemvis media erue turba,  
Aut ob avaritiam, aut misera ambitione laborat.*

It cannot be supposed that I allude to any of the great personages who now enjoy, or recently possessed his Majesty's confidence, for they are much above my praise; but it is possible that such base men as composed the cabal in the reign of Charles II. may one day be in that situation.

Ireland in her present state may be considered as an intestine thorn in the side of England, as a strong outpost easily accessible to her enemies, who may at all times annoy her through it: instead of affording her strength, it will be an incessant source of weakness.

In what a woeful state would the empire have been, if, during the late rebellion, popery and its concomitant spirit of disaffection had prevailed in Scotland, as much as in Ireland?

In such a case two-thirds of her troops must have been employed in defending her against domestic enemies.

The very great disloyalty of a considerable portion of the Irish militia and yeomanry, during the late rebellion, might have been fatal to the empire, if our fleets had not been successful in preventing the French from landing a large body of troops in Ireland.

The duplicity of some of the Irish nobility and gentry, the ignorance and credulity of others, in imposing on the government, by assurances of the loyalty of entire counties, or of the fidelity of some of these armed corps, and the fatal effects experienced from such misrepresentations previous to the late rebellion, should afford a salutary lesson to the viceroys of Ireland, not readily to give credit, on this point, to the assertions of ignorant men, or of designing persons, who make every consideration subservient to electioneering purposes.

If we take a review of the state of England in the reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. and James I we shall find that the disaffection arising from popery frequently produced conspiracies and insurrections similar to those in Ireland of late, which  
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laid those monarchs under a necessity of issuing commissions of martial law, to punish in a summary manner the bands of traitors, who, actuated by fanaticism, destroyed social order, and often endangered the existence of the government.

In three years, from the 27th to the 30th of Henry VIII's reign, the virulent opposition of fanaticism to the reformation, occasioned no less than six rebellions in the north of England alone. The horrors produced by them are set forth in a speech made by lord Clarendon, in the reign of Charles I. on the abolition of the count of York.

In the reign of Edward VI. and in the year 1554, the city of Exeter was besieged by 30,000 Cornish papists, for three weeks; and for no other reason than that the reformation had rapidly increased in it.

They intercepted its provisions, cut the conduit pipes that supplied it with water, destroyed the bridges leading to it, and battered it with cannon. It was bravely defended by the citizens, though reduced to famine, till lord John Russell relieved them, and defeated the rebels. A sermon has been ever since preached on the 6th of August, the anniversary of their deliverance.

Various plots and conspiracies were formed on the ground of fanaticism against the crown, and the life of queen Elizabeth, as a heretick.

The Spanish armada was formidable to her, because the majority of her subjects were more attached to the pope and the king of Spain, than to their own sovereign; but now, when the protestant religion is universally established in England, she bids defiance to one of the most ambitious and formidable nations that ever threatened the liberties of Europe.

The superstitious delusions of popery shook the throne of king John, who was driven to the necessity of compromising with the pope, of surrendering his crown to him, and of holding it as a feudatory: And so little has the advancement of science, and the improvement of the human mind operated in dispelling the clouds of superstition, and weakening the force of fanaticism, that an attempt has been recently made, to wrest the sceptre of Ireland from our present gracious sovereign, though the Roman catholics had experienced singular kindness and indulgence from him. I mentioned before the repeal of the popery laws in his majesty's reign, and that a college for the education of their clergy has been built, and endowed by the protestant state, at a monstrous expense.

So sensible was the late pope of the singular goodness and beneficence of his majesty towards his Roman catholic subjects, that in the year 1797, he sent to England, as his legate, doctor Erskine (though he was not publicly recognized as such,) to assure his Britannick majesty, that he felt the deepest gratitude, for having protected and maintained him so long upon his throne, by his naval armaments in the Mediterranean, and by the confederacy which he formed among the allied powers; but more particularly for the humane protection which he gave to the French clergy, after they had been cruelly proscribed in, and banished from, every Roman catholic state of Europe.

It is the most egregious folly to expect, that any favours, how great soever, conferred on the Irish roman catholics, will make any alteration in the disposition of the mass of them towards a protestant state; for their bigotry and virulence flow from a perennial and inexhaustible source, the Romish councils, the popes bulls and epistles,

———— Like the Pontick sea,  
Whose icy current and compulsive course,  
Ne'er feels retiring ebb.

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I must repeat again, that in making this assertion, I allude only to the lowest order of the people, whose minds are perverted by bigotry; for great numbers of the Roman catholicks are as charitable, as generous, and humane, and feel as great abhorrence of the atrocities committed during the late rebellion, as any other portion of his majesty's subjects; but the mass of the people in a state, are like the life blood of the human body, which, if impure, will produce convulsions and various other disorders. I mentioned before, page 125, what I believe no wise statesman will deny, that the moral and political principles of men are an emanation from, and are modified by, their religion. This is more particularly the case in Ireland, as a foreign prince, whom the Irish Romanists consider as the head of their church, has always maintained that his sectaries cannot bear any civil allegiance to a protestant \* state. This doctrine has been insisted on in modern times, by some eminent Romish divines; and it was carried into practice in a most alarming manner during the late rebellion.

To civilize the mass of the people, plans of educating them at the public expense have been at different times propounded; but it is most certain, that the persons who proposed such, were totally ignorant of the real state of Ireland.

It should be recollected, that many Roman catholicks, opulent in their circumstances, and of the best education, were not only implicated in the rebellion, but displayed that sanguinary spirit, by which the common herd of papists were actuated.

It should be remembered also, that numbers of their clergy were actively concerned in it, and few or none of them could have been ignorant of the conspiracy and the intended insurrection; and yet it is supposed that they are possessed of considerable learning.

It is a positive fact, that all the petty popish school-masters in the country were secretaries in the disaffected societies, and were the most useful and efficient instruments in the Irish union; particularly those who act as clerks in popish chapels, and keep schools in them. Is it to be supposed then, that the mass of the people, early and deeply imbued with disaffection to the state, on religious grounds, would become better subjects for being possessed of a talent, which enabled their instructors to injure it in an eminent degree?

If good wine be infused into a four cask, it will of course partake of its impurity.† Would it improve the morals of the lower class of people to enable them to read the works of Paine, Volney, Godwin, and Thelwal, and the Jacobin prints, which give wings to treason, and convey it to the garret and the cellar. By far the greater part of the English militia, who came to Ireland during, or subsequent to, the rebellion, were illiterate, and yet they were religious, sober and industrious. Learning in the abstract, will produce no good effect on the mass of the people, when their minds are preoccupied by absurd and impious doctrines, deduced from Romish councils, papal bulls and epistles.

While their morals flow from so impure a source, it will be absurd to think of governing them by the mild and benign regimen of the British constitution.

Sine moribus quid leges,  
Vanæ proficiunt.

In such a state, to think of laying the foundation of national wealth, will be as absurd as to build a splendid and magnificent edifice on a sandy foundation, which will  
fall

\* See this in pages 10, 25, 26, of the text.

† Sinecerum est nisi vas, quodcumq; infundis accescit.

† Ibid. page 39, 40.

fall and mock the ingenuity of the architect; as the accumulations of industry, for two centuries, were overturned and destroyed in many parts of the provinces of Leinster and Connaught, in one week, by the workings of bigotry; and many of the most loyal and useful members of society were murdered or driven from their habitations.

The reader, alarmed at this woeful state of society in Ireland, will naturally ask, is there no remedy for it? I say there is a most effectual one, which may be carried into practice without pains or penalties, and with very little additional expense; and that is, by converting the bulk of the people to the protestant religion, which we may learn from history and experience to be the only certain and permanent source of loyalty. All the best writers on Irish affairs, in the 16th and 17th centuries, have enforced the necessity of this by irrefragable arguments, but particularly primate Ussher, the glory of the Irish protestant church, in his elegant and energetick speech to an assembly of all the states of Ireland, in the year 1627.

The conversion of one person to the established church, will be giving an additional fibre to the root of the royal oak in the soil of Ireland, which will encrease its strength and stability to withstand the storms of domestick treason, and the attacks of foreign enemies.

Before I proceed to point out the means by which the natives of Ireland may be converted, I shall give a concise account of the origin and progress of the reformation in Ireland, and of the expedients which have been adopted to promote it.

In the year 1551, and the 5th of Edward VI. the reformed religion began to be publicly professed in Ireland. The book of common prayer was printed the same year in Dublin, by order of the lord lieutenant and council, pursuant to instructions given by the king himself; and it was publicly read to the people, many of whom in and about the city, understood English at that time.

George Brown, archbishop of Dublin, was the first person of note who embraced the protestant religion, and he gave full proof of the sincerity of his conversion, for he displayed the most ardent zeal in converting others to it. He preached often against the errors of the church of Rome, especially against praying in an unknown tongue, and denying the free use of the scriptures. He caused all superstitious reliicks and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and made the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments, to be set up in their stead. He cheerfully adopted the king's order for reading the liturgy in English, and recommended it in a speech to an assembly of the archbishops, bishops, and the rest of the clergy, which had so good an effect, that many of them submitted to it.

But George Dowdall, archbishop of Armagh, and many of the bishops and inferior clergy, opposed this good work with so much zeal, as to prevent its complete accomplishment; and that hopeful prince, Edward the VIth, having died two years after, and before the reformation could take root, queen Mary, his successor, soon overturned it. The protestant bishops and clergy were banished, the liturgy prohibited, the scriptures locked up in an unknown tongue, and the popish superstition and idolatry every where set up.

It was very fortunate, that the shortness of Mary's reign defeated her design of overturning the reformation.

No sooner was queen Elizabeth settled on the throne, than she endeavoured to plant religion and learning in Ireland; for she signified her royal pleasure, that the reformed religion should be immediately re-established in that kingdom, which had some immediate effect; for the mass was laid aside in many places, and another liturgy



was substituted in its stead, sentences of scripture were affixed to the church walls in the place of popish trumpery, and bibles were distributed gratis among the common people.

This alteration in matters of religion occasioned a great ferment among the Roman catholicks of Ireland; for the liturgy was no more understood by them than the mass, and they received no more edification from one than the other, as the mass of them were ignorant of the English language. Instigated by the pope, and the king of Spain, they rebelled in the year 1560, under Shane O'Neil.

Soon after the rebellion was suppressed, a tax was imposed on every house-keeper who omitted going to church on a Sunday; and as it was levied with exactness, most people attended, sooner than pay it; but their attendance could not operate towards their conversion, as our offices were read in English. They continued popists in their hearts, and embraced the first opportunity of rebelling, which they did again in the year 1566.

This shews how vain and impracticable it is to abolish a language and a religion at once, and to prevail on the multitude at the same time not to speak as they have been used to speak, and not to think and believe, as they have been taught to think and believe from their cradle. From this we may infer, that the most likely way of introducing the protestant religion into Ireland is, by the charter schools, where children acquire both at the same time; and early impressions made on their tender minds are not easily effaced.

As the reformed religion gained little or no ground by such means, queen Elizabeth provided, at her own charge, a fount of Irish types, with the other instruments of the press. Sir James Ware tells us, in his *Annals of Ireland*, in the year 1571, that the Irish characters for printing were first brought into that kingdom by Nicholas Walsh, chancellor of St. Patrick's church in Dublin, and John Kearney, treasurer of the same; and it was ordered, "that the prayers of the church should be printed in that character and language, and a church set apart in the chief town of every diocese, where they were to be read, and a sermon preached to the common people, which was instrumental in converting many of the ignorant sort in those days." Many persons among the clergy and laity, eminent not only for their rank and station, but for their piety and learning in the 16th and 17th centuries, used their utmost endeavours to promote this truly apostolical work. Alas! how unlike these are the present generation!

John Kearney, treasurer of St. Patrick's, published a catechism in Irish, the first book printed in that character. Nicholas Walsh, when promoted to the bishoprick of Ossory, began the translation of the New Testament, but did not live to finish it, having been barbarously murdered in his own house by one Dullard, against whom the bishop had issued a process for adultery. The aforesaid Mr. Kearney, and Nehe-mias Donnellan, afterwards archbishop of Tuam, undertook the same work, but archbishop Daniel, in his dedication of it to king James, tells us, that their untimely death threw the entire burthen on him, and he faithfully discharged it, having published it in the year 1602. The same pious and learned prelate translated the book of common prayer into Irish, and printed it in the year 1608, by which means many of the natives were converted.

The unsettled state of the country very much retarded the reformation during the reign of the elder James. In the year 1621, the congregation *de propaganda fidee* was instituted at Rome, which had at that time, and has continued ever since, to have very great influence, not only in Ireland, but in every country in Europe, where any attempts

attempts have been made to draw the natives off from their blind obedience to the pope. The government of England then should form a protestant society of the same nature, consisting of persons of interest and authority, zeal and piety, to counteract the malignant efforts of the Romish institution. It would rebound much to the credit of the bishops, if they would promote this very useful and pious work, as the union will supersede the necessity of their attendance in parliament. However, king James did not altogether neglect the propagation of the protestant religion, and the conversion of the Irish. He gave a commission to the lord deputy, the lord primate, the lord chancellor, lord Wilmot, and others, to enquire into, and make a report of the state of Ireland, and on their report, the following orders were given: "To enlarge the maintenance of the clergy, to encourage residence by making it convenient, to build cathedral and parochial churches, and to prevent the alienation of ecclesiastical possessions and lands given to charitable uses: to make good choice of schoolmasters and ushers, and to admit none but such as would take the oath of supremacy, and bring up their scholars in the reformed religion; and that popish schoolmasters and ushers should be entirely suppressed."

These orders contained the following paragraph:

"We, being highly offended with the increase and insolence of Jesuits, and priests, and titular archbishops and bishops, who presume to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction within our kingdom of Ireland, do expressly charge and command, that the statute the 2d of Elizabeth, which inflicts severe penalties on such as exercise any such power or jurisdiction, may be put in execution."

King James, mindful of the same good purpose, gave some instructions to sir Arthur Chichester, lord deputy of Ireland, in a letter dated 16th October 1604, about propagating the protestant religion. The privy council gave similar instructions to the same lord deputy in April 1606.

When bishop Bedell was made bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, he forwarded the charitable work of converting the Irish, with uncommon zeal; and if the same diligence had been used in every part of the kingdom, it would have tended materially to civilize the savage inhabitants of the island. He learned the Irish tongue himself, and attained such a knowledge of it, as to be able to compose an Irish grammar, and to correct the translation of the Old Testament in that language, of which he procured a version himself, the New Testament and Common Prayer book having been already translated into Irish.

He made a short catechism to be published, having English on one page, and Irish on the other, together with some forms of prayer, and some of the most instructive and edifying passages of scripture, and some of St. Chrysostom's and Leo's homilies, which were so well received by the natives, as to give certain hopes that such endeavours would be attended with success.

Having provided the books which were most necessary, he next turned his attention to procure proper teachers, by filling the church with clergymen able to preach to the Irish in their native language, and he rejected many ministers for want of this qualification; but this necessary and commendable practice raised a great storm against him, though the indispensable obligation which the clergy lie under of performing the offices of religion in a known tongue, should have prevented any opposition from protestants.

The more effectually to promote this pious and charitable work, he set his clergy the example of reading the common prayer book in Irish; and he succeeded so well, as to make numerous proselytes, not only among the laity, but the popish clergy; and

and so sincere were the converts which he made, that but one of them relapsed in the rebellion of 1641.

This great man's humane and charitable disposition, and his beneficent virtues, so far overcame the fanaticism, and the intolerant principles of the natives, and kindled such love and gratitude in them towards him, that they paid singular marks of honour and affection to his remains at his funeral, even in the heat of the rebellion, though they regarded him as a heretick. The chiefs of the rebels collected their forces, accompanied his body to the grave with great solemnity, and discharged a volley at his interment, crying out in Latin, *quiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum*. While bishop Bedell was labouring with so much zeal, the convocation which met in Dublin in 1634 took the conversion of the Irish into consideration, and made several canons, which contained rules similar to what that prelate had practised.

The great rebellion, which broke out in 1641, defeated those useful designs, and the excellent institutions which had been formed for the conversion of the natives.

The sufferings of the protestants were so great, and the animosity and resentment which were kindled between them and the papists by this rebellion were so bitter, that the advancement of the reformation was totally laid aside; and nothing was done towards promoting it for many years, except that in the year 1652, a catechism called the Christian Doctrine was published, having one column in English, the other in Irish.

Mr. Boyle, the great christian philosopher, well knowing that social order depended on the purity of religious principle, again set on foot the laudable work of converting the Irish. At his own expense, he caused a fount of Irish types to be cast, and an able printer to be instructed in printing the necessary books in that language; and caused the church catechism with the elements of that language, to be printed in Irish, in the year 1680; and soon after, he procured a second edition of the new testament in the Irish tongue to be printed, at his own charge; and he set forward and encouraged the reprinting of the old testament, having liberally contributed 50l. towards it himself. This edition was revised and corrected by Mr. Kirk, a beneficed clergyman in England, but a native of Scotland, and well skilled in the Irish tongue. The archbishop of Canterbury was concerned with Mr. Boyle in that work, and liberally contributed towards defraying the expense of the press. It was sent to the lord primate, then provost of Trinity college in Dublin, that it might receive such amendments as were necessary, by the assistance of the most learned natives of Ireland.

One Higgins, a convert from popery, was useful in completing that work. He was employed by the primate to teach the Irish language in the university of Dublin.

Many copies of the new testament published in 1681, and of the old in 1685, were sent into Ireland and the highlands of Scotland, and it is remarkable that no other bible was used in the highlands till within these fifteen or twenty years.

After the famous siege of Londonderry was raised, many of the Irish natives having left their habitations in the barony of Innishowen, and county of Donegal, and followed the Irish army to the southern parts of Ireland, several families emigrated from the highlands of Scotland, and settled in their places. These highlanders being protestants, but not understanding English, petitioned the then lord bishop of Derry, to send them a minister to perform divine service in their own language, which was readily granted; and he sent them two ministers to preach in Irish, one of them a beneficed clergyman, the other having a competent allowance from the bishop; and they soon had four or five hundred persons in their congregation, who did not understand English.

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Great numbers of the Irish rebels, conscious of the crimes they had committed, having deserted their habitations in the county of Antrim, on the landing of the English army in 1689 at Carrickfergus, many families from the Hebrides or western islands of Scotland, who understood no other language but the Irish, or Erse, which is the same, settled there, and took possession of them. At first they went to church, but not understanding English, they became converts to popery, for no other reason, than that they understood the exhortations delivered in Irish by the popish priests from the altar. On being asked their reason for doing so, they said, "it was better to be of their religion than none at all." To prevent this evil, a petition was presented to the bishop of Down, to request he would send ministers amongst them who could preach to them in the Irish language; and he sent some preachers to them, who not only brought back such highlanders as had lapsed to popery, but converted many of the natives to protestantism.

In the year 1702, the reverend Nicholas Browne, rector of the parishes of Donacary, Dromore, and Rosferry, in the diocese of Clogher, applied himself with great zeal to the conversion of the Irish, and he was well qualified for that purpose, as he was perfect master of the language, and had a happy faculty of expressing terms of divinity in it. The provost, burgeses, and other protestant inhabitants of Enniskillen, gave a public attestation of the success of his laudable exertions, in the year 1711, after his decease.

On March 3d, 1703, the following resolution was sent from the lower to the upper house of convocation:

"Resolved, that the endeavouring the speedy conversion of the papists of this kingdom, is a work of great piety and charity; in order to which, it is the opinion of this house, that preachers in all the diocesses of this kingdom, preaching in the Irish tongue, would be a great means of their conversion; and therefore, that application be made to the most reverend and right reverend the lords archbishops, and bishops, that they take into their consideration, what number of such preachers will be necessary in every diocese, and how they may be supported."

Their graces and lordships gave the following answer:

"We think, that endeavouring the conversion of the papists is very commendable; and as to preaching in the Irish tongue, we think it useful where it is practicable."

The lower house soon after sent to the upper house a number of resolutions, pointing out measures which they thought necessary for promoting the reformation, and which were approved of by their lordships.

The main objects of them were, "to print the holy bible, and the liturgy, in the Irish language, but in the English character.

To prepare a short exposition of the church catechism, fitted for the instruction of popish recusants, and that the same should be printed in English and Irish. That clergymen well skilled in the Irish tongue should be employed in instructing the people."

In the beginning of this century, several of the nobility sent a memorial to James, duke of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland, requesting that he would adopt such measures as would tend to promote the reformation. It begins thus:

"Whereas nothing tends more effectually to promote the common welfare of Ireland, than the conversion of the popish natives to the protestant religion; whereby the English interest would be better secured, trade and industry encreased, and both the spiritual and temporal good of the Irish themselves advanced in that kingdom; and whereas in order to obtain those happy ends, several laws have been lately made,

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in Ireland, and one statute in particular, to prevent the succession of popish clergy, by virtue whereof the number of popish priests is already sensibly decreased in it; and it is probable, that in some counties, the whole succession may be extinct."

Soon after, many of the nobility and gentry petitioned queen Anne to promote such measures, as would be most likely to propagate the protestant religion among the natives of Ireland; and at the head of the petitioners we find the lords Abercorn, Barrymore, Bellamont, Charlemont, Mountjoy, Digby, and Blaney; but nothing was done in consequence of it.

About this time the archbishop of Armagh, and his clergy, joined in a subscription for maintaining two missionaries, to preach to the natives in Irish, in that diocese; and the bishop and his clergy did the like in the dioceses of Derry.

In the year 1711, Charles O'Neil, esq; member of the house of commons, moved, that the conversion of the Irish should be taken into consideration. On which a committee was immediately appointed, to consider of, and make a report on it, which they accordingly did; and the substance of their resolutions was,

"That a competent number of ministers should be appointed to preach to the natives in their own language, with a suitable maintenance.

"That a sufficient number of charity schools should be erected, for the instruction of the popish children gratis."

In the year 1711, the lower house of convocation entered into resolutions, much of the same tenor; with this addition, that the children of popish parents should be obliged, under a certain penalty, to send their children to some protestant school, from the age of seven years, till they shall have attained the age of twelve years; and to prevent popish recusants from evading that law, they were to be obliged under a certain penalty, to give the birth and name of every child, ten days after its baptism, to the curate of the parish, to be registered in the parish book.

Such were the opinions, and such were the exertions of Usher, Bedell, Boyle, and some of the wisest and most pious men in the 16th and 17th centuries, in promoting the established religion, as the only fountain of pure morality in a protestant state; but modern politicians, having derived new light from the philosophy of the Gallick school, are desirous of confounding all religious distinctions, by which they will sow the seeds of Jacobinical principles, which in time will shake the pillars of the throne.

The present indifference about the established religion in England and Ireland, reminds me of the state of Greece about three centuries before the Christian æra, when the people there, on adopting the Epicurean system, which prostrated all religious sanctions, sunk into the lowest state of debasement; and Polybius, who was an eye witness of it, tells us, "that in consequence of it, they disregarded every tie human and divine, and that it was a sure presage of their impending ruin."

It is much to be lamented, that the blessings of the reformation have not been more extensively diffused in Ireland, notwithstanding the efforts which have been adopted for that purpose; but it will be vain to attempt the conversion of such of the natives as have arrived to maturity, as they oppose it in limine; for their prejudices are inveterate and deep rooted in fanaticism, as they imbibe, at an early age, so strong and uncharitable an aversion against every thing that concerns the established religion, and their protestant fellow-subjects, that they recoil at any attempt to convince them of their errors. I mentioned some instances of this in page 635, and in many other parts of this work. It would be as absurd to think of making an impression on such persons by ratiocination, as to penetrate a thick suit of armour with a bodkin. It frequently happens, that when a Roman catholic succeeds

succeeds a protestant in a house, he prevails on a priest to purify it by his benediction, and by some religious ceremonies, from the pollution which it had received by the residence of a heretick.

Human wisdom could not devise a better plan for converting the lower class of the Irish, than the charter schools, as the impressions made on the children bred up in them are not easily effaced.

"Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." Proverbs, chap. xxii. ver. 6. This very wise institution was first established in the year 1733, by charter, in consequence of a petition to his majesty George the second, of the bishops, the nobility, the judges, and some of the principal gentry of Ireland. Part of the preamble of the petition evinces at the same time, the policy of that establishment, the wisdom, the virtue, and loyalty of those who addressed his majesty to institute it, and the supine and criminal neglect of the leading men of the present day, in not forwarding it with that degree of zeal which its importance requires.

"That the generality of the popish natives appear to have very little sense or knowledge of religion but what they implicitly take from their clergy, to whose guidance, in such matters, they wholly give themselves up, and thereby are kept not only in gross ignorance, but in great disaffection to your sacred majesty, and government, scarcely any of them having appeared to be willing to abjure the pretender to your majesty's throne, so that if some effectual method be not made use of to instruct these great number of people in the principles of religion and loyalty, there seems to be very little prospect, but that superstition, idolatry and disaffection to your majesty, and to your royal posterity, will, from generation to generation, be propagated amongst them." Such opinions would be severely censured and condemned in this season of liberality, or rather of folly and dissimulation; but the late rebellion fully evinces the truth of them.

The object of the institution is, to instruct the children of papists in the English tongue, the principles of the established religion, and to train them up in the practice of industry and labour.

By donations and benefactions from individuals, and by parliamentary grants, the society have been able to erect thirty-seven schools in different parts of the kingdom, which are capable of containing 1775 children, who are fed, clothed, and educated in them, till they are fit to be apprenticed out, and then they are bound to protestants, who receive a fee of 5*l.* with them; besides these thirty-seven schools, there is one at Santry, and another at Clontarf, both near Dublin. They apprentice annually out of the former thirty-five children, and one hundred out of the latter.

The children must be of popish parents, and none can be admitted into the schools under the age of ten years.

The institution is superintended and regulated by a committee of fifteen, resident in Dublin; and each school is under the immediate direction of a committee in the country, consisting of the principal gentlemen and clergy contiguous to it; who examine into the instruction and employment of the children, their food and state of health, the sufficiency and diligence of the masters and mistresses, and all other particulars relative to the œconomy and management of the schools; and report the same to the committee of fifteen.

The children pass their time between the learning necessary for their future life, and such gentle work as is suited to their tender age, which strengthens their constitution, and gives them early habits of industry. Especial care is taken to guard

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them



them from having any intercourse with popish priests, or the children of Romanists; and they are always sent to schools remote from their popish relations, lest they might tempt them to relapse.

The society appoint school-masters and school-mistresses, who are supported by the society, and provided with all things necessary for the instruction of the poor children in the principles of the protestant religion, reading, writing, and arithmetic, and with proper books and materials for teaching them husbandry, housewifery, trades and manufactures, in order to bring them up to virtue, labour and industry.

Besides the schools, there are four nurseries; one for the province of Leinster, one for Munster, and one for Connaught, and the fourth is in Charlemont-street, in Dublin.

The children are received and maintained in these till the age of six years, when they are put into the schools.

A portion of  $\text{gl.}$  is given to every person apprenticed out of the school, who shall afterwards marry a protestant, with the approbation of the committee of fifteen, provided he or she shall produce a proper certificate of having duly served out such apprenticeship, and provided such claim is made within the term of seven years after the expiration of it, and within six months after the marriage.

The committee of fifteen annually publish their accounts, to convince the public that the funds of the charity are properly and faithfully appropriated.

From what I have mentioned in this work, the reader must be convinced, that the state of Ireland cannot admit of any material improvement in morals and industry, until the benefits of the Reformation are more generally experienced in it; and it will be impossible to effect this, but through the medium of the charter schools. They are in fact orphan-houses, and serve the most exalted purposes of charity, in rescuing the children of the lower class of people from extreme poverty, from idleness, from vice, from superstition, from treason, and often from suffering an ignominious death, inflicted by the vengeance of the law.

The committee is enabled at present to apprentice out annually about 400 children; but if they could bind out twice that number, it would make a material change in the peace and moral order of society, in the space of ten or twelve years.

The necessity of this is increased by the establishment of a seminary for the education of popish priests, whose spirit of proselytism will in a great degree counteract the effects of this wise institution. Nothing can more strongly evince the advantages which are likely to arise from it, than the hatred with which it is regarded by the Romanists. One school was entirely demolished at Castle Carberry, in the county of Kildare; and Wilson's hospital was plundered, because it was established to educate children in the protestant religion.

Thomas Burke, titular bishop of Ossory, laments, in his *Hibernia Dominicana*, that whole troops of the lower class of people are converted by the charter schools-

*Quo factum est, ut cum priores leges corraperint singulatim divites, ista vel ipsos pauperes turmatim illaqueat.*

The secret enemies of this institution, in order to make it odious, have asserted in many parts of England, where it is believed, that the children who are put into the schools are taken from their parents by force, an assertion as false as it is iniquitous; for no children are ever admitted into them, but such as are offered voluntarily by  
their

their parents; and from the numbers who solicit admission into them, there is not a doubt, but that the schools would be constantly full, even if they were twice as large as they are at present; an unquestionable proof that the blessings of the Reformation might be extensively and speedily diffused through the kingdom of Ireland by this wise institution!

Those who are hostile to it also assert, that it is futile and inefficient, on the ground that most of the children educated in the schools relapse into popery, and the honest and well meaning, who never examine into, or bestow any thought upon the institution, imbibe their prejudices, and become hostile to it; but on a serious investigation of this fact it will appear, that but very few of the children bred in them become converts to popery; and the probability of its ever happening might in a great measure be prevented by introducing a few improvements into that salutary system.

I intended to have submitted to the consideration of parliament, some improvements in the regulation of this very excellent institution, but I shall leave them to their superior wisdom, observing at the same time, that while the frailty of human nature continues, it must be materially neglected, while it depends merely on the voluntary and gratuitous exertions of fifteen individuals, some of whom do not reside constantly in Dublin.

I cannot omit this opportunity of saying, that the publick are very much indebted to the great zeal and unabated exertions of doctor Agar, archbishop of Cashel, doctor Broderick, bishop of Kilmore, and sir Francis Hutchinson, in superintending it.

I humbly conceive, that it should be conducted by a permanent board, with salaries and responsibility attached to the members who compose it.

I am convinced that the candid reader will agree with me, that every other measure of imperial policy for the improvement of Ireland should be subordinate to the advancement of this very wise and charitable institution.

It is astonishing to me that the bishops have not given more attention to it, and have not been more solicitous to extend the benefits of it; for it seems to me to be peculiarly the province of the pastoral charge.

Though I take the liberty of recommending, with due deference, the establishment of a permanent board, I am of opinion, that the power and the right to interfere in regulating it should still continue in the committee of fifteen, as their vigilance would check and control the members of the board.

It would be adviseable to apprentice out the children bred in the charter schools in protestant towns, the establishment of which I shall recommend in the sequel.

It often occurred to me, that it would conduce much to the advancement of the established church, to build towns and villages in those parts of Ireland where popery predominates, and to establish protestant manufacturers in them, which would not only encourage the reformed religion within their walls, but afford confidence and protection to all the protestants in the adjacent country. The policy and utility of this measure will appear from the following circumstance: that in some parishes where protestants were thinly scattered, anonymous letters were sent to them during the rebellion, desiring them at their peril to go to mass, and in some instances they were frightened into obedience.

This wise measure has been strongly recommended by the best writers on Irish affairs in the 16th and 17th centuries, but particularly by Richard Laurence, esquire, in a valuable treatise, which he wrote in the year 1682 on the improvement of Ireland. He says, " that such towns would be ready receptacles to the English families

disperſed in the adjacent country, which would fortify the Engliſh intereſt; and this may be eaſily effected, without much charge to the king or country, by propagating manufactures." Some of theſe proteſtant colonies are mentioned by Laurence; and in what a ſtate would Ireland be at this day but for their eſtabliſhment!

If Engliſh manufacturers had been planted in the town built for the Geneveſe emigrants in the county of Waterford, it would have been attended with the moſt important advantages.

It would be adviſeable to incorporate by charter the inhabitants of ſuch ſettlements, and to give certain municipal privileges to ſuch perſons of the eſtabliſhed church as ſhould reſide in them a certain time.

The Romans never could have ſecured their conqueſts over Italy, or have attached to them the people whom they ſubdued, if they had not adopted this wiſe policy, which they did from the earlieſt period of the Republick. Thus early in the fourth century, after the foundation of Rome, a colony was ſettled at Ardea;\* and ſoon after, when the Romans conquered the Aufonians, they eſtabliſhed a colony of 2500 perſons at Cales, their principal town.† The ſame thing was done at Pontia and Sueſſa; and 4000 coloniſts were ſettled at Caſinum.‡ Two colonies were planted in the country of Falernum.¶ In ſhort, the Romans adopted this wiſe procedure in every country which they ſubdued, and without it their conqueſts would not have been ſo rapid and ſecure as they afterwards proved to be. Italy would have readily yielded to the victorious army of Hannibal, but that the Roman coloniſts and their deſcendants, who were numerous, ſteadily adhered to the republic of Rome, for which Livy tells us, lib. 27. 10. "they received the thanks of the ſenate."

They treated their colonies with tender and parental care, having always incorporated them and given them important municipal privileges; and they always puniſhed ſuch perſons as attempted to injure or moleſt them. Thus, when the natives roſe and maſſacred a great portion of a Roman colony at Sora, a town of the Volſcians, Livy, lib. ix. cap. 24, tells us, that they ſeverely puniſhed the inſurgents. "Omnes qui Romam deductierant, virgis in foro cæſi, ac ſecuri percuſſi ſummo gaudio plebis; cujus maxime intererat, tutam ubique, quæ paſſim in colonias mitteretur, multitudinem eſſe."

For ſimilar cruelty and treachery the Lucernians and Samnites were puniſhed, and a new colony of 2500 perſons was ſettled amongſt them. Ibid. cap. 26. By intermarriages with the Romans, and by a gradual aſſimilation to their language and manners, the different nations of Italy became one and the ſame people.

In the year 1774, when murder excited ſtronger emotions of horror than it does at preſent, from its frequent perpetration, Mr. Ambroſe Power of Barret's-town, in the county of Tipperary, a moſt worthy gentleman, was murdered in his own houſe by a band of aſſaſſins, which occaſioned ſo general an alarm in Dublin, that many members of both houſes of parliament aſſembled in a committee room of the houſe of commons, for the purpoſe of concerting meaſures for checking ſuch atrocities, and for civilizing the lower claſs of people, when a gentleman, noted in the Iriſh ſenate for eloquence and political wiſdom, ſtrongly recommended the eſtabliſhments of villages and towns in different parts of Ireland.

There are large tracts of land in different parts of it, thinly inhabited, or without any population whatſoever, which would anſwer well for this purpoſe. No part of the Britiſh dominions affords ſo many eligible places for ſuch eſtabliſhments as Ireland,

\* Livy, lib. 4. 11.

† Ibid. 8. 16.

‡ Ibid. 9. 27.

¶ Ibid. 10. 21.

§ Harum coloniarum ſubſidio tum imperium populi Romani ſtetit: iſſque gratiæ, et in ſenatu, et ad populum actæ.



Ireland, as few parts of it are far from the sea, as it abounds with fine harbours, with navigable rivers, and rivulets, which are highly necessary for such machinery as is used in the mechanick arts; and it is also probable, that Ireland, from the advantages of her geographical situation, will rise very high in commerce and manufactures.

The town of Bandon, in the county of Cork, affords a striking proof of the advantages of such an institution.

That seedling of protestantism and loyalty was planted by the first earl of Cork, the founder of the illustrious house of Boyle in Ireland, so distinguished for their loyalty, their virtues, and their talents, as to be highly panegyrized by lord Orford, in his lives of royal and noble authors.

In the year 1688, the agents of James the Second disarmed all the protestants of Ireland, except in some northern counties, where their numbers and their high spirit would have rendered that measure difficult and dangerous.

This procedure was to pave the way for the subversion of the reformed religion, and the foundation of that system of tyranny which that infatuated bigot meditated.

The protestant inhabitants of Bandon, who were numerous, smarting from the oppression and the exactions of a popish garrison quartered on them, and dreading the fate of their fellow religionists, disarmed and expelled their oppressors; but they were soon after attacked by 12,000 Irish, commanded by the earl of Clancarty, and his brother, major-general M<sup>c</sup>Carthy, and were reduced to the necessity of paying a pecuniary contribution, which was secured by the bonds of some of the principal inhabitants, to save the town from pillage and conflagration. Having been sued for the principal and interest due on their bonds in the year 1695, they petitioned parliament to be exonerated from the payment thereof; and the house of commons having addressed the viceroy for that purpose, his excellency ordered the amount of the said bonds to be paid out of the treasury. The house of commons, in their address to the viceroy, pray, "to have the town restored to its former state, that it might be a refuge and protection to the English against the cruelty of the Irish." How like the state of Ireland has been for some years past to that period!

Ever since, Bandon, which is a populous and manufacturing town, has continued to be inhabited exclusively by protestants; for the present inhabitants have been so sensible of the sufferings of their ancestors, from the persecution which they experienced, that they would not permit Roman catholicks to reside in the town.

The following incident proves that, that spirit of partiality blended with fanaticism, which appeared on the breaking out of the rebellion, is constantly afloat in the minds of the lower class of the Roman catholicks. In the month of December 1792, a mob having assembled in the town of Bandon, and complaining of the scarcity of provisions, proceeded to destroy the mills and corn stores of some millers and corn-factors in the neighbourhood, whom they regarded as monopolists and forestallers. In their progress, having been joined by great numbers of Roman catholicks, they materially injured the mills, and dispersed or carried off the corn and flour of the following persons: Mr. Stawell, of Kilbritton, and Mr. Biggs, of Bandon. On the second day, viz. the 20th of December, they plundered Mr. Pratt's house at Shannonvale, near Clonakilty. On the 21st of December, they plundered the house and stores of Mr. Tresilian at Ballinadee. They then resolved to plunder the town of Bandon, and to take the wives and children of its principal inhabitants as hostages, but the following incident very fortunately prevented the execution of their rash design: A proposal having been made to plunder the stores of Mr. O'Brien, a corn-factor

factor of considerable opulence, and of the popish persuasion, the Roman catholicks, who were the most numerous part of the mob, strongly objected to it, on the ground that he was of their religion, though they warmly co-operated in plundering the houses and stores of the former persons, who were exclusively protestants. This opened the eyes of the protestant part of the mob, and shewed them the selfish and sinister designs of their popish confederates; on which they separated from them, repaired to the town, ordered the volunteer drum to beat to arms, alarmed the inhabitants, and shewed them the necessity of uniting and arming for their defence, which was quickly done; for all those who possessed arms, and were capable of using them, came forward, embodied themselves, called upon such gentlemen as had been formerly officers in the volunteer corps, to head them, which they accordingly did, and having been joined by a party of dragoons, commanded by cornet Kelly, they remained under arms all night in defence of the town, which the popish mob would most certainly have attacked, but that they were informed of the spirited resistance which would have been made to them.

This loyal corps memorialled the earl of Westmorland for permission to embody themselves, which they obtained; and they were the only corps of volunteers in the kingdom who continued to exist till the yeomanry were raised, except in the county of Longford, where a corps of protestants was raised with permission of the earl of Westmorland, to check the outrages of the defenders.

The Irish directory hoped and intended to have made Bandon another Belfast, by engaging its inhabitants in their cause; but the loyalty of the protestants of the established church rendered them impregnable against the arts of seduction.

A few towns like Bandon would materially tend to strengthen the English interest in Ireland, by encouraging the growth of protestantism.

Some of the Roman catholick nobility and gentry have made a practice of going to the viceroy, as the representatives of their order, and of making promises and assurances, on their part, of their future loyalty and fidelity, in consideration of certain favours to be conferred on them; but we may learn from experience that they have not the least influence over the Romish priests and their flock, who are actuated by secret springs of action unknown to them, and whose interest and designs are quite separate from theirs. The contemptuous insolence with which the Romish nobility and gentry were treated in the year 1792,† in consequence of which they were obliged to secede from their own body, should teach them, that by making such assurances, they will always run a risk of deceiving the government; though I am convinced they are incapable of doing so intentionally. When they make such promises and assurances, in behalf of persons of their order, it is on a presumption that they have such an influence over them as would enable them to restrain their licentious turbulence. If this be the case, I would beg leave to ask them, why did they not exert it for eight years past, in checking the progress of treason, and the perpetration of robbery and assassination? But if they have no influence over the priests and the popish multitude, their promises will only tend to delude and deceive the government. I would ask these noble lords and gentlemen, whether they can safely pledge their faith for persons who have in the most flagrant manner violated their oaths, for the purpose of varnishing over their treasonable designs? Let them beware, lest unwarily they might be led—

———— To dress the ugly form  
Of base and bloody insurrection,  
With their fair honours.

They

† See page 78 of the text.



They cannot but know, that if the ambitious and extravagant designs of the Romish clergy were to prevail, they must creep and cringe to the meanest popish priest in Ireland, for their influence over the popish multitude is such, that they would probably establish a government somewhat similar to the theocracy of the Jews. The conduct and the influence of that furious and intolerant bigot, Rinuccini, in the 17th century, should put them on their guard.†

I will seriously ask the Roman catholick nobility and gentry, whether it would in the smallest degree tend to meliorate the morals of the popish multitude to give them a full participation of the English constitution? I am persuaded that those whose minds are not clouded with prejudice, or perverted by bigotry, will answer in the negative, and that every rational person of their order will admit, that any attempt to improve the mass of the people in their morals and industry will be fruitless, till they have experienced the advantages of the Reformation. As to such protestant gentlemen who take upon them to give assurances of the loyal and peaceable demeanor of the people for electioneering purposes, they should be scouted with indignation by the government; for the rebellion could not have been as destructive and terrific as it was, but for the delusive promises of such men. In short, it is not possible that they can have any influence over the main body of that order, or can know their secret designs.

I have not insinuated, and I have not the most remote wish, that the Roman catholicks should be deprived, in the smallest degree, of the rights and privileges which they have obtained. Many of them are loyal, charitable, and humane; and it would be unjust to punish them for the fatal errors of others; and as to the deluded multitude, my only desire is, to convert the rising generation of them by mild and evangelical means.

In the course of my investigation I have discovered, that there was not an encampment or a garrison in any part of the kingdom, for any length of time, that considerable disaffection did not take place among the popish military; and if the French had landed a large body of troops, and had gained any decisive advantage over ours, I am convinced that four-fifths of them would have joined the enemy. This is a matter which should be maturely considered by the imperial cabinet.

The Irish soldiers, out of Ireland, and removed from the influence of their priests, make the best soldiers in the universe. Such of the popish militia as were of four or five years standing, by constantly moving from one place to another, forgot the impressions made on them by their respective parish priests, and became loyal; but the yeomen, who were stationary, betrayed shocking instances of perfidy.

Every person who reflects that the British constitution, as it now stands, emanated from and is founded in the established religion, must be seriously alarmed at the supine neglect of government for its advancement, particularly in Ireland, the growth of infidelity amongst its members occasioned by the want of proper attention to their early education, the great encouragement given to popery, and the monstrous increase of sectarism in every part of the empire.

Three protestant churches in the city of Dublin have been in such a ruinous condition for some years past, that divine service has not been celebrated in them, in consequence of which, it is said, that many of the lower class of protestants resident in the parishes belonging to them have gone to mass. The parish church of St. Nicholas without has been in ruins above twenty years, St. Michael's nineteen, and that

† See page 25 of the text.



that of St. Andrew's, which was the chapel of the house of commons, and is in one of the most populous parishes in Dublin, has not had divine service in it these eight years.

The protestant ministers would have starved in the years 1797, 1798, and 1799, from the subtraction of their dues, partly by ruffian force, and partly by fraud and the arts of chicanery, but that doctor Duigenan † brought in a bill to enable them to recover them in a summary manner.

Thinly scattered over the country, they have to combat the fanaticism of numerous hosts of papists, the opposition of sectarists; and at the same time they have to deplore the lukewarmness and alienation of their own flock, and particularly the nobility and gentry, who frequently connive at, or secretly encourage the farmers and peasants to plunder them, till their turbulence and disregard of all legal restraint, alarms them for the safety of their persons and property; which to my certain knowledge has often occurred in different parts of Ireland.

Their zealous endeavours to maintain and support the established government in all emergencies have been very conspicuous; and particularly during the late disastrous season of insurrection and rebellion; yet how very badly they have been requited will appear in the acts and votes of the Irish parliament from the year 1735 to 1800, respecting the tithe of agistment.

Through the defalcation of the dues of the parochial clergy of Ireland, by a gradual and systematic course of encroachment, on the part of the laity, from the time of the Reformation, until the present day, 2436 parishes, formerly with cure of souls, employing about 3000 clergy, are now dwindled to 1120 benefices, and 1001 churches; employing about 1300 clergy of all descriptions, rectors, vicars, and curates.—How enviably different is the state of the church of England! There, within the same period, the number of parishes has risen from 3,181 to 10,567; containing at present 11,755 churches, employing about 18,000 clergy of all descriptions. Thus have the clergy of Ireland been reduced considerably more than one-half, from the inadequacy of their provision, which at the present day is estimated at not more than 195,000*l.* a year, or less than a twenty-fifth part of the computed rental of Ireland, five millions sterling per annum; whereas in England, the officiating clergy have been augmented early four-fold, and the revenues of the church, according to the most accurate estimates, increased from 43,537*l.* to 1,313,000*l.* affording a taxable income of 1,125,000*l.* or about a sixteenth part of the computed rental of England, twenty millions per annum.

The whole provision for the ministers of the kirk of Scotland, in the year 1755, was about 68,500*l.* per annum, which being divided between 944 ministers, afforded to each on an average 72*l.* per annum, a pittance too small to uphold the respectability of the Scottish church. In England the average income of parish priests is about 141*l.* each per annum; in Ireland the average is about 150*l.* per annum: but to make Ireland a protestant country, the number of her established clergy ought to be trebled; an event not to be looked for in the present age, and under the late interdict.

The provision of the Scottish clergy is so small, that the persons who for their rank in life, their learning, and their probity, should fill the priestly office, are now betaking themselves to secular and more lucrative employments; and it is to be feared that their places will be supplied by an inferior class of persons, who are unworthy of the pastoral charge.

† The good sense, and the spirited conduct of this gentleman, on all occasions, in defending the constitution in church and state, deserve the warmest gratitude of every loyal subject.

A

# JUSTIFICATION

OF HAVING

PUBLISHED THIS WORK

SO SOON AFTER

THE LATE REBELLION.

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AS the Jacobins of England and Ireland have censured the author of this work, for having published it so soon after the late rebellion, under a pretence that it would revive those feuds and animosities from which it originated, I have written the following defence of myself for having done so. That venerable biographer Plutarch, in his life of Pericles observes, "That it is difficult to attain truth in history, since if the writers live any length of time after the events which they relate, they can be but imperfectly informed of them, and if they describe the persons and transactions of their own times, they are tempted by envy and hatred, or interest and friendship, to disguise or pervert the truth." Conscious that I have not been biassed by any such sinister motives, and desirous of establishing the authenticity of the occurrences which I have related, I resolved to publish a narration of them, while the eye witnesses of them were still living.

History, which is a mirror of past times, is the best guide to the statesman; and Livy, in his preface tells us, that he wrote his, that the republic might learn lessons of wisdom and prudence from it, by avoiding such measures as had proved fatal, and by embracing such as had been found salutary for its interest.

It is much to be lamented that Ireland has been disgraced, and that her improvement in morals and industry has been retarded, for near three centuries, by civil dissensions; and as they have arisen from the same cause, and have been uniformly directed to one end, a separation from England, we may fairly conclude, that the predisposing causes to them must be inveterate, and that the seeds of combustion must be deeply and extensively laid.

As Ireland is completely annexed to the empire by the union, it is to be hoped that the Imperial Government will apply more effectual remedies than have been hi-

thereto adopted, to remove the causes of her rebellions, her crimes and disgraces; but it would be as imprudent to undertake that task, without having a perfect knowledge of them, as for a physician to administer medicine to a patient, without having investigated the symptoms and diagnostics of his disease.

It is a positive fact, that the mass of the people of England are as ignorant of the real state of Ireland, and of the causes of her disturbances and insurrections, as they are of the most remote regions in the torrid and frigid zones; and it is no less singular than true, that many of the English nobility and gentry, in their speeches on the union, which have been published, displayed a radical ignorance of it.

As it was to be supposed that the Imperial Parliament would pass some new laws, and that Government would adopt some new measures for the internal regulation of Ireland, I considered it as an important, nay as a sacred duty, to lay before them the real state of Ireland, in a historical deduction of the most important transactions which have occurred in it for some years past, with some preliminary observations on the state of it, from the arrival of the English till the breaking out of the rebellion in 1798.

I shall now endeavour to point out the principal causes of the ignorance and misconception of the people of England of the true and actual state of Ireland.

An angry opposition in the parliaments of both kingdoms has constantly imputed the disturbances to a wrong source, falsely ascribing them to the tyranny and cruelty of government, and not to the rebellious machinations and seditious conduct of traitors; and asserting, that if conciliation, instead of coercion and punishment, had been adopted towards the latter, it would have produced loyalty in them and restored tranquillity in the kingdom.

To such conduct, by inciting the disaffected to violate the law, by attempting to varnish over their crimes, and by calumniating and disparaging the executive government, the late rebellion is to be in some measure imputed.

Members of the Irish Parliament have made a constant practice of giving a gross misrepresentation of the towns or counties which they represented to the Viceroy of Ireland, for the purpose of pleasing and flattering them; but principally for electioneering purposes, as it tended to ingratiate them with their constituents, by concealing their traitorous machinations; and from the speeches recently made by some Irish members in the Imperial Parliament, I have not a doubt but that the same insidious and adulatory conduct will be pursued.

In consequence of this, some of the Viceroys of Ireland, by lending too ready an ear to artful and designing men, and by being deaf to the assertions of men dignified by wisdom and virtue, have unfortunately continued in a state of ignorance as to its real and actual state, and have misrepresented it in England.

Why the Viceroys have been too credulous to such men is easily accounted for: They consider that the supposed prosperity and peacefulness of Ireland, so subject to be convulsed by treason and sedition, will be imputed to their wisdom and good sense; and that it will ingratiate them with their Sovereign, and exalt them in the eyes of the people of England.

This practice took place so much in the 16th and 17th centuries, that the ablest writers of those periods have complained, that the Viceroys materially retarded the improvement of Ireland, by misrepresenting its real state, and by adopting paltry and temporary expedients, instead of radical and efficient remedies, to eradicate the barbarism, and the inveterate proneness of her inhabitants to treason and insurrection; and



and by this they have concealed with ashes the embers of rebellion, which have been constantly liable to be blown into a blaze by the breath of accident;

Et incedis per ignes  
Suppositos cineri doloso.

The conduct of the English Cabinet towards Ireland, for some years past, evinces, in some degree, what I have advanced; for nothing but their ignorance of it, could account for the extraordinary and impolitick measures adopted towards her. Many honest and loyal subjects have assigned the following reason for it; that they wished to reduce her to such an embarrassed state, that her people, to extricate themselves, would gladly embrace a legislative union; but I am far from imputing such sinister designs to persons so noted for wisdom and integrity.

Some English gentlemen, who visited Ireland for a few days or weeks, have taken upon them to write essays on its religious, moral and political state, though they were totally ignorant of it; and a host of Jacobin scribblers have, with intemperate zeal, and unceasing sedulity, endeavoured to give a gross misrepresentation of Ireland since the rebellion, the cause and origin of which they have mistated in a most flagrant manner. This has been done for the following purposes: That of feeding the flame of rebellion, of deceiving the Imperial Government, and of misguiding them in the adoption of any new laws or regulations for the government of Ireland.

Mr. Plowden, a Roman Catholick gentleman and a conveyancer of the Middle Temple, in a book entitled *The Case Stated*, says, page 19, "The lower class of the Irish, I understand, to be a race robust and hardy, and of a very irritable disposition and nature; they are now indolent\*, in extreme poverty, from being debarred the common resources of industry; and are averse from all laws, from having felt the constant pressure of such only as are galling and severe;" and he concludes, for this reason, "That the zealots for sedition and anarchy have found them ready materials to work on." Can there be a stronger incitement to disloyalty and insurrection, than to tell the mass of the people that they are under the constant pressure of laws which are galling and severe, and by which they are debarred from the common resources of industry; an assertion as groundless as it is dangerous; but I impute it to no sinister design in this gentleman, and I ascribe it to nothing but his ignorance of Ireland. He makes the following position, the purport of which he, in other parts of his work, endeavours to prove, "That the Roman Catholick religion teaches no one point of doctrine, that does not greatly tend to render its followers loyal, dutiful and peaceable subjects."

Any person who has examined the page of history must be sensible of the contrary; but to convince the reader of it, I shall refer him to "*Prynne's history of the Pope's intolerable usurpations on the liberties of the kings and subjects of England and Ireland*," a work of great learning and ingenuity.

Mr. George Cooper, an English barrister, having visiting Ireland in the autumn of 1799, wrote a book on it, which was published in the year 1800, for J. White, at Horace's head, Fleet-street. He tells us, that he can only take to himself the merit

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of

\* If this gentleman had lived among the Irish he would have known, that they were *active citizens*, both by night and by day.

of having ascended to the fountain head of information ; and having made his remarks on the spot, and from a personal observation of facts, he may be considered as more peculiarly speaking *ex tripode Phœbi*, than other writers on the subject.

And yet this gentleman has betrayed palpable ignorance, and has given a gross misrepresentation of Ireland.

The general division which he makes of the people of Ireland is, that of protestant colonists and catholic natives ; and asserts, that they have ever continued to be divided into these distinct bodies ; and he adds, “ For my own part, since I have been in Ireland, I have invariably ascertained that almost every pitiable object in rags and misery was a catholic ; and that almost every man, who enjoyed the advantage of food and cloathing, obtained it by his protestantism. They carry those palpable badges of their religious differences about them.”

Now this gentleman might have learnt, that the wealthy merchants, manufacturers and mechanics of Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Derry, Newry, Belfast, Lisburne and Galway, of the Roman Catholic religion, are very numerous ; and that popish farmers, in different parts of the kingdom, have made nabob fortunes, and have purchased large estates, within a few years.

He might have known, that so many of the popish nobility and gentry have embraced the established religion, that there are but few of them remaining ;\* and that such numbers of the middling and lower classes have done so, that the protestants of Ireland are at this time more than one to three to the Roman catholics. The paupers of both religions who are admitted into the House of Industry bear that proportion to each other. The Roman catholic labourer is as much protected by the law as the protestant, and the former experiences as much humanity and kindness from his employer as the latter. Nay it is very well known, that the lower class of Roman catholics would prefer protestant landlords and masters, from their well known mildness and beneficence. This gentleman makes the dissenters infinitely more numerous than the members of the established church, though it is well known that the former are much inferior in number to the latter.

As to the Roman catholics, he says, page 89, “ There can be no political ordeal, as the test of loyalty, to which they are unwilling to submit. Every security for their loyalty and attachment to the government, which the safety of the state shall require, or think necessary, they freely offer to give.”

This is strictly true ; for they swore oaths of allegiance in the most solemn manner, in many places at the foot of their altars, previous to the rebellion ; but it was recently proved, by fatal experience, that they paid no regard to them.

Again, he says, page 92, “ Neither is it equitable to infer, that they are enemies to the established religion, when that presumption is not only rebutted by their own express declarations, *but evinced by long and tried loyalty*, with a readiness to undergo the ordeal of any political test, which it shall be thought necessary to impose on them.”

After the shocking instances of treason, accompanied with perjury, which Ireland exhibited in the years 1797 and 1798, it is astonishing how any writer could have the audacity to make such assertions. It would require almost as many pages as this gentleman has written to expose his ignorance of the state of Ireland.

He says, page 108, “ Nothing but pasture lands are to be seen. Grazing of cattle is their grand passion. The farmer feels it his interest to devote his lands to it, and

to

\* Most of those who remain were originally English settlers.



to neglect tillage" And in page 118, he says, "That the greater part of the provisions consumed in the country are brought from England, and the poor not having the means to purchase them, are in want of common sustenance, without either house or cloaths to cover them from the inclemencies of the weather."

Now it is well known that Ireland, instead of importing provisions, sends to England, both for her internal consumption, and for the use of the navy, immense quantities of corn, beef, butter, pork and bacon; and her agriculture is so much increased in consequence of her immense export of corn, and her pasture grounds are so much diminished, that the greatest complaint in many parts of Ireland is the scarcity of milk. He imputes the idleness and the poverty of the Irish to their being badly governed; and then he asserts, that "they would not be so if they were well governed." A groundless assertion, tending to inflame the people against the government!

He says, page 127, "I found, that even in Ireland the name of an Englishman carries with it that weight and respect which has long flattered our pride in foreign countries. In Ireland, too, every man is sensible how much the prosperity and dearest interests of the two countries are linked together."

He should have confined this remark to the protestants, who are sincerely attached to England; but it is a positive fact, that the mass of the Roman catholics equally execrate both Englishmen and protestants, whom they brand with the common, and what they consider, odious, appellation of *Sassona*.\* In short, I take upon me to assert, that the protestant religion is the only bond of union between the two kingdoms.

He tells us, page 129, that "it was no war of religion, because none of the catholics of Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Clare, Galway, or any part of the kingdom, except those few counties in which the rebellion broke out, were at all implicated in it; that those of Wicklow and Wexford were necessarily so, because the peasantry were of that religion"

He says, page 131, "The orange party was formed to perpetuate the abuses and oppressions of the government, but discountenancing every innovation. They openly avowed themselves determined to shed the last drop of their blood before any concessions should be made to the catholic body."

From what I have already said in page 133 of the text, it is obvious that the orangemen did not associate till some years after almost the whole of the penal laws were repealed; that they assembled without arms, and for no other purpose but to protect themselves from being extirpated, and to prevent their country from being separated from England. The number of persons dignified by wisdom and virtue, high birth and shining abilities, at the head of the orange societies, would alone have been sufficient to banish any suspicion that they had harboured any of the base designs which were imputed to them.

He says, page 135, "The catholics felt themselves attached to a constitution of King, Lords and Commons. They therefore renounced all coalition with the conspirators, and preferred their humble claims to parliament."

The reader must be convinced, after having perused this volume, that these assertions are totally groundless.

He

\* Doctor McNevin, a Roman catholic, and one of the Irish Directory, says, in his evidence upon oath, before the House of Lords, "the lower class of catholics consider protestant and Englishman, that is, English settler, as synonymous, and as their natural enemy, the same Irish word (*Sassona*) signifies both."



He says, page 147, "That it had been industriously circulated by the United Irishmen, that the orange party was instituted in order to exterminate them. It was represented that the protestants had entered into a solemn league and covenant to destroy them, and that they had sworn to wade up to their knees in catholick blood; The day when the massacre was to commence was even mentioned. I am sorry to be obliged to confess, that there was too much appearance of reason to justify the catholicks in giving ear to this suggestion of a massacre. Orange lodges were spread over the counties in which the rebellion broke out, more numerously than through the other parts of the kingdom.\* Oaths were administered to those who enrolled themselves of that party; the nature and purport of which the peasantry were unacquainted with, but which they were led to believe were for the desire of exterminating them. Neither is there a doubt, but that such a wish has been professed by many of the orange party. I am sure I have heard it declared, and so must every man who has at all mixed in society in the country, that Ireland never would be at rest till the catholicks were completely exterminated. Such a design has even been avowed in their publick deliberations. I have not indeed heard it myself, but I have not the least doubt of the fact. The charge has been made by others, and has never yet been denied."

When such infamous and groundless charges have been publicly made against the protestants of Ireland, the only subjects in it who have been upon all occasions sincerely and steadily loyal, for the obvious purpose of deceiving the administration of England, in whose eyes they wish to degrade and stigmatize them, and when the sanguinary and treasonable designs which a set of traitors manifested in the late rebellion, for the subversion of the constitution, and dissolving the connection between the two kingdoms, have been falsely imputed to them, it is incumbent on every faithful subject, who is interested in their preservation, to stand forward and undeceive the government of England.

This gentleman, not contented with his own observations, quotes another writer who appears to be actuated by the same sinister designs as himself, in support of his calumnies.

He tells us, that "the author of a highly respectable publication, *Considerations on the State of Affairs in Ireland* in the year 1799, has this remarkable passage :

"And though there may be men of ferocious minds, who would exterminate the natives; although I have heard a ferocious policy avowed in the publick councils, by which they were to be armed and let loose upon each other; though I have heard the offer of union condemned, as a remedy inadequate to the evil, and the salvation of the few asserted to depend upon the extermination of the majority; that the catholicks must be extinguished and put out; that not a single Rohilla of them all can be left with impunity; though I have heard these sanguinary doctrines pollute the walls of a house of parliament; yet I am satisfied that they are confined to a few breasts, not wickedder than they are weak."†

Mr.

\* The contrary is well known to be the case, for they were mostly confined to the north, and were scarcely known in those counties in the province of Leinster, where such dreadful barbarities were perpetrated during the rebellion.

† I am convinced, that no member of the Irish parliament ever entertained so base and sanguinary a design, and I am sure, that if any member of that assembly should have had the folly and wickedness to utter such an opinion, he would have been severely condemned and scouted out of it.

Mr. Cooper then adds, "What answer does the orange party make to this charge, which stands upon record? They refuse to plead to the indictment; they stand obstinately mute; their guilt must therefore be taken *pro confesso*."

Mr. Cooper thus concludes, that in consequence of such reports relative to the designs of orangemen, "we must acquit the peasantry of every crime."

The reader after perusing these pages must perceive, that Mr. Cooper must have been totally ignorant of the causes of the late rebellion in Ireland, or that he uttered these groundless assertions, in so barefaced a manner, with a design of deceiving his countrymen for the worst of purposes.

I am persuaded that there is not a sincere protestant in Ireland, that does not profess, and would not maintain, at the risk of his life, the principles of orangemen, the only object and import of which is, to defend the constitution in church and state, and to protect the life and property of every honest and loyal subject against the machinations of traitors, robbers, and assassins, who have so many years disturbed and disgraced their native country.

This gentleman acquits the murderers of Scullabogue, Vinegar-hill, Gorey and Wexford-bridge, because, as he says, the perpetrators of them believed that orangemen had taken oaths to murder them; but the orange institution did not exist in the county of Wexford; and it is well known, that the base fiction of the infamous oaths taken by orangemen, and their atrocious designs against Roman catholics, was used merely as a veil to conceal their sanguinary views against protestants of every rank and denomination, and to stimulate the lower class of the former against the latter.

The author of *Considerations upon the State of Public Affairs*, quoted by Mr. Cooper, and decidedly a jacobin, says, "I confess, I fear, that there are among our settlers\* in Ireland some unrelenting minds, who expect and prefer another conclusion of the contest, and very different; the horrible principle which has been disclosed even in England, induces me strongly to apprehend, that there is no obstacle in a part of the colony more hostile and formidable to the projected union, than the hope of being enabled, by the arms and treasure of the mother country, to obtain such decided and definitive success in the civil war, as to enable their "Independent Parliament" to attain and confiscate the remaining part of the property of Ireland, not actually in the occupation of that colony" Such is the vile slander and calumny which he utters of the protestant nobility and gentry of Ireland; and lest the hatred of the Roman catholics towards them, manifested in so many rebellions, was not sufficiently envenomed, he endeavours to sublimise it by the following observation on them:

"Revenge, and the hope of prey, are his undisguised motives;† and he is only far less absurd or less guilty than the colonist I have described, as he believes himself to have a right, according to the doctrines of imprescriptibility, to possess the lands which no time, no length of possession can alienate, no acquiescence can transfer;‡ and as he relies for his hope of success, upon a government, which as it were from the very centre and focus of robbery, adopts and assists every attack upon every possession, every innovation of right and principle, and law and property."

Such

\* Meaning the Protestants.

† Meaning the Roman catholics.

‡ This is a direct invocation to the descendants of the traitors who forfeited estates to rise in rebellion.



Such is the stigma which he casts on the protestants of the established church, the most loyal, liberal and humane body of people in Ireland, and such are the arguments which he adopts to varnish over the disaffection of the Roman catholics, and to incite them to continue in their disloyal and rebellious principles.

In answer to this, I shall only say, that the rebellions since the reformation arose from, or were fed by, religious bigotry; that they were put down by English armies; that the trials of traitors, under which they were convicted, were held under the superintendence of English judges and commissioners, and the forfeited lands were granted by the crown to such English subjects as had displayed their courage and their loyalty in conquering the rebels; among whom were to be found not only the native Irish, but great numbers of the English colonists, because the disaffection which kindled those rebellions arose principally from religious rancour. The Irish parliament was but a mere cypher, and served only the purpose of registering the edicts of the British cabinet till the year 1782. The supreme power of the English parliament over Ireland was asserted in the year 1698, when Mr. Molyneux's book was condemned; and again by a law passed in the British parliament, the 6 of Geo. I. cap. 5. While the Irish parliament were in that state of constraint and subordination, the House of Lords twice addressed the crown in 1703, and again in 1707, to grant to Ireland the benefits of an incorporated union; but they were absolutely refused. The odium of the penal laws then enacted against the Irish Roman catholics is much more to be imputed to the British than the Irish parliament, as the latter had, during that period, no power to originate any law, even for the internal regulation of Ireland, unless it had been previously deliberated on, and sanctioned by, the British cabinet.

But as soon as the Irish parliament were emancipated, and obtained a full exercise of their functions, they repealed without a murmur, nay with the greatest alacrity, the most odious and severe parts of the penal laws, and this in one session. In short, the Irish protestants, with a degree of liberality and generosity, which must ever reflect honour on them, and should conciliate the esteem and the warm regard of their Roman catholic fellow subjects, shewed an earnest desire of sharing with them a portion of that liberty which they acquired the instant they had obtained it.

The author of a pamphlet, entitled the Case of Ireland reconsidered, says, "What difference is there between an Irishman and a Scotchman, that the religion of the one should be treated with respect, and the other with contempt? But is the reason to be sought in the religion itself; that of Ireland is not less ancient, less noble, less extensive; the greatest men and the greatest nations of Europe have never been ashamed of professing it; it is not less safe; it has long existed in monarchies and in republics; the first duty it inculcates is obedience to the power of the state."

In answer to this I shall observe, that England, one of the greatest nations in Europe, was afraid and ashamed to profess it, because it had so often shaken the thrones and impoverished the subjects of sovereign princes, and therefore very strong and wise laws were enacted against the supremacy of the pope, from the reign of Edward the Confessor till the reformation took place; and during that period, the people of England frequently shewed an earnest desire to renounce the superstition itself, and would have effected it in the reigns of Henry III. Richard II. and Henry IV. but that they were prevented and intimidated by the tyranny and persecution of the ecclesiastics, who in the reign of the last introduced the practice of burning heretics. It certainly enjoins obedience to those governments whose members are  
Roman



Roman catholicks, but it inculcates treason and resistance to a protestant state, as a sacred duty; and it frequently shook the thrones of popish sovereigns, who did not submit implicitly to the imperious dictates of his Holiness.†

He also concludes, "that protestants and Roman catholicks may co-exist in Ireland with an equal share of political power, without any danger to the protestant state, because both these religionists live in some states in Germany, with perfect safety to the government, and in harmony among themselves, and even use the same place of devotion alternately.

I have shewn, in the introductory discourse, that popery doctrinally teaches and sanctions treason and resistance to a protestant state; and the late rebellion proves, that the mass of the Irish people implicitly believe in, and think themselves religiously bound to obey those abominable tenets, so long fatal to the peace and safety of Ireland; in consequence of which the lower class of the Irish are traitorous towards the state, and fraudulent, ferocious and sanguinary towards such of their fellow subjects as differ from them in religion; and for this reason the Scotch peasant, or mechanic, differs as much from the Irish, as a house dog does from a wolf or a fox.

As to these two religionists living together in the same state in Germany, it is easily accounted for.

They are all originally of the same stock or lineage, and the religious liberty of each is guarantied by the treaty of Munster; so that the intolerant or ambitious designs of either against the other is completely repressed; but in Ireland, the hope of recovering the forfeited estates, and of separating her from England, constantly fomented by bigotry, keeps alive their hereditary hatred to the latter, and of course to the members of the established church, from their noted loyalty and attachment to the sister kingdom, and gives full play to the deleterious doctrines of popery, which the Irish priests never cease to foment.

In short, for these reasons, no parallel can be drawn between the popery of Ireland and that of any other country in Europe.

From the intolerant spirit of popery, its sectaries never would suffer any other members of the christian church to be on a footing with them, in point of political power. Sigismunda Augustus, king of Poland, passed a law at the diet of Vilna, on the 16th of June 1563, that all persons of the equestrian or noble orders should enjoy equal rights and privileges, of whatsoever christian communion or confession they should be; but on the death of Sigismunda, the Roman catholicks, though inferior in number to the protestants and dissidents, gained a superiority over them, excluded them from the government, and persecuted them with fanatical zeal. Catherine the second of Russia attempted to put them again on an equal footing; but the obstinate resistance of the Roman catholicks, occasioned those dissensions which finally terminated in the ruin and dismemberment of the kingdom of Poland.

It is true, as this writer asserts, that in Germany some ecclesiastical establishments were possessed alternately by protestants and catholicks, and the same church serves frequently for their worship; but what constitutes the difference between these two religionists in those countries and Ireland, is the illiberality and fanaticism of the Irish priests, who tell their besotted sectaries that they will be damned if they even enter a protestant church, which they universally do. A lady in the city of Dublin, of distinguished benevolence, recently solicited a certain Roman catholick lady of rank, to assist in collecting money at a charity sermon in a protestant church, and her answer

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was,

† See page 10 of the text.

was, that she would gladly do so, but that the rules of her church would not permit her to comply, or words to that purpose; at the same time the protestant nobility and gentry frequently collect charity in popish chapels. Some time since Lord Granard ordered the band of his regiment to play during divine service in the church of Athy, where they were quartered; but the popish musicians refused to obey, having said that a priest assured them they would be damned if they entered a protestant church. On enquiry it was discovered, that a priest, who was a member of the popish seminary at Carlow, gave him this charitable assurance, and on being questioned on it, the priest avowed, that it was consonant to the established doctrines of his church. In the same manner doctor Coppinger, titular bishop of Cloyne, would not suffer such of the band of the King's county regiment, as were papists, to play in the protestant church at Youghall; though, with the permission of the colonel, both the protestant and popish musicians had constantly played in the popish chapel.

The popish servants used constantly to attend the prayers read by their protestant masters in their respective families till the year 1793, but when, at that period, the protestant state, with singular benevolence and philanthropy, granted them a large portion of political power, in addition to an equality of civil liberty which they had previously obtained, their priests, fed with the hope of attaining an ascendancy for their sectaries, endeavoured to render the two orders immiscible, and to draw for ever an interminable line between them; and from that time we find, that the popish clergy laid their deluded sectaries under an absolute interdict against entering a protestant church, or hearing the prayers of a protestant master. The Marquis de Bonnet, who was many months on a visit with the bishop of Ossory, (now bishop of Meath) constantly assisted at the prayers read every evening by his lordship to his family; but the Marquis, though he was reputed a French philosopher, and had been president of the national assembly of France, consulted the pious doctor Hussey on the propriety of assisting at the bishop's devotions, and he declared with great vehemence, that it was inadmissible; and the Marquis yielded implicit obedience to the liberal inhibition of the reverend father. Such is the conduct of the popish clergy, in return for the liberal and benevolent concessions of the protestant state towards their order!

Some weak men and shallow politicians have said, that the publication of this book would tend to revive animosities, which every person should wish to compose. The folly and futility of this observation will be easily exposed, by shewing that the malignant spirit which occasioned the rebellion has never ceased, though the royal mercy has been extended to a most dangerous excess, with the hope and for the purpose of laying it, and conciliating the disaffected. For two years after the rebellion was said to be put down, the county of Limerick continued to be disturbed and disgraced by nocturnal robbery and assassination; and such was the state of the county of Wicklow, where the most material and destructive outrages against the persons and property of the loyalists were perpetrated after it was said to be suppressed.

The reader will see in Appendix XV. of this work, some specimens of the licentious and desolating spirit which prevailed in the county of Kildare in the years 1799 and 1800; and some alarming instances of barbarous cruelty and ferocity have appeared there within these few months.

The people of the county of Clare, supposed in the year 1798 to be perfectly free from disaffection, broke out into open rebellion in the year 1799; and that barbarous practice, peculiar to the natives of Ireland, of houghing cattle, was carried to a dreadful and alarming excess in it, and in the county of Galway. In the years 1799  
and



and 1800, traitorous combinations and conspiracies, very alarming from their extent and malignity, were discovered in the counties of Cork, Waterford and Tipperary; and in the barony of Muskerry, in the former, a plot formed by a committee of assassination, has been recently detected, for murdering all the protestant gentlemen in the neighbourhood.

In short, a spirit of disaffection, as strong as ever, in the provinces of Leinster and Munster, has manifested itself in various desperate outrages, and the loyal subjects in them, who were active against the rebels, have as much reason as ever to dread its fatal effects, and to fear for their personal safety. Traitorous combinations have been recently discovered in the metropolis; and persons who owed their lives to nothing but the royal mercy, have been detected in the act of sitting in committees, forming new plans of insurrection; treasonable ballads are frequently sung in the publick streets, and the mafs of the people in it, with indecent boldness, give unequivocal proofs of their disloyalty, openly exulting in the success of our enemies, lamenting the good fortune of our fleets and armies, and expressing their hopes, that the enemies of mankind will land in their unfortunate country, and assist them in their plans of robbery and assassination; but the loyal subjects have this one consolation, that treason is at present confined to but one class of the people.

It was mentioned in the report of the secret committee of the English house of commons, published the 5th of March 1799, that the United Irishmen who went to England to propagate their baneful doctrines, were by far the most dangerous conspirators discovered there.

In the reports of the secret committees of both houses of the British parliament, published in the month of April 1801, it is stated, that there is a constant correspondence and co-operation between the traitors of both kingdoms, in their schemes for overturning the constitution; and for that purpose, of holding out hopes of invasion, and “that many of the society of United Irishmen, who either *by the lenity of the government of that country*, or their own apprehensions of its just severity, had repaired to England, had by all the means they had been used to practise, stimulated and inflamed the members to an higher pitch of extravagance.”

And it is most certain, that many wretches of this description have stationed themselves in different parts of England, with no other design but to mis-represent the origin and cause of the late rebellion, falsely asserting that it arose from the unjust and impolitic severity of the government, and the cruelty and tyranny of the protestants of the established church.

In the propagation of such calumnies they have been assisted by the English Jacobins; and to my certain knowledge, they have been but too successful in their wicked endeavours; for how otherwise can we account for the palpable ignorance, which some members of the British parliament recently displayed in their speeches, of the real state of Ireland?

From what I have now said in defence of publishing this history, I flatter myself that the candid reader will acknowledge, that it was wise and politic to do so, as soon as possible after the rebellion.

It is a positive fact, that a notorious leader of rebellion, who contributed materially to desolate two counties in Ireland, and who escaped the vengeance of the law, by the mistaken lenity of government, has been well received in the house of a nobleman of considerable rank in England. Such men have been extremely active in mis-representing the cause, the origin, and the consequences of the rebellion, in that kingdom.



It is evident, that it cannot make the state of Ireland worse than it is at present, by reviving animosities, as the causes of combustion exist in it as strong as ever. On the contrary, it will tend to unite protestants of every description in defence of the constitution, by shewing them that their own ruin will of course be involved in its destruction.

Both houses of the Imperial Parliament have thought proper, in their great wisdom, to institute secret committees, to investigate the real state of Ireland, and they have published their reports, which prove that the mass of the people in many parts of that kingdom are in a state of depravity unheard of in the annals of history.

What opinion are we to entertain then of persons who have made animadversions on the author of this work, on the pretended ground that it would revive the animosities which have distracted the country, when it is unquestionably proved by these reports, that the seeds of rebellion still exist, and that outrages have never ceased to be committed, ever since the rebellion was said to be put down; and yet some persons have made such animadversions from weakness and timidity, some from a spirit of disaffection, in hopes that their confederates may, by the acquiescence of government, bring another rebellion to maturity; and others from self-interested motives, which I shall not explain, were desirous of varnishing over, and concealing from the administration of England, the machinations and the crimes of the Irish traitors.

What can be more dangerous or more culpable? To conceal the treasonable designs of an individual, is, by the laws of every nation in Europe, misprision of treason. How great then must the guilt of those be, who would conceal the treasonable combinations of the multitude, formed for the destruction of the empire!

I lament that I have not authentic copies of those reports, to insert extracts of them in this work; but it is stated in them, that a system of terror is still maintained in various parts of the country, by the means of committees of assassination, who sit constantly, and deliberately condemn, and procure to be murdered, such persons as are distinguished for their loyalty. It appears also, that this dreadful system is under the guidance of a directory sitting in Dublin.

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